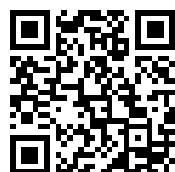
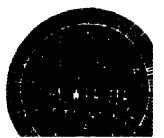

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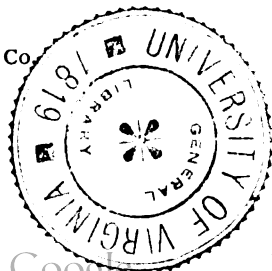
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EDITED BY
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. X, 1.

WHOLE No. 37.

I.—LAUNFAL.

(RAWLINSON VERSION.)

The Rawlinson Launfal, here printed for the first time, was noticed as long ago as 1839, by Sir Frederic Madden, Syr Gawayne, Introduction, p. lxvii. Since that time this version has been pretty generally neglected. Halliwell, to be sure, mentioned it in his *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare Society, 1845, and printed ¹ vv. 1-8, 292-331, but the editors of the Percy MS do not mention it,² and it is equally ignored by Erling,³ Warnke,⁴ Münster,⁵ and Kolls.⁶ Still the Rawlinson MS is of great value in determining the text of the poem and in settling the genealogy of the different versions.

The manuscript is fully described by Sir Frederic Madden, Syr Gawayne, p. lxiv, who gives a list of its contents. His words are: "MS Rawlinson, marked C. 86, in the Bodleian Library,

¹ Repeated in Hazlitt's *Fairy Tales, Legends and Romances* illustrating Shakespeare, 1875, pp. 80-81. This book is an "amalgamation" of Halliwell's *Illustrations* and Ritson's *Fairy Tales* (1831).

² In 1871, however, Mr. Furnivall printed 29 lines of the Rawlinson MS in his notice of Sir Launfal, by far the most complete that had up to that time appeared, in Captain Cox, his *Ballads and Books*, pp. xxx-xxxiii.

³ *Li Lais de Lanval altfranzösisches Gedicht der Marie der France nebst Th. Chestre's Launfal neu herausg. von Ludwig Erling. Programm der K. bayer. Studienanstalt zu Kempten für das Schuljahr 1882-83. Kempten, 1883.*

⁴ *Die Lais der Marie de France herausg. von Karl Warnke. Halle, 1885.*

⁵ *Untersuchungen zu Thomas Chestre's Launfal, von Karl Münster. (Dissertation.) Kiel, 1886.*

⁶ *Zur Lanvalsage, eine Quellenuntersuchung, von Dr. Anton Kolls. Berlin, 1886.*

and formerly belonging to Knox Ward, Esq., Clarenceux king of Arms. It is a small folio, and consists of two distinct portions. The first, extending from fol. 1 to fol. 30 inclusive, is written on vellum and paper in a late hand of the fifteenth century. It contains a long English poem on the Passion of Christ . . . The second portion [which contains the *Launfal*] consists of 159 leaves, and is written on paper in a negligent hand towards the close of Henry the Seventh's reign."¹ Halliwell (*Illustrations*, p. 2) gives the date as "about 1508," and Furnivall (*Captain Cox*, p. xxx) refers the MS to "about 1480." *Launfal* or *Landavall* occupies fol. 119b-128, and is immediately followed by *The Weddyng of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*,² in the same hand. The poem is here edited from a copy³ made in 1888 by Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian Library.

The Middle English *Launfal* is well known to be a translation of the *Lai de Lanval*⁴ of Marie de France. The following English versions have been discovered:

C. *Launfal Miles*, by Thomas Chestre.⁵ MS Cotton, *Caligula A. ii*, fol. 35b-fol. 42b. The MS is of the first half of the fifteenth century (see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I 180, 416). Seven times printed:⁶ (1) by Ellis in his appendix to Way's translations from the *Fabliaux* of Le Grand d'Aussy, "1800, II 298-340"; (2) by Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romancees*, 1802, I 170-215; (3) in Way's *Fabliaux*, new ed., 1815, III 233-287; (4) by Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare Society, 1845, pp. 2-34; (5) by W. C. Hazlitt, *Fairy Tales, Legends and Romances illustrating Shakespeare*,

¹ Henry VII died in 1509.

² Printed by Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, pp. 298-298^y.

³ Now in the Library of Harvard College.

⁴ First printed by Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, 1820, I 202-250; excellently edited in 1885 by Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, pp. 86-112. One MS (MS franç. 2168 of the National Library at Paris) was edited by L. Erling in 1883 (see p. 1, n. 3). The lay has been beautifully translated by Wilhelm Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1886, pp. 25-44 (with valuable notes, pp. 323-329).

⁵ This is not the place to discuss the as yet unproved theories as to Thomas Chestre and his authorship of the *Octavian* and the *Lybeaus Disconus* advanced by Sarrazin, *Octavian*, 1885, p. xxv ff.

⁶ In 1781 Warton printed vv. 1-42, 283-298, 1039-44, of Chestre's *Launfal* in his *History of English Poetry* (see Hazlitt's ed., I 261, III 97-98).

1875, pp. 48-80, Halliwell's text; (6) by Ludwig Erling, *Li Lais de Lanval*, etc., Kempten, 1883, pp. 17-46; (7) in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, selected and edited by Joseph Ritson, revised¹ by Edmund Goldsmid, 1885, II 2-33.

R. Landavall. MS Rawl. C. 86. Never before printed.

P. Sir Lambewell in Bishop Percy's MS² (now in the British Museum, Additional MS 27,879), fol. 29b-fol. 33b (see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I 417). The MS was written about 1650 (Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, Forewords, p. xiii). Twice printed: (1) by Hales and Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, 1867, I 144-164; (2) thence by Dr. Anton Kolls, *Zur Lanvalsage, eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Berlin, 1886.

H. Halliwell fragment, in the Bodleian Library, Malone 941. This fragment consists of nine printed leaves, "eight of which only belong to *Sir Lamwell*." It was given to the Bodleian Library by the late Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (then Mr. Halliwell), and was reprinted for the first time in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, edited by Hales and Furnivall, 1867, I 522-532, whence most of it was again reprinted by Dr. Anton Kolls, *Zur Lanvalsage*, Berlin, 1886. The Halliwell fragment is incomplete at the end and mutilated throughout.³

The Halliwell fragment "may be part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8" (Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, his *Ballads and Books*, p. xxxii). Ritson, III 243, was the first to mention Kynge's license, which runs as follows:

"To John kynge to prynte these bokes folowyng that ys to saye a Jeste of syr GAWAYNE /the boke of Carvyng and sewyng/ syr LAMWELL the boke of Cokerye the boke of nuture for mens

¹A very handsome book, published at Edinburgh by subscription and limited to 350 copies. No one should be misled by the title-page. The texts are printed just as Ritson left them. Mr. Goldsmid has "revised" the book to the extent of taking the notes from the end of the third volume and putting them at the foot of the page.

²Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 325, makes a curious mistake in saying that Bishop Percy "eine Abschrift [of *Sir Lamwell*] seinem Foliobande einverleibt hat."

³Kolls curiously enough speaks of this printed fragment as the "*Bodleian MS*" (p. 5), and in this error he is followed by Professor Brandl in the *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germ. Philol.* VIII 240. Brandl calls attention to the Rawlinson MS (which Kolls had overlooked), but knows nothing of the Cambridge University MS fragment, which Furnivall printed in 1871.

sarvauntes and for his lycense he geveth to the howse [sum not entered]." (Arber, Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, I 79; Collier, Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 1848, p. 15.)

Ritson also remarked that Sir Lamwell is mentioned in Laneham's Letter, 1575, as among Captain Cox's romances.¹

D. Douce fragment, one printed leaf (61 lines), preserved in the Bodleian Library and numbered Douce II. 95. Probably this leaf belongs to a reprint of the H edition, unless H and D are both reprints of some older edition which has perished. In any case, D agrees with H almost word for word, so far as the mutilated condition of H allows comparison, but is less carefully printed and seems later.² For textual purposes D is useful so far only as it enables us to restore mutilated places in H. Eight verses cut out of H (after v. 346) are preserved in D (vv. 4-11), which also helps us fill out various mutilated lines. The Douce fragment has been three times printed, (1) in the Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to the Bodleian Library, p. 311, Oxford, 1840, (2) in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, edited by Hales and Furnivall, 1867, I 533-535, and thence (3) by Kolls,³ Zur Lanvalsage, pp. 39-43.

F. A fragment containing the first 90½ lines of a version corresponding to H. Cambridge University Library MS Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11, printed by Furnivall, Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books, 1871, p. xxxi. The MS is catalogued as of the fifteenth century, and may be confidently referred to 1460-70.⁴ This fragment is "much scottified," as Furnivall says, containing forms like *quhair*, *gang*, *knichts*, etc. It breaks off abruptly in the middle of the word *pommel* in v. 91, no more being written. F is useful in restoring the mutilated H (see below, p. 16). Though printed in 1871, it has escaped the notice of Erling (1883), Warnke (1885), Kolls (1886), and Brandl (Jahresbericht, VIII 240).

Sir Frederic Madden⁵ speaks of a copy of the Launfal in MS

¹ Ritson, III 243. See the passage in Furnivall's edition of the Letter (in his Captain Cox), p. 30.

² Furnivall, Percy MS, I 522. D misprints *Aals* for *Alas*, *exe* for *eye*, etc., and omits one whole line (R 320, P 365, H 363).

³ Dr. Kolls calls it the "Douce MS" (p. 39).

⁴ I owe these dates to the kind courtesy of Dr. Furnivall, who not only gave me his own opinion, but took pains to write to the Deputy Librarian, Mr. Magnússon, on my behalf.

⁵ Syr Gawayne, p. lxvii.

Lambeth 305. This, says Halliwell, "seems to be an error for the copy of Lybeaus Disconus in MS No. 306 in the same collection" (Illustrations, p. 2). Dr. F. J. Furnivall has kindly directed an inquiry on this subject to Mr. S. W. Kershaw, Lambeth Librarian, who, in an obliging note, confirms Halliwell's suspicion. There seems to be no copy of the Launfal among the Lambeth MSS.

We have, then, three complete copies of the Middle English poem (C, R, P), one long fragment (H), and two short fragments (D, F). The position of D has been already discussed. Postponing the consideration of F, we may next examine C, R, H, and P.

Even a cursory examination of these texts shows that they fall into two groups—the first consisting of Chestre's version, and the second of R, H, and P. On further scrutiny, R, H, and P are seen to be but different texts of a single poem—a Middle English translation of the *Lai de Lanval*. For, though differing from each other in many points (thanks to the blunders of copyists and the omissions and interpolations of reciters or minstrels), R, H, and P are, on the whole, identical not only in contents, but in phraseology and rhymes. They follow the narrative of Marie step by step, often rendering her words literally, and seldom departing farther from them than the liberty of a translator allows. Chestre's romance is about twice as long as R, H,¹ or P. It is an amalgamation of the *Lai de Lanval* with the anonymous *Lai de Graellent*,² and contains in addition two long episodes drawn from the author's imagination, or rather from the common stock of mediaeval romancers. So far, however, as Chestre follows the narrative of Marie—and he does follow it in its essentials pretty closely—his rendering is to all intents and purposes identical with R, H, and P. This identity, extending as it often does to the minutest points of expression—and that too not only in lines translated from the French, but in many others not to be found in Marie at all—shows conclusively that we have not here to do with the work of two independent translators—one for Chestre and another for R, H, and P—but with a single Middle English version of the *Lai de Lanval*. We must suppose either that the translation represented

¹ That is, as H must have been before mutilation.

² Printed (1) in Barbazan-Méon, IV 57-80; and (2) in Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I 486-540; cf. R. Köhler in Warnke's ed. of the *Lais*, p. lxxxii, n.

by R, H, and P is merely an abridgment of Chestre's poem, or that Chestre based his romance on that translation.

Since Chestre's poem is preserved in a manuscript considerably older and better than any copy which we have of the Short Version (as we may for convenience call the translation represented by R, H, and P), and since it is also decidedly superior to that version in poetic merit, one is at first sight inclined to think that the Short Version is merely an abridgment of Chestre's *Launfal*. Such was the somewhat over-hasty inference of Hales¹ with respect to the Percy text and the printed fragments, and such seems to have been the opinion of Halliwell² as to R and D. But this theory is untenable for four reasons:

(1) In places where Chestre has abandoned the *Lai de Lanval* (M) to follow the *Lai de Graellent*, the Short Version follows the *Lai de Lanval*.³

(2) Passages occur in Marie and in the Short Version which are not found in Chestre at all.⁴

¹ Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, I 142. So Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I 417.

² Illustrations, p. 2.

³ Two cases of this are cited for another purpose by Kolls (p. 66) from the copies at his disposal; I add R,—(1) cf. R 165-171, H 187-193, P 205-209, with M 201-208; and C 373 ff. with Graellent 331 ff. (2) cf. R 498-499, P 605-610, with M 651-658; and C 1009-1017 with Gr. 639-650. Kolls's third case (R 183-188, H 209-214, P 221-226, M 221-238; C 613-637. Graellent 409-416) is not very convincing. Throughout, however, the Short Version omits Chestre's interpolated incidents, whether they are due to Graellent or to his own fancy. The author of an abridgment could not do this; he would be sure to retain something wrong.

⁴ Such are:

M 36-37, R 25, H 31, P 29.

M 101-102, R 99-100, H 113-114, P 121-122 (Kolls).

M 139, R 154, H 152 (150), P 190.

M 141-142, H 151 (149), P 189.

M 203-204, R 179-180, H 203-204, P 215-216 (Kolls).

M 223, R 186, H 212, P 224.

M 317, R 240, H 274, P 278.

M 341-342, R 261-262, H 299-300, P 305-306.

M 343-345, R 263-264, H 301-302, P 307-308 (Kolls).

M 427, R 327, H 374, P 376.

M 475, R 349, H 428, P 417.

M 510, H 471, P 447.

M 548-549, R 371-372, P 499.

To Kolls belongs the credit of first publishing a comparative view of H, P, and M.

(3) In some places the Short Version shows a closer translation of Marie than is found in the corresponding places in Chestre.¹

We are forced, therefore, to adopt the other alternative and to believe that Thomas Chestre used the Short Version—a Middle-English translation of Marie's *Lai de Lanval*—as the basis of his poem.² This translation, which, as we have seen, is more or less imperfectly preserved in R, H, and P, I shall henceforth call *x*.³

No one of the three copies R, H, and P represents *x* correctly, for each omits passages which, by their presence in one or both of the others and at the same time in C or M, are shown to have belonged to *x*.⁴ But taken together, R, H, and P contain, with two or three possible exceptions,⁵ every line which is common to C and M. A comparison⁶ of our three copies of the Short Version makes further disclosures as to their genealogy.

In the first place, P is neither from H nor from any MS of which H is an accurate copy. This is shown by P 287–288, which correspond to M 320–321, and therefore belonged to *x*, but which do not stand in H.⁷ In a few cases P agrees more nearly than H

¹ Such are:

M 56, R 52, P 66 (H cut off, cf. F 62); cf. C 243.

M 114–116, R 113–116, H 133–136, P 141–144; cf. C 304–306.

M 124–127, R 120–122, H 140–142, P 146–148; cf. C 311–312.

M 228, R 184, H 210, P 222; cf. C 638.

² Warnke, p. xi, arrived at this result for C and P, and Kolls proved it for H (p. 65). As long ago as 1840, however, the editor of the Douce Catalogue conjectured D to be part of a version older than C (p. 311). Erling, p. vii, knowing no English version but Chestre's, supposes C to be a *rifacimento* of an Old French poem which consisted of Lanval, Graellent, and an unknown battle-piece fused together. This is impossible; Chestre's mention of "the French tale" (v. 474, cf. v. 741) cannot be built upon.

³ Whether *x* goes back directly to Marie's lay or not is a question that will be discussed later, pp. 17–20.

⁴ For passages omitted in R see p. 9; for omissions in H, see p. 9; for omissions in P, see p. 8, n. 3.

⁵ See p. 9, n. 5.

⁶ Such a comparison was undertaken by Dr. Anton Kolls (*Zur Lanvalsage*) for H (which he calls B) and P. The very important MS R was unknown to Kolls, so that his researches have sometimes gone astray and are necessarily incomplete. I have profited much by his careful work, however, though I am obliged to point out some of his errors and cannot always agree with his theories.

⁷ Cited by Kolls, p. 66. The lines are not in R. Two other places are adduced by Kolls: (1) P 69–70 = C 232–233 and hence = *x*, but not in H; and (2) P 165–168 (assured for *x* by C 337–9, 342), which are, he says, condensed

with what must have been the reading of x . This may be seen in P 1-2 (cf. H 1-2,¹ R 1-2, C 1-2), in P 17-18² (cf. H 21-22, R 20-21, C 28-29), and probably in P 76 (cf. H 76, R 64, C 245-6).

H is, of course, not from P, for it is about a hundred years older than P. That it is from no MS of which P is an accurate copy is proved by a great many passages omitted in P but preserved in H, and shown by their presence in C to have belonged to x .³

The Rawlinson MS is older than any other copy of the Short Version extant (except F), and this, of course, makes it impossible to derive it from either H or P. But it is further certain that neither H nor P represents correctly the MS from which R was copied. In the case of P this is easily shown, for R contains some lines that must have belonged to x ,⁴ but are not found in P, and, further, it

to two lines in H (161-162). In the first case, comparison with R 53-56 and with F 63-66 shows that x had the verses in the following order, P 69, P 70, P 66, P 67, and consequently that the lacuna in H is before, not after, H 67-68. Now the lines immediately preceding v. 67 are cut off, so that this passage is no proof at all. The second case is at any rate doubtful (cf. R 137-142).

¹ H 1-2 should be filled out in accordance with F 1-2 (see *infra*, p. 16).

² Kolls (p. 7) regards P 17 and H 22 as interpolations. R shows that this is impossible. H is here very corrupt, and H 22 is a repetition of the idea contained in H 21, as Kolls says, but he is wrong in thinking that P 17 is not different in sense from P 18. Taken together, P 17 and 18 express the whole duty of a generous knight, to *give* (18) and *spend* (17) lavishly. No one accuses Marie of redundancy in her "*doinst et despende largement*" (Lanval 138). C 29 is Chestre's own verse. It cannot be assumed for x , in which the passage must have stood very much as it does in R.

³ Seven such passages are collected by Kolls, p. 67: H 37-38, R 31-32, C 217-218; H 43-44, R 37-38, C 223-224; H 105-106, R 91-92, C 280-281; H 137-138, R 117-118, C 307-308; H 195-196, R 173-174, C 424-425; H 257-258, R 225-226, C 691-692; H 337-338, R 298-299, C 793-794.

⁴ Thus:

R 13-16 = H 13-16; cf. M 13-17.

R 31-32 = H 37-38 = C 217-18.

R 37-38 = H 43-44 = C 223-4.

R 61-62 = H 73-74; H 73 = (in part) C 243. Kolls (p. 14) says H 73-74 stand alone.

R 77-78; cf. C 265-6.

R 117-8 = H 137-8 = C 307-8; cf. M 117-8.

R 169-70; cf. H 191-2, C 416-17.

R 225-6; cf. H 257-8, C 691-2.

R 298-9 = H 337-8 = C 793-4.

R 352-3; cf. H 431-2, C 850-2.

R 409-11 = C 908 ff.

approaches M nearer in several cases than P does.¹ In the case of H evidence is not so plentiful, but what there is is decisive. The single reading "coveride was with Alexandryne" in R 100 = "covert de purple Alexandrine" M 102, where P 122 has "was fringed about with gold fine," and H 114 "couered ouer with golde full fyne," would settle the matter;² but other instances are not wanting in which R is nearer *x* than H is.³ In one case two lines belonging to *x* are omitted in H but present in R (R 177-178 = C 430-431 = M 211-212).

Further, neither H nor P is from R, for both H and P contain passages that were surely in *x* but do not occur in the Rawlinson MS.⁴

Thus P 14 = C 26 = H 18 should be inserted in R after v. 17. Other lines lacking in R but assured for *x* are:

P 200 = H 180 = C 356 = M 169.

P 213-214 = H 201-202 (cf. M 215-216).

P 287-288 = M 320-321.

P 361, H 303 = C 751 (rhyme lacking after R 264).

That H and P do not independently go back to *x*, but have a common source this side of the first Middle-English translation, was seen by Kolls, though the passages that he brings forward to prove this are perhaps not conclusive (p. 67). This source Kolls called *z*, a term that we shall find it convenient to retain. The existence of *z* is shown by certain erroneous features which H and P have in common, but which are avoided in the other MSS. Of such errors the following may be mentioned:⁵

¹ Thus, *heron* in R 81 is probably an error for *ern*; C 268 has *ern*, M 87 has *aigle*, P 105 has *gripe*. So P 72 reads *color*; R 58 *cornalle*, B 70 *curnall*, C 239 *coronali*. R 123 *curleyse and hende*; B 143 *curtoyse and hende*; C 314 *gentyl and hende*; P 153 *I doe you soe kind*. R 109 *her heire shone*; C 298 *her here schon*; P 131 (absurdly) *for it* [i. e. rednesse] *shone*. There is no occasion to multiply examples.

² C lacks the passage.

³ The name of the hero in R (Landavall) is nearer the French form Lanval and Chestre's Launfal than is the Lamwell or Lambwell of H. R 73-4 is almost exactly C 259-60; P 87-90 and H 85-88 are somewhat different, as well as two lines longer.

⁴ In other cases R shows corruption in lines that are better preserved in P and H. Thus, R 59-60 (cf. P 73-74, H 71-72, C 241-242); R 112 (cf. P 140 = H 132 = C 302); R 288 (cf. P 329, H 327, C 783, M 382). Before R 24 a line has dropped out (cf. P 23-24, H 27-28; cf. M 33-34).

⁵ None of these are noticed by Kolls, who bases his case on the fact that the "feste Seint Johan" (M 222, C 618) is not mentioned by H or by P, and on the omission by both those copies of C 358-60 (M 171-2), C 430-1 (M 211-12), and C 703-4 (M 309-10). Such arguments from omission are hardly safe. The feast of St. John is perhaps too much of a commonplace to pin a theory on. See, for example, Perceval le Gallois, 30,837 ff., Potvin, V 12.

(1) The corruption of Lanval (or Launfal) to Lamwell (or Lambwell). This is common to H and P, but is found neither in C nor in R.¹ Marie's form is Lanval. The first Middle-English version doubtless had Lanual (cf. C 5), Lanfal, or Launfal. Chestre has preserved the proper form, and R has changed it a very little. The form *Lamwell* is typical for the group PH, and alone furnishes sufficient ground for assuming *x* as the source of those two copies.

A curious bit of external evidence that a version of the Launfal story existed under the name of Lamwell some fifty years before the date of H,² is afforded by Thomas Feylde in his poem called "A contrauersye bytwene a loue and a Jaye." Feylde's poem was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date.³ Mr. Hazlitt refers it to 1522 "on the ground that Hawes, who is mentioned as dead by Feylde, is supposed to have been living in 1521-2."⁴ This date at least fixes one terminus. The other is fixed by the death of Wynkyn de Worde in 1534.⁵

The passage in which Lamwell is mentioned runs thus:⁶

" Thus am I wrapped,
And in wo vmbelapped,
Suche loue hath me trapped
Without ony cure.
Syr Trystram the good
For his lemman Isoude
More sorowe neuer bode,
Than I do endure.

¹ The name appears as follows :

In Percy MS: Lambewell, *title*, vv. 16, 65, 139, 143, 178, 186, 210, 212, 223, 325, 406, 425, 464, 551, 605.—Lambwell, vv. 93, 173, 179, 204, 209, 211, 232, 244, 248, 249, 283, 295, 428, 469, 495, 506, 531, 570, 579, 619.—Lamewell, v. 77.—Lamwell, vv. 81, 84, 87, 422, 475.—Lambell, v. 229.

In Halliwell fragment: [L]amwell, v. 82.—Lamwell, vv. 131, 137, 171, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 211, 217, 220, 232, 236, 279, 289, 323, 338, 434, 441.—Lamw[ell], vv. 432, 451. The Douce fragment does not contain the name.

In Rawlinson MS, Landavall, *title*.—Landevale, vv. 19, 20, 117, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 191, 355, 391, 394, 413, 418, 452, 498, 504, 518, 528.—Landavale, vv. 70, 111, 151, 171, 185, 206, 210, 243, 253, 258, 284.—Landavalle, vv. 194, 299 (Landewalle?).—Landevale, vv. 331, 476, 533.

Chestre has Launval, v. 5.—Launfale, vv. 22, 471, 1040.—Launfalle, v. 647.—Launfal, vv. 44, 71, 85, etc.—Launfall, v. 617.—Launfel, vv. 170, 435.—Launfal : lel, v. 325.—Launfal : well, v. 508.

It is to be noticed that Launfel (170, 435), Launfal (326 : lel), and Launfal : well (508) are in passages added by Chestre. The name occurs in rhyme in the following places in P: 232 (: all), 551 (: tell), 579 (: deale); and in H, 220 (: all), 338 (: tell). P 232 = H 220 = C 647 (Launfalle : alle) = R 194 (Landavalle : alle this *by error*), and therefore stood in *x*. P 551 = R 476 (Landevalle : alle), cf. M. 633-5, and certainly stood in *x*, but the Percy reading is corrupt, being perhaps changed to make a good rhyme for the altered form Lambewell. P 579 is found in no other copy. H 338 (Lamwell : tell) = C 794 (Launfal : alle) = R 299 (Landavalle or Landewalle : alle), and was therefore in *x*; the reading of H seems in like manner to have been changed for the sake of rhyme.

² The existence of F warrants us in putting the date of *x* still farther back (see below, p. 16).

³ Hazlitt, Hand-book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, 1867, p. 197, gives titles and colophons. Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities, II 336-7, knew of but one edition. That there were two was pointed out by Collier in 1866 (Bibliographical Account, II 17).

⁴ Hazlitt, Collections and Notes, 1876, p. 155.

⁵ Wynkyn de Worde died not later than January, 1535 (Dibdin, II, p. vi).

⁶ This seems never to have been cited in connection with the Launfal. The last twelve lines are printed by Michel, Tristan, I xxv. I have given the passage as it is printed by Collier, Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language, II 19. See also Collier, Registers of the Stationers' Company, 1557-1570, p. 7. The poem has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club (Hazlitt, Collections and Notes, 1876, p. 155).

Lamwell and Lamaroke,
 Gawayne and Launcelotte,
 Garathe and Craddocke,
 With the table rounde;
 Syr Beuys, syr Eglamour,
 Syr Terry, syr Tryamour,
 In more greuous doloure
 Was neuer in bounde."

(2) rednesse P 130 = H 122. R 108 has *rud*; C 296 has *rode*. P and H are evidently corrupt.

(3) R 73-4 = almost exactly C 259-60, and therefore = *x*. P 87-90 and H 85-88 are somewhat different, as well as longer by two lines.

(4) R 49-50 = C 229-30 are not found in P, and apparently did not stand in H. Here we are not on sure ground, for H may have lost the lines by mutilation.

(5) In P and H Launfal goes to sleep (P 60 = H 56). This incident is not found in R, C, or M. At this point R agrees with C much more closely than P and H do. It is very doubtful if *x* made the knight fall into a doze under the tree.

- (6)
- Encumbrer le vuelent plusur
 Pur la volenté lur seignur. (M 433-4.)
- Har lord þe kyng to queme.
 Some dampnede Launfal pere. (C 879-80.)
- Summe wolde hym to dothe deen
 Ther king theire lorde for to g'uene. (R 378-9.)

Here R is somewhat corrupt, and C has been altered (see context) to suit the stanza, but the reading of *x* was plainly something like this:

Some wolde hym to dethe deme
 Their lord the kyng for to queme.

This is found in P and H in the following identically corrupt state:

some to death wold him deeme
 for to please the King and queene. (P 451-2.)

[Some to death th]ey wolde hym deme
 [For to please the k]yng and queene. (H 475-6.)

(7) P 116 goodlie vice; H 108 goodly wyse. C 284 purpur bys; R 94 purpille byse. P H, wrong; C R, right. (But cf. Laneham's Letter, ed. Furnivall, pp. 55, 76.)

(8) A comparison of MSS shows that the following passage of R, in spite of some easily emended corruptions, represents pretty accurately the reading of *x*:

- 171 Landavale makyth nobile festes = C 421.
 172 Landevale clothys the pore gestes¹ = C 422.
 173 Landevale Byith grette stedes = C 424.
 174 Landevale yeuythe Riche wedes = C 425.
 175 Landevale Rewaredithe religiouse = C 427.
 176 And acquitethe the presoners = C 428-9.
 177 Landevale clothes gaylours = C 430.
 178 Landevale Doithe eache man honours = C 431.

¹ This letter is perhaps rather a peculiarly shaped *q* than a *g*.

² "Fyfty fadda powere gestes," C.

The following emendations are suggested by C: *fedyth* in v. 172; *religions*¹ in v. 175; *prisuns*² in v. 176; *gestours*³ in v. 177. The reading *acquiethe* is vouched for by M 210: "Lanval aquitout les prisuns," and by C 429: "and made ham quyt and schere."

The corresponding verses in P and H show curious corruptions that evidently point to *z*.⁴ Thus:

- { Lambewell feeds minstrelsie their Iests. (P 210.)
- { Lamwell fynde mynstrelles that gestes. (H 194.)
- { Lambewell helps euery poore howse. (P 212.)
- { Lamwell helped euery pore hous. (H 200.)

In the latter case the change was evidently made in *z* for rhyme, *religions* having been corrupted to *religious* (religious P, relygyous H). This passage alone would prove the common corrupt source for P and H, justifying us in our assumption of *z*.

(6) P 197 *secrete place*, H 177 *secrete place*; C 354 *derne stede* = R 157.⁵

The passages just discussed prove conclusively that P and H are to be referred to a common text (*z*) later than the original translation (*x*). That the Rawlinson MS is not identical with this *z* or derived from it is evident from several of these same passages. That, on the other hand, this *z* is not from the Rawlinson MS is shown by passages like P 14 = C 26 = H 18 (cited above, p. 20, n. 1). Further, this *z* is not derived from C, for it contains several passages belonging to *x* but omitted in C.⁶ That C is derived

¹ C has *relygyons* rhyming with *prisouns* (see next note). *Religio* is used for *religiosus ordo*, *monasterium* in a charter of 1143 (Ducange). In the fifteenth century and later, *religion* was used in French in the same senses (see Ducange and Littré). Compare the Italian *entrare in una religione*. For the word *religion* in English, meaning *monastic order*, see Skeat's n. on Piers Plowman, C text, xi 88, ed. of 1886, II 135. I find no example of *religions* in the sense of *men of religion* except in mediaeval Latin (see Ducange); *religions* in MS I of the C text of Piers Plowman (Skeat's ed. for the Early English Text Society, III 90) is evidently a scribe's error.

² *prisouns* C (*prisuns* M 210) = prisoners, as often.

³ *Fyfty clodege gestours* C. *Lanval vesteit les juleurs* M 211.

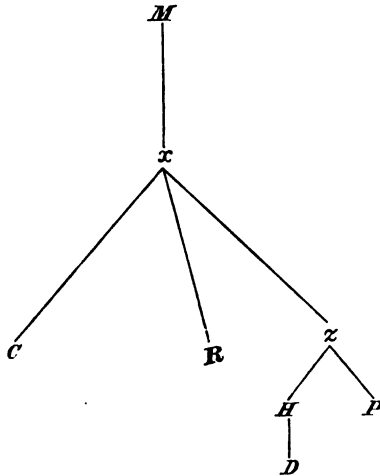
⁴ P 209-212, H 193-200. The differences between P and H are not to be wondered at when we consider the difference in the dates of these two texts and the fact that P is much corrupted throughout. Their correspondence in error is made all the more striking by these considerations.

⁵ One or two minor points may be noticed here: (1) P 117 = H 109 *sate*; M 97 *iut*, C 286 = R 95 *lay*. (2) P 67 *red veluett*, H 67 *reed veluet*; C 235 *grene felwet*, R 55 *grene veluet*. (3) R 73-74 correspond to C 259-60; these verses are not found in PH, which do, however, have a ridiculous line about "his (their) washing his (their) hands and face also" (P 99, H 89). Nothing can be more inappropriate. Some scribe or minstrel thought it a pity that so fine a basin and towel should not be used at once. (4) P 240 *pretty*, H 228 *praty*; R 202 *thyrtly*, M 249 *trente* (C 642 *syxty ladyes and mo*). (5) between Gawaine & Lamwell the hend P 244 = H 232; R 206 (Betwene landavale and the gawyne so hende) and C 662 give Gawain his usual and proper title.

⁶ Such are P 121-2 = H 113-14 = M 101-2; P 215-16 = H 203-4 = M 203-4; P 278 = H 274 = M 317; P 307-8 = H 301-2 = M 343, 345. All of these are cited by Kolls, p. 67.

from *z* would probably be seriously maintained by no one. Such a theory would be instantly disproved by the passages just cited to prove the existence of *x*.

So far, then, the English texts of Launfal appear to arrange themselves thus :



But several other questions require elucidation. In the first place, may not *R* and *z* have had a common source (*v*) this side of *x*? This is perhaps impossible to prove, but there are several circumstances which make the assumption of such a *v* by no means an absurdity. The most important are the following :

(1) The name Avalon (*M* 659) is corrupted to Amylyone in *R* (530) and to Amilion in *P* (621). The agreement of *R* and *P* in this singular corruption might be regarded as proving a *v* if *C* had the right reading in this place. But *C* has Olyroun both here (*C* 1023) and before in v. 278 where *P* has Million (114), *H* Mylyon (104), and *R* Amylyone (90). This suggests the possibility that Amylyone is due to *x*, not to an hypothetical *z*, but it does not prove the reading for *x*. Whether *x* had Avalon or Amylyone, Chestre's Olyroun is not a mere blunder. The Isle of Oléron has been famous ever since the twelfth century for the code of maritime laws known in the time of Edward III as La Leye Olyroun, and in force in England from an early date.¹

The name was evidently familiar to Chestre, and he substituted it in both

¹ Münster, *Untersuchungen zu Thomas Chestre's Launfal*, p. 9, mentions the Laws of Oléron, but knows no earlier mention of them in England than 1375, which date he sets up as a *terminus a quo* for Chestre's poem. But *La Charte D'Oleroun des Juggementz de la miër*, in an early fourteenth century hand, is found in the *Liber Memorandum* of the London Corporation. The laws were enforced by Edward III, and seem to have been operative in the time of Edward I. They were supposed to have been introduced into England by Richard I. (See Sir Travers Twiss, *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, I, pp. lix ff., lxix.)

these places deliberately, just as he made Perceval Launfal's "borwe" instead of Iwain (814), and called the heroine of the story Tryamour (v. 255). Kolls, who knew nothing of R, suggests that Chestre made this change because the name of the island was sehr undeutlich geschrieben in *x* (p. 17), but it is improbable that so important a proper name was twice illegible in a single short poem. If *x* had Amylyone—and that is what it must have had unless we assume *v*—Chestre must have changed this to Olyroun for one of two reasons, either because he had never heard of the Isle of Avalon, and hence could not make so easy an emendation, or because, though familiar with Avalon, he preferred to mention a well known and actually existing island. Obviously these reasons will apply just as well if we suppose *x* to have had the correct reading Avalon. Chestre's Olyroun, therefore, is no argument for a corrupt reading in *x*. It should be remembered, however, that *x* is not a MS, but a version, and that the readings in these places may be explained by supposing—what is in the highest degree probable—that C, R, and *z* did not use an entirely correct MS of *x*.

(2) One other piece of evidence which may perhaps be construed in favor of the existence of *v* is this. C has the following introductory lines which call the Launfal a lay:

Be douȝty Artours dawes,
 þat held Engelond yn good lawes,
 þer fell a wondyr cas
 Of a ley þat was ysette,
 þat hyȝt Launual and hatte ȝette,
 Now herkenep how hyt was. (C 1-6.)

Of these lines, 1-2 are contained (with variations of course) in all the other copies; but C is the only copy that has vv. 3-6. Now these four lines correspond closely to the opening lines of Marie's poem:

L'aventure d'un altre lai,
 Cum ele avint, vus cunterai.
 Faiz fu d'un mult gentil vassal;
 En Bretanz l'apelent Lanval.

If these stood in *x*, the fact that they are omitted in all the copies that we possess of the Short Version may, perhaps, indicate the existence of *v*. It is possible, however, that Chestre got his hint for these lines from the *Lai de Graelent*, in which case all implication vanishes. *Graelent* begins:

L'aventure de Graelent
 Vus dirai si que jeo l'entent:
 Bun en sunt li Lai à oïr
 E les notes à retenir.

(Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I 486.)

But surely Chestre's lines stand nearer to Lanval than to *Graelent*. Besides, some such introduction would naturally have stood in *x*. Middle-English translators were never sorry to call their poems by so popular a name as that of "lays of Britain." No instance is known in which the translator of a lay

omitted to designate it as such.¹ On the contrary, it has been suspected that some Middle English poems bear that title with no shadow of right.²

(3) The passage C 790-1 (cf. C 46-7), H 335-6, P 337-8, R 296-7, seems to be in favor of *v*. If we adopt Chestre's reading:

"pe quene (*lady* in v. 46) bar los of swych a word
pat sche louede (*hadde* in v. 47) lemannys wythout (in v. 47 *unþer*) her lord,"

we are obliged to assume *v* to account for the first line of the couplet as it stands in R, H and P:

"And she had suche a comforte
To haue lemmans vnder her lorde."

It is not improbable that *v* existed, and that the scribe of *v* did not understand *los*. If we reject the first line of the couplet in C in favor of "And she had suche a comforte," we have a halting rhyme; but *cumford* (noun) rhymes with *lord* in O. E. Miscellany, ed. Morris, p. 218, vv. 244-5, and the spelling *counforde* occurs in Alliterative Poems, I 369 (Mätzner).³ Cf. also *word*: *mod* (see note 4 below).

On the whole, then, the evidence is not conclusive for *v* or against it.⁴

In a genealogy of this kind it is, of course, impossible to say how many manuscript ancestors in the direct line any copy may have had. In the case of P, however, it seems well to indicate that much corruption, wilful as well as stupid, must have taken place between *z* and it. This is shown not merely by the many blunders of this very late MS, but by the long interpolations it contains. Such are P 93-98, 133-138, 149-152, 173-180.⁵ P₁ may then be inserted in the pedigree to represent the MS from which P was directly copied or the reciter from whose lips it was taken down.

We must next consider the Scotch fragment F preserved in a MS of 1470-80. In F the hero is called Lamuell (vv. 20, 21, 80). This immediately refers the fragment to MS *z*.⁶ The beginning

¹ Unless Sir Degore is a "lay of Britain."

² Cf. A. J. P. VII 184, n. 3.

³ Compare, in the Percy MS version of Eger and Grime, *easmeend*: *wend* (229-30, cf. 222), *commandement*: *send* (813-14); and in The Wedding of Sir Gawain (Rawl. MS), *hand*: *warraunt* (277-8), *parte*: *coward* (352-3), *wonnt*: *hond* (626-7); but also, *covenant*: *warraunt* (363, 366). Further discussion of this point must be postponed till time shall serve for an examination of the dialect of the Short Version.

⁴ One passage which at first seems to make for *v* turns out to be entirely inconclusive. This is C 769-70, P 325-6, H 323-4, R 284-5. Here C 769, or something like it, is of course to be assumed as the reading of the first line of the couplet in *x*, and M 375, 378 must vouch for H 324 (R 285) as also belonging to *x*. This makes *x* guilty of a bad rhyme (*mod*: *word*), which P, R, and C have regulated each in its own way. Similar rhymes occur in the Percy MS version of Eger and Grime, thus: *word*: *woode* (A.-S. *wōd*), 985-6; *borne*: *one*, 1065-6; *childhood*: *sword*, 1027-8.

⁵ These interpolations are all trivial or vulgar or both. One or two of them have a comically prosaic effect. Cf. also the end of P with the corresponding passage in the other versions.

⁶ Other bits of evidence that point in the same direction are: (1) "*monie ane aire*," v. 5; (2) the *hand* and *face washing*, v. 86; (3) "*rid welvet*," v. 65; (4) the *nap* of Lamuell, v. 56.

of F coincides with H in an erroneous reading. F has :

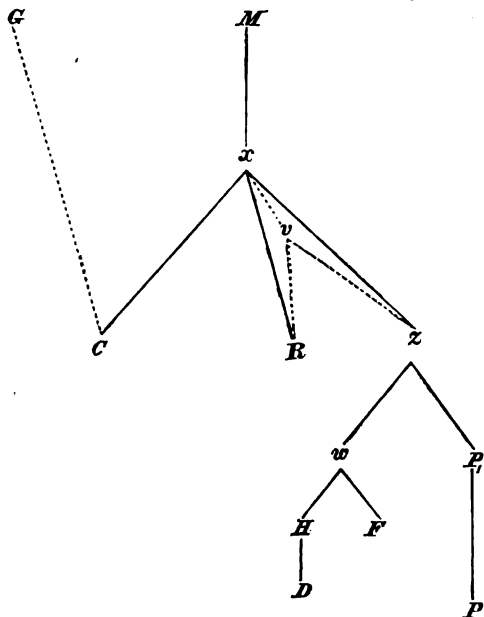
Listine, Lordings! by the dayis off Arthure
was Britan in greet honoure (vv. 1-2).

H has :

..... ges by the dayes of Arthur
..... ayne in great honoure (vv. 1-2),

ingeniously, but as now appears incorrectly, filled out by Furnivall. That H and F are wrong here is easily seen by comparing the other copies (see *supra*, p. 8). A similar coincidence in error is seen in F 74 (ane touall of Alifyne) and H 75 ([a to]well of alysene).¹ These two passages connect F closely with H. It is impossible to suppose that H is derived from F, not only on account of the extraordinary dialect of the Scotch fragment, but also because F contains some errors which H avoids.² F is of course not from H; dates forbid. Our safest course is to assign H and F to a common source *w*, this side of *z*.³ This obviously puts back *w*, and consequently *z*, to a date prior to 1470-80.

Modifying our genealogical table in accordance with these conclusions as to P, *v*, and F, we have the following figure :



¹ Cf. R 64, P 76, C 245-6 (changed and expanded to suit the stanza).

² Thus F 69-70 are wrong (cf. H 71-72 with P 73-74 and C 241-2). This place is conclusive. Cf. also F 34 with H 34 and R 28. In vv. 83-88 F gets into trouble, rhyming *song* with *gang* and adding a line.

³ In one case F has a reading which was doubtless that of *x*, where H (82) and P (84) vary. In v. 80 we read "The grathethe, Sir lamuell, paramour," which corresponds to R 70 "The(y) gretith Landavale paramoure." C has no such line. The matter is too slight to build on. F has at least three lines that belonged to *x* but are not found in R (F 18, 23, 24).

The dotted line starting from *v* indicates not contamination but a possible alternative for the derivation of *R* and *z*. I have added a dotted line (following Kolls, p. 5) to show the indebtedness of Chestre to the *Lai de Graelent* (*G*).

The kinship of *G* and *M* is discussed by Kolls (pp. 1-4). Quoting a number of similar places in the two lays, and taking into account the general similarity of plot, he supposes that *M* and *G* "aus einer beiden Versionen gemeinsamen Vorlage herrühren," and that this Vorlage "die bretonische Volkssage repräsentiert" (p. 4). These results he embodies in his pedigree. As all questions that concern the lays are still very obscure, one can feel no confidence in any results reached by so summary a process. One thing, however, seems evident enough — the *Graelent* is, in story, much more primitive than the *Lanval*, and doubtless nearer the original Breton lay, which perhaps had nothing at all to do with King Arthur.¹

One further question concerning *Graelent* must be considered. Kolls does not derive *x* directly from *M*, but from an assumed *y*. His words are: "Die hiermit gesicherte Version *x* ging indessen nicht direkt auf *M* zurück, sondern auf *y* d. h. auf eine bereits verderbte und namentlich durch *G* beeinflusste afrz. Version des *Lai de Lanval der Marie der France*." To prove this it is of course necessary to find passages which are common to *G* and to *x* without also occurring in *M*. These passages must at the same time be too characteristic to be composed independently by two writers. Of such Kolls thinks he has discovered six. We must examine these with some care.

- (1) "His waye he taketh toward [the west]
Bytwene a water and a fo[rest]." (H 39-40.)²

These lines Kolls refers to *G* 194-196:

"Fors de la vile aveit un gart,
Une forest grant è plenièrre,
Parmi cureit une rivière."

The corresponding place in *M* has:

"For de la vile est eissuz;
Tuz suls est en un pre venuz.
Sur une ewe curant descent." (Vv. 43-45.)

The difference between *M* and the English is seen to be very slight. Surely the translator could put in a forest without seeing it in his original. He unde-

¹ Cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 324; G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.* XXX 9.

² Filled out by means of *R* and *F*. *P* is substantially the same. *C* is changed by the exigencies of the stanza.

niably put in the point of the compass. Compare, too, his "a water" with Marie's "une ewe," which is not in the Graellent.

- (2) "But of o pyng, sir kny3t, j warne þe,
þat þou make no bost of me." (C 361-2.)
"Ne make ye neuer bost of me." (R 160.)
"But one thing, Knight, I thee forefendant,
That of mee thou neuer auant." (P 191-2.)
"Of one thyng syr I the defendaunte
Of me syr to make thyne avaunte." (H 181-2.)

These lines (H, P, and C) Kolls refers to G 302, 319:

- "Mais une chose vus deffent." (G 302.)
"Gardés que pas ne vus vantés." (G 319.)

It is perhaps rather arbitrary to select two lines so far apart and fit them together in this way. At any rate, one should read what follows G 302 and compare the corresponding place in M before accepting the argument:

- "Mais une chose vus deffent,
Que ne dirés parole aperte,
Dunt notre amurs seit descuverte." (G 302-4.)
"Amis, fet ele, or vus chasti,
Si vus comant e si vus pri:
Ne vus descovrez a nul hume." (M 143-5.)

Notice also what follows G 319:

- "Gardés que pas ne vus vantés
De chose par qoi me perdés." (G 319-20.)

The proper comparison, then, is between *x* and G 302-4 and M 143-5. The reading of *x* seems to have been nearly as follows:

- "But of o pyng i warne þe,
Ne make þou neuer bost of me."

And this is surely as near to M as it is to G. Kolls doubtless supposed (as was perhaps natural in the absence of R) that *x* had the rhymes *defendaunt* or *forefendaunt* (an extraordinary verb) and *auaunt*, and this led him to think of G 301, 319. But even if *x* had been as he thought it, the verb *vanter* occurs often enough in M with reference to the boast made by Lanval. Thus we have "De tel ami se vanta" (v. 322), "Vantez vus estes de folie" (v. 369), "De l'amur dunt il se vanta" (v. 379), "D'une amur dunt il se vanta" (v. 443), "De la vantage que il fist" (v. 640). Besides, if none of these phrases occurred in M, we should not be justified in hanging an argument on such a commonplace as an injunction of secrecy in a love affair. "Avauntor" was almost a technical term for a lover who could not hold his tongue. See Chaucer, Nonne Prestes Tale, v. 97, and especially Troilus and Criseyde (ii 724-728), where Cressida says to herself:

"Ne auauntour seyth men certeyn is he non ;
 To wys is he to do so gret a nyse.
 Ne als I nel hym neuere so cherice
 That he may make avaunt hy juste cause,—
 He shal me neuere bynde yn swich a clause." (Cf. iii 302-322, 478.)

Exhortations to silence in love are almost countless:

"Be diligent and trewe and ay wel hide,"

says Pandarus to his friend (Id. i 950), and that was the best counsel the Middle Ages had to give.¹

(3) P 251-2, H 239-40. G 117-18.

And as moche desyre I the
 As Arthoure the kyng so fre. (H.)

The passage in Graellent is far from conclusive:

Unques n'amai fors mun seignur,
 Mais jeo vus aim de bune amur.
 (Graellent, vv. 117-18, I 494.)

It will be observed that the English is by no means a translation of the French. R reads:

And as moche desire I the yere
 As the kyng and moche more. (Vv. 213-14.)

(4) P 377-8, D 30-31, C 832-33. This Kolls supposes to go back to G 529-31 without doubt, there being nothing, he says, in M which can be called analogous (p. 42).

"He bad hym bryng hys Lemon in sight,
 And he answeret, that he ne myght." (D.)

"Il li demande ù est s'amie.
 Sire, dist-il, nel' amain mie,
 Jeo ne la puis noient avoir." (Graellent, vv. 529-31, I 524.)

Kolls is mistaken in saying that M offers nothing analogous. Cf. the following lines:

"Al chevalier unt enveié,
 E si li unt dit e nuncié
Que s'amie face venir
 Pur lui tenser e guarentir.
Il lur a dit qu'il ne porreit :
 Ja par li sucurs nen avreit."

(Lai de Lanval, vv. 464-468, ed. Warnke, p. 104.)

¹ Compare the much discussed stanza of Meinloh von Sevelingen, Lachmann u. Haupt, *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 3d ed., p. 14, ll. 14-25 (see Paul, *Beiträge*, II 419). Mr. C. H. Grandgent has kindly given me several Provençal citations which all look the same way (Bartsch, *Chrest. Prov.* 4th ed., p. 88, ll. 21-2, p. 90, ll. 12-13; Raynouard, *Choix des poésies*, III 213, 226, 275; V 329). "Nicht minder wichtig ist verschwiegenheit, ja sie ist bedingung treuer liebe," Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours*, 2d ed., p. 129. There are plenty of instances in Old French. *Blancandin*, vv. 1045-50, ed. Michelant, p. 36, may serve as an example. There is no occasion to multiply references.

The fact that this passage is not translated by *x* in its proper place—*x* going right on from M 462 (P 414) to M 473 (P 415)—is additional reason for regarding the passage cited by Kolls as derived from Marie, and not from Graelent.

(5) P 576, C 1009, R 492. G 646.

"She leaped on her palfray." (P 576.)

"þe lady lep an hyr palfray." (C 1009.)

"And lepe vpon hir palfrey." (R 492.)

"E munte sor sūn palefroī." (G 646.)

This is a mere bit of detail which the English translator, who often adds lines, may be credited with wit enough to devise for himself.

(6) P 617-8; C 1018-19, G 648, 653.

"This Lady now the right way numm
With her maids all and some." (P.)

"þe lady tok her maydenys achon
And wente þe way þat sche hadde er gon." (C.)

"So they Rodyn euyn ryghte
The lady the Maydyns and the knyghte. (R 522-3.)

"De la sale se départi,
Ses puceles ensamble od li." (G 647-8, I 534.)

"Tant unt lor droit chemin tenu." (G 653.)

This is another mere trifle, proving nothing one way or the other.

These six passages, then, are some of them accounted for by M, the rest too insignificant to serve as proof. If the theses of Dr. Kolls were extremely probable *a priori*, they might, if accompanied by many others, corroborate that probability; but as things stand they do not even create a presumption—unless, to be sure, they create a presumption *against* contamination of M by G. Would contamination have affected these inconspicuous lines and left the whole fabric of the story untouched? For it is not the influence of one MS on another that is here in question, but the contamination of one story by another. It is entirely probable that the author of *x* did not have an immaculate copy of M to work with, but there is nothing to show that his copy was any more corrupt than the MSS of Marie that exist to-day. Still less likely is it that his copy had been influenced by any outside poem, the Graelent or another.

We have succeeded, then, in forming a pretty satisfactory family-tree for the English Launfal. With this in hand, it is possible to make up one's mind rather definitely as to what lines the

version α had. The Rawlinson MS, here printed, will be found, I think, to represent more accurately the number of lines contained in that version than any other copy we have. Nearly every verse of R can be proved for α , and, though full of corrupt readings, R is freer from interpolations than either H¹ or P.

In printing R, no departure has been made from the MS without due notice, and no attempt has been made to "restore" the text. Punctuation and capitals have been regulated, but the note at the end of the text registers every change made in these matters. Italics denote expanded contractions. There are no hyphens in the MS. Forms printed with a hyphen are written separatim. The initials of vv. 1, 325 and 390, are written large. The manuscript is not divided into paragraphs.

LANDAVALL.

	Sothly by Arthurs day	
	Was Bretayne yn grete nobyle,	
	For yn hys tyme a grete whyle	
	He soiourned at Carlile.	
	He had <i>wit</i> hym a meyne there,	5
[fol. 120]	As he had ellys where,	
	Of the rounde table the knyghtes alle,	
	With myrth and joye yn hys halle.	
	Of eache lande yn the worlde wyde	
	There came men on <i>euery</i> syde,	10
	Yonge knyghtes and squyers	
	And othir bolde b[a]chelers.	
	Forto se that nobly	
	That was with Arthur alle-wey ;	
	For ryche yeftys and tresoure	15
	He gayf to eache man of honour.	
	<i>Wit</i> hym there was a bachiller,	
	A yonge knyght of mushe myght,	
	Sir Landevale for soith he hight.	
	Sir Landevale spent blythely	20
	And yaf yefter largely ;	
	So wildely his goode he sette	
	That he felle yn grete dette	
	" Who hath no good, goode can he none ;	
	And I am here in vncut londe,	25
	And no gode haue vnder honde.	

Title, MS landavall. 7, 11 MS kynghtes. 18 MS kynght. 25 Read, vncuth.

¹ For a curious interpolation in H see H 377-406 (D 32-61) and cf. P 379-394. All these verses are unknown to C, M, and G (as Kolls, p. 43, has noted), and to R as well. Some of them must have stood in α .

- Men wille me hold for a wreche;
 Where I be-come I ne reche."
 He lepe vpon a coursier,
 With-oute grome or squier, 30
 And rode forthe yn a mornynge
 To dryve a-wey longynge.
 Then he takyth towarde the west
 Be-twene a water and a forest.
 The sonne was hote that vnder tyde, 35
 He lyghte a-downe and wolde a-byde.
 [fol. 120, back] For he was hote yn the weddir,
 Hys mantelle he toke and folde to-geder;
 Than lay downe that knyght so free
 Vndre the shadow of a tree. 40
 "Alas!" he saide, "no good I haue.
 How shalle I doo? I can not craue.
 Alle the knyghtes, that ben so feers,
 Of the rounde table, they were my pyers,—
 Euery man of me was glade, 45
 And now they be for me full saide."
 "Alas! alas!" was his songe;
 Sore wepyng his hondis he wronge.
 Thus he lay yn sorow fulle sore;
 Than he sawe comynge oute of holtes hore 50
 Owte of the forest cam maydyns two,
 The fayrest on grounde that myght goo.
 Kyrtyls they had of purpyl sendelle,
 Smalle i-laside syttyng welle,
 Mantels of grene veluet 55
 Frengide with golde were wele i-sette.
 They had on a tyre therwith-alle,
 And eache of them a joly cornalle,
 With facys white as lely floure,
 With ruddy rede as rose coloure; 60
 Fayrer women neuer he see,
 They semyd angels of hevin hie.
 That one bare a golde basyne,
 That othir a towail riche and syne.
 To hym warde come the maydyns gent; 65
 The knyght anon agaynse hem went:
 "Wel-come," he saide, "damsels fre."
 "Sir knyght," they seide, "wel thu be.
 My lady, that is as bright as floure,
 [fol. 121] The gretith Landavale paramoure. 70
 Ye must come and speke with her,
 Yef it be your wille, sir."

39 MS kynght.

43 MS knyghtes.

66, 68 MS kynght.

67 MS Wle.

70 MS They.

"I graunt," he saide, "blythely,"
 And went *with* *them* hendly.
 Anone he in that forest syde 75
 A pauylione i-pight an hy,
With treysour i-wrought on *euery* syde,
 Al of werke of the faryse.
 Eche pomelle of that pavilione
 Was worth a citie or a towne ; 80
 Vpon the cupe an heron was,—
 A richeer no-wher ne was,—
 In his mouthe a carboncle bright,
 As the mone that shone light.
 Kyng Alexander the conquerour, 85
 Ne Salamon yn hys honour,
 Ne Charlemayn, the riche kyng,
 They had neuer suche a thing.
 He founde yn that pavilione
 The kynges daughter of Amylione,— 90
 That ys an ile of the fayre
 In occian full~~e~~ faire to see.
 There was a bede of mekyll~~e~~ price,
 Coueride *with* purpill~~e~~ byse.
 There-on lay that maydyn bright, 95
 Almost nakyde and vp-right.
 Al her clothes by-side her lay,
 Syngly was she wrappyde *parfay*
With a mauntelle of hermyne,
 Coveride was *with* Alexanderyne.
 The mauntelle for hete downe she dede
 Right to hir gyrdille stede.
 [fol. 121, back] She was white as lely in May
 Or snowe *that* fallith yn wynterday.
 Blossom on b[r]iere ne no floure 105
 Was not like to her coloure.
 The rede rose whan it is newe
 To her rud is not of hewe.
 Her heire shone as gold wire ;
 No man-can telle her atyre. 110
 "Landavale," she seide, "myn hert swete,
 For thy loue now I swete.
 There is kyng ne emperour,
 And I lovyd hym *paramor*
 As moche as I do the, 115
 But he wolde be full glad of me."
 Landevale be-helde the maydyn bright,
 Her loue persyde hys hert right ;
 He sette hym down by her syde.

- " Lady," quod he, " what so be-tyde, 120
 Euer more, lowde *and* styлле,
 I am redy at your wyлле."
 " Sir knyght," she said, " curteyse *and* hende,
 I know thy state euery ende.
 Wilt thou truliche the to me take, 125
 And alle other for me forsake ?
 And I wille yeue the grette honoure,
 Golde inough and grete tresoure.
 Hardely spende largely,
 Yife yestes blythely, 130
 Spende and spare not for my loue,
 Thou shalt inough to thy be-houe."
 Tho she saide to his desyre,
 He clyppide her a-bowte the swire,
 And kyssyde her many a sith, 135
 For her profer he thankyd hir swyth.
 This lady was sithe vp sette
 And bad hir maydyns mete fette,
 And to thir handes water clere,
 And sothyns went to soupere. 140
 Bothe they to-gedirs sette ;
 The maydyns seruyd theym of mete,
 Of mete and dryng they had plentie,
 Of alle thing that was deynte.
 After soper the day was gone, 145
 To bedde they went both anone.
 Alle that nyght they ley yn fere
 And did what thir wille were.
 For play they slepyde litille *that* nyght.
 Tho it be-gan to dawe light : 150
 " Landavale," she saide, " goo hens now.
 Gold and syluer take *with* you ;
 Spend largely on euery man,
 I wille fynd you inough than.
 And when ye wille, gentil knyght, 155
 Speke *with* me any night,
 To sum derne stede ye goo
 And thynke on me soo *and* soo.
 Anone to you shalle I tee.
 Ne make ye neuer bost of me ; 160
 And yff *thou* doyest, be ware be-forne,
 For *thow* hast my loue for-lorn."
 The maydeyns bringe hys horse anone,
 He toke hys leue *and* went sone.
 Of tresoure he hath grete plentie 165
 And ridith forth yn-to the ciete.
- [fol. 122]
- [fol. 122, back]

123 MS knyght. 128, 132 MS I nought. 137 sithe : MS seid (*d* blotted). 154 MS I nough.
 155 MS knyght. 157 To: MS The. sum : MS sum.

He commythe home to hys in,
 And mery he makyth hym *ther-in*.
 Hym sylf he clothyde ffulle richely,
 Hys squyer, hys yoman honestly. 170
 Landavale makyth nobile festes,
 Landevale clothys the pore gester,
 Landevale byith grette stedes,
 Landevale yeuythe riche wedys,
 Landevale rewaredithe religieuse, 175
 And acquitethe the presoners,
 Landevale clothes gaylours.
 Landevale doithe eache man honours.
 Of his largesse eche man wote,
 But how it comythe no man wote. 180
 And he wille, derne or stelle,
 Hys loue ys redy at his wyll.
 Vpon a tyme Sir Gawyne,
 The curteys knyght, *and Sir Ewayne*,
 And Sir Landavale *with* them also, 185
 And othir knyghtes twente or moo,
 Went to play theym on a grene
 Vnder the towre where was *the* quene.
 Thyse knyghtes *with* borde playde tho;
 Atte the last to daunsyng they goo. 190
 Sir Landevale was to-fore i-sette;
 For his largesse he was lound the better.
 The quene hersylf be-held alle this.
 "Yender," she saide, "ys Landavalle.
 Of alle the knyghtes that bene here 195
 There is none so faire a bachylere.
 And he haue noder leman ne wyfe,
 I wold he louyde me as his life.
 Tide me good or tyde me ille,
 I wille assay the knyghtes wille." 200
 She toke *with* her a company
 Of faire laydys thyrty;
 She goithe a-downe a-none righte
 For to daunce *with* the knyghte.
 The queene yede to the first ende 205
 Be-twene Landavale *and* the Gawyne so hende,
 And alle her maydens forth a-right,
 One be one be-twyt eche knyght.
 Whan the daunsyng was i-slakyde,
 The quene Landavale to concelle hath takyde. 210
 Shortely she saide, "*Thu* gentil knyght,
 I the loue with alle my myght.

[fol. 123]

174 MS wedyows (?) 177 Read, gestours. 184 MS kynght. 186, 189 MS kynghtes.
 192 Read, bet. 193 Read, this alle. 195, 200 MS kynghtes. 203 MS perhaps Rightes.
 204 MS kynghte; or perhaps, kynghtes. 208, 211 MS kynght. 212 MS wiht.

And as moche desire I the yere
 As the kyng and moche more.
 Goode is to the tanne hap 215
 To loue more me than any woman."
 "Madame," he saide, "be God, nay.
 I wilbe traitoure neuer, parfay.
 I haue do the kyng othe *and* feaulte;
 He shalle not [be] be-traid for me." 220
 "Fy," saide she, "thow fowle coward,
 An harlot ribawde I wote *thou* harte.
 That thow liuest it is pite.
 Thow lovyst no woman ne no woman the."
 The knyght was agreued thoo, 225
 He her ansurid *and* saide noo,
 "Madame," *quod* he, "*thu* seist *thi* wille.
 Yet can I loue, derne *and* stelle,
 And am I loued and haue a leman
 As gentille *and* as faire as any man. 230
 The semplest maide *with* her, I wene,
 Over the may be a quene."
 Tho was she a-shamyd *and* wrothe;
 She clepid her maydens bothe;
 To bede she goithe alle drery, 235
 For doole she wold dye and was sory.
 The kyng came from huntyng,
 Glade and blithet yn alle thing,
 And to the quene can he tee.
 Anone she fel vpon her kne; 240
 Wonder lowde can she crie:
 "A! helpe me, lorde, or I die!
 I spake to Landavale on a game,
 And he be-shought me of shame,
 As a foule viced tratoure; 245
 He wold haue done me dishonoure.
 And of a leman bost he maide,
 That werst maide *that* she hade
 Myght be a quene ouer me,—
 And alle, lorde, in dispite of the." 250
 The kyng was wondir wrothe,
 And forthe-withe swore hys othe,
 That Landavale shulde bide by the lawe,
 Be bothe hangyd and drawe;
 And commanded iiij knyghtes 255
 Tho fetche the traitoure anone rightes.
 They iiij fechyng hym anone,
 But Landavale was to chamber gone.

215 MS Goge (?). Tanne hap, so MS. 224 MS lavyst (?). 225 MS kynght. 225 MS agreed.
 238 blithet, so MS. 240 MS kene. 255 MS knyghtes. 257 MS anonon.

Alas! he hath hys loue for-lorne,
 As she warnyd hym be-forne. 260
 Ofte he clepid her and sought,
 And yet it gayneth hys nought.
 He wept and sobbet *with* rufulle cry
 And on hys knees he askyth *the* mercy,
 And cursed hys mouth *that* of hir spake. 265
 "O," he said, "gentille creature,
 How shall my wrechyd body endure
 That *worldes* blysse hath for-lore?
 And he *that* I am vnder arest for—" 270
 With shuche sorowe alas! that stounde,
 With that he fel dede on *the* grounde,
 So long that *the* knyghtes comyn
 And ther so they hym namyd,
 And as theff hym ladde soo;
 Than was his sorow doble woo. 275
 He was brought before the kyng.
 Thus he hym grete at the begynnyng,—
 "Thow atteynt, takyn traytoure,
 Be-soughest *thou* my wiff of dishonour?
 That she lothely *thou* dedist vpbryde 280
 That of thy leman the lest mayde
 Was fayrer than ys my wyffe;
 Therefore shalt *thou* lose thy lyffe."
 Landavale ansuryd at hys borde,
 And told hym the sothe euery worde, 285
 That it was nothing so;
 And he was redy for to die tho
 That alle the countrey wold looke.
 Twelue knyghtes were dreyn to a boke
 The sothe to say and no leese 290
 Alle to gedir as it was.
 Thise vij wist withe-uten wene
 Alle the *maner* of the quene;
 The kyng was good alle aboute,
 And she was wyckyd oute and oute. 295
 For she was of suche comforte
 She lovyd men ondir her lorde.
 Ther-by wist *thei* it was alle
 Longe on her and not on Landavalle.
 Herof they quyttyn hym as treue men, 300
 And sihe spake they farder then,—
 That yf he myght hys leman brynge,
 Of whom he maide knolishynge;
 And yf her may deuyse bryght and shyne
 Werne fairer than the quene

269 MS a rest.

280 So in MS.

273 MS kynght.

289 MS kynghtes.

292 Read, xij.

273 Read, nomyn.

299 MS Landewalle (?).

278 MS Thaw (?).

304 may deuyse: read perhaps, maydenys.

- In makyng, semblaunt, and hewe,
 They wold quyte hym gode and true.
 Yff he ne myght stound *ther-tille*,
 Thann to be at the kynges wille.
 This verdite *thei* yef to-fore the kyng; 310
 The day was sett her for to bryng;
 Borowys he founde to come ayene,
 Sir Gawyne and Sir Ewyne.
 "Alas," *quod* he, "now shalle I die!
 My loue shalle I neuer see with ee." 315
 Ete ne drynke wold he neuer;
 But wepyng and sorowyng evire,
 Syres, sare sorow hathe he noun;
 He wold hys endyng day wer come,
 That he myght ought of life goo. 320
 Every man was for hym woo,
 For larger knyght than he
 Was *ther* neuer yn that countrey.
 The day i-sett com on hy[yn]ge;
 [fol. 125] His borowys hym brought before the kyng. 325
 The kyng lett recorte tho
 The sewt and the answer also,
 And bad hym bryng his borowis in syghte.
 Landevale sayde that he ne myghte,
 Tho were *commaundyd* the barons alle 330
 To gyve iudgement on Sir Landevale.
 Then sayd the Erle of Cornwaylle,
 That was att the councele:
 "Lordynges, ye wott the kyng our lorde,
 His oun mowthe berythe recorde, 335
 Ther yf we go by the lawe
 Landevale is worthy to be drawe.
 Butt greatt vilany were ther-vpon
 To for-do suche a man,
 That is more large and fre 340
 Then eny of vs that here be.
 Therefore by oure reade
 We wolle the kyng in suche a way lede
 That he shalle *commande* hym to goo
 Oute of this lande for euer mo." 345
 While they stode thus spekyng,
 They sawe in fere cum rydyng
 Two maydyns whyte as flower,
 On whyte palfrays with honour;
 So fayre creaturys with ien 350
 Ne better attyryde were neuer seen.

318 Read, nome.

320 MS goo: MS has a mark like an inverted breve over the second o.

322 MS kynght.

328 borowis: read, leman.

- Alle the iudgyde theym so sheen
 That *one* dame Gaynour they myght be a queen.
 Then sayde Gawen, that curteys knyght,—
 “Landeuale, care the no wyght ; 355
 Here *commyth* thy leman kynde i-core,
 [fol. 125, back] For whom thou art anoiede sore.”
 Landeuale lokyd and said, “Nay, i-wisse,
 My leman of hem ther none is.”
 Thise maidens come so riding 360
 In to the castelle before the king.
 They light a-down *and* grete hym so
 And be-sought hym of a chamber tho,
 A place for their lady *that* was cummyng.
 Than said Arthour, the nobill king : 365
 “Who is *your* lady and what to done?”
 “Lord,” quod they, “ye may wetyne sone.”
 The king lete for her sake
 The fairest chamber to be take.
 Thise maidens gone to bowre on hye, 370
 Than said the king to his baronys :
 “Haue i-do and gyve iugement.”
 The barones saide : “Verament
 We haue be-helde these maidens bright.
 We will do anone right.” 375
 A new speche began they tho,
 Summe said wele and summe said not so,
 Summe wolde hym to dothe deen
 Ther king theire lorde for to guene.
 Summe hym wolde make clere. 380
 And while they spake thus in fere
 Other maidens ther *commyn* tho,
 Welle more fairer than the other two,
 Riding vpon moiles of Spayne,
 Bothe *sadelles and* bridels of Almayne ; 385
 They were i-clothed in a tire,
 And eache aman had grete desire
 To be-holde her gentrise,
 They came in so faire assise.
 [fol. 126] Than sade Gawyne the hende : 390
 “Landeuale, broder, heder *thou* wende.
 Here *commyth* thy loue *thou* maist wel se ;
 That one herof I wote ys she.”
 Landeuale *with* dropyng thought :
 “Nay, alas ! I know *them* nought. 395
 I ne wot who they beith,
 Ne whens they come ne whethir they lith.”

352 Read, they (†).

378 Read, deem.

353 Read, ouer.

379 Read, queme (cf. p. 11, n. 1).

371 Read, baronye (†).

These maidens reden yn to the paleys
 Right a-fore the kynges deys
 And gretith hym and his quene eke. 400
 That one of them thise wordys spake :
 " Sir riche kyng Arthure,
 Lete dight thyn halle *with* honoure,
 Bothe rofe and grounde *and* walles,
 With clothys of gold and riche palle[s] 405
 Yet it is lothely yef *thou* so doo
 My lady for to light ther-to."
 The kyng said : " So shalle it be.
 My lady ys welcome and soo be ye."
 He bade Sir Gawyne bryng hem yn fere 410
With honour there the othir were.
 The quene ther-fore trowid of gyle,
 That Landevale shuld be holpyn in awhile
 Of his leman that ys *commynge* :
 She cried and saide, " Lorde and kyng, 415
 And thou louyst thyn honour,
 I were a-venged on that *tratour* ;
 To sle Landevale *thou* woldest not spare.
 [fol. 126, back] Thy barons do the besmare."
 While she spake thus to the kyng, 420
 They saw where came *ridyng*
 A lady her self alle alone,
 On erthe fayrer was neuer none,
 On a white palfrey comlye.
 There nesse kyng *that* hath gold ne fee
 That myght by *that* palfrey 426
With-oute sellyng of lond away.
 This lady bright as blossome on brere,
 Her ieene lofe-sum bright and clere,
 Ientylle and iolyffe as birde on boweh,
 In alle thing faire y-nough ; 431
 As rose in May her rude was rede,
 Here here shynyng on her hede
 As gold wyre yn *somer* bright ;
 In this worlde nat so faire a wight. 435
 A crowne was vpon her hede
 Al of precious stones and gold rede.
 Clothid she was in *purpylle* palle,
 Her body gentille and medille smale.
 The pane of hir mantelle in-warde 440
 On hir harmes she foldid owte-warde,
 Whiche wel be-came that lady.

399 MS kynghtes.

404 MS Rose.

419 the, MS thy.

429 MS ieene.

434 MS careless; perhaps meant for sonne.

436 Read, nas.

442 MS welbe came.

- Thre white gre-houndes went hyr by;
 A sparow-hauke she bare vpon hir hande;
 A softe paas her palfrey commaunde. 445
 Throw the citie rode she,
 For euery man shuld hir sec.
 Wiff and childe, yong and olde,
 Al come hir to by-holde.
 [fol. 127] There was man ne woman *that* myght 450
 Be wery of so faire a sight.
 Also sone as Landevale hir see,
 To alle the lordys he cryed on he:
 "Now commyth my loue, now commyth my swete;
 Now commyth she my bale shalle beete; 455
 Now I haue her seyne *with* myne ee,
 I ne reke when that I dye."
 The damselle come rydyng stoute (?)
 A-lone yn the citie throw-oute,
 Throw the palys yn to the halle, 460
 Ther was the kyng, *the* quene alle.
 Her iiij maidens *with* gret honour
 A-gayne her came oute of the bowre,
 And helde her steroppys so;
 The lady dyd a-light tho, 465
 And they gently can hyr grete,
 And she hym *with* wordys swete.
 The quene and othir ladyes stoute
 Be-helde her alle aboute;
 They to her were allso donne 470
 As the mone-lyght to the sonne.
 Than euery man had grete deynte
 Her to be-holde and preseith hir beaute.
 Than saide the lady to the kyng:
 "Sir, I come for shuche a thyng,— 475
 My trew leman, *Sir* Landevale,
 Is accusyd a-monges you alle
 That he shuld *with* tratoury
 Beseche the quene of velony.
 That ys fals, by Seynt Iame; 480
 He bad her not, but she bad hym.
 [fol. 127, back] And of that othir that he saide,
 That my tholiest maide
 Was fairer *than* the quene,—
 Loke a-none yf yt so bene." 485
 The kyng be-held and sawe the southe,
 Also erlys and barons bothe,
 Euery lorde said than
 Landevale was a trew man.

443 Thre : MS There. 445 So in MS. 460 MS throw. 463 MS A gayne.
 465 tho : MS has a mark like an inverted breve over the o. 483 Read, lothliest.

When the iugement gyvyne was, 490
 At the kyng her leue she takys
 And lepe vpon hir palfrey
 And he-toke them to gode and goode day.
 The kyng fulle fare and alle his
 Besechit hir *with-outyne* mys 495
 Longer to make soiournynge,
 She said nay and thankyd the kyng.
 Landevale saw hys loue wold gone,
 Vpon hir horse he lepe anone
 And said, "Lady, my leman bright, 500
 I wille *with* the, my swete wight,
 Whedir ye ride or goo,
 Ne wille I neuer parte you fro."
 "Landevale," she said, "*with-outyne* lette, 505
 Whan we first to-gedir mete
 With dern loue *with-outen* stryfe,
 I chargyd you yn alle *your* lyffe
 That ye of me neuer speke shulde;
 How dare ye now be so bolde
With me to ride *with-oute* leve? 510
 Ye ought to thyng ye shuld me greue."
 "Lady," he said, "faire and goode,
 For his loue that shed his blode,
 For-yefe me that trespase
 And put me hole yn *your* grace." 515
 Than that lady to hym can speke,
 And said to hym *with* wordys meke:
 "Landevale, lemman, I you for-gyve.
 That trespase while ye leue.
 Welcome to me, gentille knyghte; 520
 We wolle neuer twyn day ne nyghte."
 So they rodyn euyn ryghte,
 The lady, the maydyns, and the knyghte.
 Loo, howe love is lefe to wyn
 Of wemen that arn of gentylle kyn! 525
 The same way haue they nomyn
 Ryghte as before she was *commyn*.
 And thus was Landevale broughte from Cardoylle,
 With his fere into a ioly yle,
 That is clepyde Amylyone, 530
 That knowith euery Brytane.
 Of hym syns herde neuer man;
 No further of Landevale telle I can;
 Butt god, for his greatt *mercy*,
 Bryng vs to his blysse on highe. 535
 Amen

Explicit.

503 MS fore.

506 MS wiht.

520 MS kynghte.

PUNCTUATION.

The MS has no marks of punctuation except the familiar pen-stroke / at the end of a line, and even this is used with great irregularity. It occurs after the following lines: 2-5 (i. e. 2, 3, 4, 5), 7-10, 14, 17-19, 23, 28-31, 33-35, 37-46, 48-50, 52-54, 56, 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 87, 91, 94, 101, 105-12, 115-17, 119, 121, 124-8, 132, 138-45, 147, 148, 151, 157-60, 164-5, 172, 174, 186, 190, 192, 199, 200, 205, 206, 209, 211, 213-14, 219, 222, 225-6, 234, 238-9, 241-5, 247-51, 253-4, 257-9, 261, 263, 265-9, 271-2, 274-7, 279-84, 286-90, 292-7, 299, 301-7, 309-16, 319-22, 324, 391-2, 397-9, 401-11, 413, 419, 422-5, 428-30, 436-9, 445-7, 449, 451-2, 454-64, 467-73, 475-7, 482, 484-6, 488, 490-2, 495-9, 502, 504-7, 513-19. It is but once used in the middle of a line; in v. 71 after "and."

CAPITALS.

All the lines begin with capitals except 2, 13, 15, 29, 112, 118, 130, 164, 167, 169, 220, 226, 246, 267, 296, 300, 306, 329, 334, 337, 372, 439, 473, 499, 506, 510, 514, 525.

Proper names, etc., begin with a small letter in the following cases: *title*, 2, 87, 184 (*sir ewayne*), 206 (*landavale* . . . *gawyne*), 217 (*god*), 313 (*ewyne*), 329, 331 (*sir landevale*), 337, 354, 384, 418, 476 (*sir*), 534 (*god*).

Past participles with the prefix *i-* are always written *I* in the MS, as, *I slakyde*, v. 209.

Other capitals not so printed in the text (or indicated in the foot-notes) appear as follows:

A: the indefinite article, 339, 343, 353, 363, 529; other words, 327 (*Answer*), 357, 362 (*A down*).

B: 12 (*Bolde B[a]cheleyn*), 17, 63, 69, 83, 117, 146 (*Both*), 173, 189, 196, 247, 276, 330, 391, 419 (*Barons*), 487.

C: 29, 60, 80, 81, 106, 110, 166, 221, 258, 263, 266, 288, 323, 333, 350, 361, 436, 446, 459.

D: 23, 36, 67, 90, 119, 133, 144, 145, 150, 161, 178, 181, 190, 203, 204, 209, 219, 235, 236 (*Doole* . . . *Dye*), 246 (*Done* . . . *Dishonoure*), 254, 271, 275, 279, 280, 316, 324, 394, 399, 403, 406, 458, 470, 472, 506, 509.

E: 487.

F: 205.

H: 170.

I, J: 8 (*Joye*), 58 (*Joly*), 167 (*In*), 168 (*In*), 250 (*In*), 331 (*Iudgement*), 350 (*Ien*), 352 (*Iudgyde*), 372 (*Iugement*), 389 (*In*), 430 (*Iolyffe*), 440 (*In*), 490 (*Iugement*), 529 (*Ioly*).

K: 325, 368, 371, 402.

L: 442, 468, 498, 506, 523.

M: 51, 65, 83, 95, 99, 117, 138, 142, 163, 207, 231, 234, 281, 306, 348, 398, 432, 462, 483, 523.

N: 156, 217.

R: 15, 82, 87, 107 (*Rede*), 108, 118, 166, 169, 174, 175 (*verb*), 203, 207, 222, 256, 342, 347, 360, 375, 402, 404, 405, 421, 432 (*Rude*), 446, 458, 522.

S: 11, 30, 49, 50, 53, 71, 104, 112, 129, 134, 140, 151, 157 (*Suñ*), 265, 318 (*Sorow*), 385, 401, 427, 444, 488.

T: 64, 77, 128, 215, 218.

W: 9, 104 (?).

Y: 529.

The A used in writing the indefinite article is perhaps not intended by the scribe as a capital letter. The MS does not begin direct quotations with a capital.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

II.—THE LATIN ADJECTIVE.¹

In the latter part of my article on the active signification of the adjective in *-bilis* in archaic Latin, which recently appeared in the *Philologus* (Neue Folge I 2, p. 274–290), I set forth some investigations into the accusative of the object, taking as a basis Paul's hypothesis (*Principien der Sprachgeschichte*², Halle, 1886) that the object arose through the doubling of the subject.³ This contribution to the theory of the cases is to be regarded only as a preliminary remark, which I purpose on some future occasion to establish and demonstrate more accurately. I have entered only so far into the subject as seemed to me necessary to show the congruence of certain distinctions of meaning in adjectives in *-bilis*, which come under the different categories into which I have classified the accusative of the object.

I have allowed myself to be influenced by still another similar thought of linguistic philosophy, which Paul has also presented, upon which I have not as yet expressed myself, and upon which I would like to dwell in this article. Just as the accusative of the object is to be regarded as a second, subordinate subject by side

¹ In the present paper I should like to submit to the consideration of a larger public, some thoughts which I am accustomed to set forth at some length in my lectures on Greek and Latin Syntax in the University of Leipzig. By reason of the lively interest which Americans take in the linguistic feature of classic philology, it is most agreeable to me that the courtesy of the editor has allowed me this opportunity of presenting these thoughts to the public through the *American Journal of Philology*.

² ["Das logische verhältniss zweier subjecte zu dem nämlichen prädicat kann aber auch ein verschiedenartiges sein. Dann haben wir die grundlage zu der im laufe der sprachentwicklung möglich werdenden differenzierung der doppelsubjecte zu subject und object. Wir können uns diesen process am besten verdentlichen an einem satze wie *ich rieche den braten*. Ohne persönliches subject können wir auch noch sagen *der braten riecht*. Wir können uns danach leicht in eine zeit zurückversetzen wie *ich rieche braten* oder *braten rieche ich*, die wörter *ich* und *braten* unter dieselbe allgemeine kategorie des psychologischen subjects fielen. Die verwandtschaft zwischen subject und object erhellt ja auch daraus, dass das letztere durch umsetzung des verbums in das passivum zum ersteren gemacht werden kann."]—p. 113.]

of the real subject, so also has arisen—through the doubling of the predicate—a second predicate, viz. an adjective-attribute by the side of the real predicate. How this could occur Paul has most happily shown (p. 114). In fact, the only essential difference between the adjective and the verb is a purely formal one. The verb has grown together with the personal-endings, which, as we know, were really pronouns performing the functions of subjects. The adjective, though by a process of purely external assimilation, has taken on the case-endings of the noun.

In spite of this difference in the process, an essential difference of meaning between adjective and verb cannot be asserted. In general, however, we can say that the adjective expresses properties, the verb action or state. But we can hardly find a decided distinction between the ideas "property" and "action or state." The distinction appears to be virtually a temporal one. We regard a condition or an action as more sharply restricted in time than a property. We can see this best in those participles¹ which become adjectives. *Abditus* e. g. has as a participle a clearly defined temporal force; *res abdita* is e. g., if we regard *abdita* as a participle, something which was concealed at a certain time and remained a fixed time in concealment. *Abditus*, however, as an adjective is not thus temporarily restricted; for example, in *regio abdita* we conceive neither the beginning nor the end of the state of being concealed. Accordingly we should look for the chief distinction between the adjective and the verb in the temporal sphere. But this border is not clearly defined, for the adjectives can have also a certain temporal coloring, and the sharp discrimination of tense was not originally to be found in the verb, but has gradually developed itself. Through comparative philology we are carried back to a period of speech in which there existed only a timeless present, while the preterite was indicated by means of particles (cf. Brugmann in the *Handbuch für Altertumswissenschaft*, §§156 and 109). We have just as little right to consider the more exact discriminations of the voices or of the moods as something characteristic of the verb, for the like exists also in the adjective.

This only is unquestionable, viz. that tense, voice, and mood are more strongly emphasized in the verb than in the adjective. In the verb they appear in a clear light, in the adject-

¹ The participle, as we know, combines verbal signification with adjective form.

tive they lie in uncertain darkness. But these distinctions are not foreign to the adjective, and what I should like to show in the present article is that the doctrine of time, voice, and mood should not be confined to the predicate proper, the verb, but should be extended to the second, subordinate predicate, the adjective.

These distinctions, indeed, cannot in the adjective be expressed by special flectional forms. But in this respect the adjective has only preserved that which formerly was characteristic of the verb also. The present-stem, the perfect-stem, and the aorist-stem had, as is well known, originally no temporal meaning; the distinction between active and passive found also originally no expression in the form of the verb (cf. my article on the active signification of the adjective in *-bilis*, p. 287), and we may presume that once upon a time the optative also and the subjunctive were not flectional forms, but special phases of the stem-formation, which originally stood on the same footing with the different present-stems, perfect-stems, aorist-stems, etc. Then, too, the development of the notions, tense, mood, voice in the adjective was by no means the same as in the verb, and just this circumstance makes this subject an especially interesting one.

I begin with those distinctions of meaning in the Latin adjective which correspond to the distinctions between the voices in the verb. Our lexicons are accustomed to transfer to the adjective, without change, the distinction between active and passive, just as it is found in the verb. In doing this, however, they make a great mistake, as in fact I have shown for the adjectives I examined in the above-mentioned paper. The division which I there made can, I believe, now be made general and extended to all Latin adjectives. I distinguish accordingly the following four classes, simplifying somewhat the categories used in the above-mentioned article:

1. The *active proper*, in which the subject is considered as the independent source of the action: e. g. *agricola agrum colit*.
2. The *instrumental active*, in which the subject serves only as an instrument. This is a distinction of meaning which the Latin language has sharply defined by the use of *a* with the ablative, to express the agent or person acting; by the use of the simple ablative to express the means or instrument in connection with the passive. In the verb, indeed, the real active and the instrumental active are not to be distinguished, and it is only in the stylistic rule (Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*, §143) that for verbs which express action,

persons are preferred as subjects to things, that we can see a certain undefined feeling for the distinction.¹ In the adjective, however, this distinction is often sharply accentuated.

3. The *neutral passive*. I claim this force for those verbs which express a condition, as *esse, fieri, manere, albere, flere, iacere, fluere*. Without doubt these verbs lie, so far as the meaning is concerned—despite their active form—nearer to the passive than to the active, as I have shown in the above-named article.

4. The *passive proper*, the sufficiently well-known passive, which has arisen out of the passive form of the verb.

That this classification into four groups is not only applicable but quite necessary to the adjective, I hope to prove through the following examples :

The adjectives in *-bilis* show the second, third and fourth of the above-named categories ; the first is foreign to them. They are thus instrumental:² *causa vincibilis*, an affair with which one can conquer ; or they may be neuter: *vox durabilis* ; or passive: *merx invendibilis*. But they are never really active, e. g. Plautus *Mostellaria* 1162 *orator impetrabilis* is not an orator who can attain something (active), but an orator through whom one can attain something (instrumental).

We find the same three categories in the adjectives in *-tivus* and *-ticius*. These are e. g. instrumental: *definitiva constitutio, commendaticiae litterae, recepticia actio, admissivae aves* (in this case the birds serve the gods as apparatus). Passive on the contrary are: *filius adoptivus, tutor dativus, vinum advecticium, exercitus collecticius*. In the adjectives in *-tivus* the instrumental force is the more usual one ; in those in *-ticius* the passive. The neutral significance is rare ;³ examples are: *fugitivus, adventicius, perpressicius*. The active force is never found, unless we should cite

¹ [e. g., to use Nägelsbach's illustration, the Roman prefers *Caesar virtute atque consilio Galliam perdomuit* or *Caesaris virtute Gallia perdomita est* to *Caesaris fortitudo atque consilium Galliam perdomuit*.—B. L. G.]

² In the above-mentioned article I have drawn a distinction between the *instrumental* and the *causal* signification. The distinction is this, that in the instrumental force we can recognize a fixed, logical subject, e. g. Plautus *Miles gloriosus* 1139 *date operam adiutabilem*, while in the causal force such a subject is not present, cf. *flexile cepe* Lucilius fg. 153 (Bährens), or *tempus genitabile* Lucilius fg. 1. For the present I shall leave this finer distinction aside.

³ At least in the case of those adjectives which are derived from verbs. I do not take into consideration such as are derived from nouns, e. g. *aestivus, tempestivus, armenticius* et al.

Apollo genetivus, but the names of gods and their attributes exhibit so often forms which are rare and contradictory to all rules of word-formation.

The adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius* are also instrumental, neutral and passive. Instrumental are those which are derived from nomina agentis in *-tor* and *-sor*. This signification is the more usual one; by means of the endings *-torius* and *-sorius* are formed instrumental adjectives corresponding to the active nomina agentis in *-tor* and *-sor*. Examples are: *vectorium navigium*, *obiurgatoriae artes*, *sententia absolutoria*, *avis prohibitoria*, a bird through whose instrumentality the gods keep us back from carrying out design. The intransitive force, on the contrary, develops itself in connection with such nomina in *-tor* and *-sor* as are not nomina agentis. To this class belong, in the next place, those adjectives which are related to such substantives in *-tor* and *-sor* as are derived from verbs which express a condition: *mansorius*, *transitorius*, *praecursorius*, etc. They belong to the later language. Then, too, the nomina agentis pass easily over into the signification of names of species, and in this connection one thinks readily of names of officers, e. g. *quaestor*, *praetor*, etc. The adjectives which are derived from these are neuter, e. g. *quaestorius*, *praetorius*, *praefectorius*. Furthermore, any nomen agentis can in the especial case be regarded as a name of a species; for example, we can consider *textor* at will as a nomen agentis (a man who weaves), or as a class name (the weaver), in characterizing the position of the man as a citizen. By reason of this circumstance the neutral force of the adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius* has developed itself widely. Neuter are e. g. *damna aleatoria*, *navis mercatoria*, *homo nugatorius*, and many others. We meet the passive signification too, but not before the later vulgar Latin, e. g. *mutatoria vestimenta*, *occisoria animalia*.¹ Real active signification is never seen in the adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius*; the only case which we could be tempted to quote here is the unhappy translation of Σελήνης with *trahitoriae*, which is clearly against the idiom of the language.

The adjectives in *-arius* contain, on the contrary, all four genera. The active and the instrumental significations are to be regarded as the original ones, and so the adjectives correspond at once to the nomina agentis in *-tor* and the adjectives in *-torius*. But the

¹ At any rate we cannot postulate the passive signification in *folles pugilatorius* in Plautus Rudens 721: that is not "folles which is struck with fists," but "folles pugilatoris: folles which belong to one who is a pugilator"; the signification is neuter.

neutral signification has developed itself thereby, as in the case of the adjectives in *-torius*, as soon as the notion of the action, which was originally peculiar to the ending, vanished. Originally the passive force appears (but in all periods of the Latin it is rare), but chiefly in those forms which are used in connection with the part. perf. pass.: *assarius*, *admissarius*, but possibly also in *actuarius* (*navis actuario*), *usuarius* (*servus*), *intercalarius* (but it is possible that this latter is simply a metaplasm for *intercalaris*), and others.

Active proper, instrumental and intransitive are e. g. the adjectives in *-ax*; e. g. *homo loquax* is active, *spes fallax* instrumental, and *servus fugax* is intransitive. We can imagine a transition to the passive signification in *mendax*, e. g. Horace Epist. I 16, 39 *mendax infamia*; at any rate this passive signification has arisen from the instrumental.

The same is to be observed in the adjectives in *-lus*. Here also we find isolated transitions into the passive signification, e. g. in *rete iaculum*. We can see how the instrumental force gets to be passive when we consider e. g. *vestis stragula*; here one can be in doubt whether we should explain the adjective as instrumental (a carpet, with which one covers), or passive (a carpet, which is laid over).

Furthermore, the same holds good for adjectives which are formed like *benedicus*, *redux*, etc. These also are active, instrumental and intransitive, and we can see occasionally a transition of the instrumental signification into the passive. This development can be observed e. g. in *artifex*. *Artifex* has the active force when used as a substantive, i. e. as a nomen agentis (the artificer), or when it is coupled as an attribute with words which designate persons (*servi artifices*). But *artifex* can also be used attributively with inanimate objects, and in this case becomes instrumental. Cicero says still *artifex ut ita dicam stilus*; but Propertius, *artifices manus*. This instrumental signification passed over into the passive, which we see also in Propertius, who says *quattuor boves artifices*, i. e. four artificially made oxen. Through the instrumental signification, as a medium, we explain also e. g. the circumstance that *redux* can be active and passive. Expressions like *redux navis*—here *redux* is directly instrumental, “a ship by which one is brought back”—form the connecting link; it could very easily, however, be considered as passive, “a ship which is brought back.”

A large number of derivative endings form adjectives with a purely neutral signification. This is so well known that it is unnecessary to give examples.

Just as the voices present themselves in the adjective, but not unchanged, so also is a distinction of tenses to be found in the adjective, but different from that in the verb. While the voices in the adjective were represented by finer distinctions, the tense-doctrine of the adjective is really a simpler one. In the verb we have a threefold division, viz. past, present, future; but besides these the Latin has special forms for the perfect, pluperfect, futurum exactum; in the adjective, as the contrary, we find simply a two-fold division: we have *praeterito-present* and *future* adjectives.

All those adjectives which have a modal secondary force are future; more especially, therefore, the adjectives in *-lis* and *-bilis*; e. g. *mortalis* signifies "one who *can* or *will* die"; *venalis* is a ware "which *can* or *will* be sold"; *utilis* is "that which *can* or *will* be used"; *laudabilis* is "one who can be praised" in the future. When the modal force is lost, the future signification disappears also.

By far more numerous are the *praeterito-present* adjectives. In these, however, we feel generally only the present force. *Aureus* e. g. signifies that which is of gold, and it would be impossible in this adjective to distinguish between present and preterite. On the contrary, however, we can easily distinguish and feel the present and preterite force in all those adjective formations which have a local or temporal signification. We must, for example, assume a local original force within the Latin for the suffix *-nus*, and in this suffix we can clearly distinguish the present and the past: *Campanus* e. g. signifies "one who is in Campania," or "one who was formerly in Campania"; *Scipio Aemilianus* is evidently preterite, i. e. "Scipio who was formerly in the *gens Aemilia*"; furthermore, *hereditas fraterna*, i. e. "an inheritance which comes from a brother," that is, which was formerly possessed by a brother. On the contrary, *amor fraternus*, "love such as a brother feels," is present.¹ Still clearer is the local force in the suffix *-ensis*,² and in

¹ We must not include such adjectives as *crastinus* in the future class, for the future signification here is not conditioned by the ending, but by the idea in the stem *cras*.

² I have no doubt that this is identical with the suffix *-enus*; *-ensis*, as I think, developed itself in Italic adjectives used for name of places with a nominative into *-ens* (instead of *-enus*), and was transferred in this form and falsely declined *-ens*, *-ensis*, *-ensi*, etc. After this the nominative *-ensis* was

this suffix also we can distinguish present and preterite force; present in e. g. *ager Olbiensis*, preterite in *epistola Olbiensis*, "a letter from Olbia," i. e. a letter which formerly was in Olbia.

Then, too, we find, as in the verb, so in adjectives, distinctions which refer to the duration of time, as we find adjective-endings which are coupled with the notion of *continuance*. This obtains in the Latin, e. g. in the suffixes *-uus* and *-ax*. We dare affirm the same of the ending *-ivus*, which is nearly related to the ending *-uus* (cf. *vacivus* and *vacuus*, *nocivus* and *nocuus*, etc.). Here and there the durative force gets to be a frequentative one: *recidiva febris*, intermittent fever; *cadiva mala*, apples of which one often falls down. We should probably designate the distinction between the suffixes *-tivus* and *-ticius*, which are related in meaning, as a temporal one. The difference is similar to that between the perfect and the imperfect, only, as in the case of the adjective, by all such distinctions, it is not so sharply defined. We can, then, still better compare the difference of force between the verb-substantives in *-tus* and *-tio*, since this distinction also is a temporal one. The substantives in *-tus* contain the signification of the aorist, those in *-tio* the force of the imperfect (cf. Tegge, *Studien zur lateinischen Synonymik*, 1886, p. 67¹). A consequence of this

finally formed. Occasionally we find cases where such Italic adjectives in *-ens* are transformed into adjectives in *-ens*, *entis*, by a similar metaplasm, e. g. *Ticens*, *Ticentis*.

The ending *-enus* is formed quite regularly by the addition of *-nus* to nouns of the second declension: *alienus* from *alius*, *Alfenus* from *alfus* (Italic for *albus*), etc. It afterwards became more limited in its use through the extended use of the ending *-anus*. (I cannot agree with what Stolz says about the ending *-enus*, in the *Handbuch für Altertumswissenschaft* II, p. 165.)

Again, *-enus* could arise from **-esnus*, e. g. *aënus* from **aësnus*, *terrenus* from **terresnus* (cf. *terres-tris*), *capenus* (*porta Capena*) from **campesnus* (cf. *campes-tris*), with falling out of the consonant in the unaccented first syllable. I remark too that *venenum* has probably arisen from **venesnum*; it is related to *Venus*, and signified originally the love-drink, cf. Afranius togatae 381: *aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio, haec sunt venena formosarum mulierum*.

As we are speaking of etymologies, I add that we must not claim the suffix *-nus* for *amoenus*, for *amoenus* has risen from **admoenus* (again with shortening of the unaccented first syllable), and referred originally to the "lovely" surroundings of the city, and therefore was used in all times only as an attribute of places and surroundings.

¹ *Reditus*, *hortatus*, etc., are used when one simply affirms the action; *reditio*, *hortatio*, however, when we think of the continuance of the action.

temporal distinction is that the adjectives in *-ticius* are oftener passive (they characterize an action which is already completed, already done), while those in *-tivus* are more frequently instrumental, describing the unfinished, incomplete action: one says e. g. *nomen translaticium* (passive), but *constitutio translativa* (instrumental); *exercitus collecticius* (passive), but *quaestio collectiva* (instrumental).

I now come to the subject of mood. In the treatment of the moods of the adjective, we have, without doubt, to lay as a foundation the renowned trinity of Kant (cf. Kant's Critic of Pure Reason, Transcendental Analysis I 2). Kant distinguishes the problematic, assertive, and apodictic modality ("Possibility, Existence, Necessity"). In this trinity, thinking is coupled with necessity. It is my opinion, although the modern comparative grammar holds an entirely different view,¹ that it must also form the basis of the

Therefore the substantives in *-tus* are usually used in the ablative to assert an action that is taking place, often in connection with a genitive or a pronoun which refers to the originator (*iussu patris, iussu meo*), while with attributives which describe the process of the action the Romans prefer the verbalis in *-tio* (*perpetua et aequabilis satio*, not *satus*). That this distinction is not always strictly observed, that there exist therefore many substantives in *-tus* which comprehend also the sphere of meaning of those in *-tio*, and that substantives in *-tio* are used still oftener for those in *-tus*, does not alter the case. We find such variableness of meaning everywhere if we determine the signification of noun-formations, for—especially in the firmly fixed literary Latin—the Romans preferred using inaccurately a noun of kindred meaning (in transferred sense) to forming a new word which as yet did not exist, but which would correspond exactly to the sense: e. g. the distinction between *paternus* and *patrius* is clear, but *matrius* and *fratrius* do not exist; *maternus* and *fraternus* correspond not only to the adjective *paternus*, but also to the adjective *patrius*.

¹ Delbrück, as is well known, regards the *wish* as the fundamental idea of the optative, the *willing* as that of the subjunctive. In the optative, however, by far the most frequent signification is the *potential* (i. e. the problematic: τοῦτο γένοιτο ἂν signifies "that *can* happen"), and it is also probably the earlier signification. The wishing optative, in my opinion, arose from the potential. A sentence of wish, as *si nunc se ostendat*, is, in my opinion, really a conditional sentence: "if that happens" (to complete the sentence, "I should rejoice," or something so). One can scarcely doubt that the wish-sentences with *utinam* were originally subordinate sentences: contrary to the opinion of grammarians, I presuppose the same for those with *si*. As to the subjunctive, we can allow both meanings that it contains—that of the *will* and that of *necessity*—to obtain. For the willing is only another form of necessity. The modal auxiliaries "will" (wollen) and "shall" (sollen) are, as to the modality, perfectly identical; they differ

mood-doctrine in the verb. But on this point one can believe as he chooses ; at any rate, Kant's division applies perfectly well in the case of the adjective.

The assertive modality, to which the indicative in the verb corresponds, is found in the majority of adjectives. This needs no proof.

We find the problematic modality (possibility), which we can express by a circumlocution with the auxiliary verb "can," chiefly in the adjectives in *-bilis*, *-tilis*, *-lis*, *-ris*. I treated the modality of the adjectives in *-bilis* in my above-mentioned article. The conception of possibility is sharply defined in them : *pater exorabilis*, "a father who can be moved by asking"; "*vir laudabilis*," "a man who can be praised." The modal signification seldom disappears (e. g. in *nobilis*). The adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* contain the same modality as those in *-bilis* : *venalis* is "that which can be sold"; *fidelia congialis* is "a vessel which can contain a congius"; *aequalis* is really "that which can be made equal"; *fidelis* is "one upon whom one can rely" (this is to be distinguished from *fidus*, "true"). But these adjectives have not preserved the modality so well. The various degrees of shading in the modality can be observed. Frequently we can express the weakened modality by a circumlocution with "about"; *aequalis*, "something that is about equal"; *talis*, "any one who is about so." If, however, the modality becomes still weaker, we can still recognize the original problematic force through the fact that adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* are used more frequently in abstract than in concrete relations, and that either by deriving them from abstract substantives : *animalis* from *anima*; *annalis* from *annus*, etc.¹), or by employing the adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* as attributes to abstract substantives : *lex socialis*, etc. Furthermore, one forms with *-alis*

only as to the voice : *will* (wollen) is active, *shall* (sollen) is neuter. Then, too, the force of *will* (wollen) is in the subjunctive a very confined one ; in Latin we meet it only in the first person singular, and here only seldom. Nothing at all hinders us, then, from identifying the modality of the subjunctive with Kant's apodictic modality, and then from asserting that the conception of necessity is the fundamental idea of the subjunctive. It seems to me, therefore, that Kant's division can with propriety be applied to the doctrine of the moods. The indicative contains the assertive, the optative the problematic, the subjunctive the apodictic modality.

¹ Also in *regalis*, *hostilis*, *iuvenilis*, etc., lie abstract notions. When *rex* is regarded as concrete, one derives from it *regius*; but in *regalis* one does not think of the king himself, but of such notions as "royal power," etc.

adjectives which are derived from names of gods or are used in connection with names of gods, while in names of persons *-anus* is preferred. So *flamen Dialis*, *Iuppiter Latialis*, etc., shows in a measure the potential of the modest assertion in speaking of divine things. Occasionally the modality has been weakened down to a mere future force: Plautus Bacchides 949 *si esse saluum vis me aut vitalem tibi*, and then again has entirely disappeared. In adjectives in *-tilis* we have two classes to distinguish, for *-tilis* is either a secondary form of *-bilis* (the original form of *-tilis* is **-tlis*, that of *-bilis* **-thlis*), or *-tilis* has arisen by the appending of *-lis* to participles in *-tus*. This second class has often lost the modal force.

Just as the adjectives which contain the modal force of possibility can lose this modality, so also certain adjectives can assume the same although the modality was not originally in them. This occurs most frequently in verbal adjectives in *-tus* which are compounded with *in-*: *invictus exercitus*, an army which cannot be conquered.

The apodictic modality (necessity) which must be expressed by a circumlocution with the auxiliary "shall" (sollen), is to be seen in the Greek adjectives in *-ríos*; in the Latin it appears only in participles. This form of modality is clear in participles in *-ndus*. I made the assertion (in a remark above) that the modality of the verb "will" (wollen) and "shall" (sollen) was of the same nature, while asserting that the difference between the two verbs was that "will" was active, "shall" neuter. Accordingly I assume also for the participles in *-turus* the same kind of modality, and, in fact, just as soon as these participles have a neutral force, e. g. in *periturus*, in place of the modal idea in "will" (wollen), that of "shall" (sollen) appears. Frequently the modal force gets weakened down to a future one; the relation of the moods to the future is sufficiently well known from the theory of the verb.

FREDERICK HANSSEN.

LEIPZIG.

III.—THE TIMAEUS OF PLATO.¹

II.

17 B. Jowett and Martin more naturally construe *οἷς ἦν πρέπον* *ξενίους* with what goes before.

17 C *περὶ πολιτείας*. We cannot infer from this, as Mr. A.-H. does, that Plato intends to set the seal of his matured approval on the political theories of the Republic, while indicating that its ontology is superseded. The Republic itself explicitly states that its *κεφάλαιον* is ethical and social (cf. 367, 369 sqq., 484 AB). Ontology is introduced only in aid of the discussion of the philosopher king, the higher education and similar themes, and there is frequent explicit recognition of the limitations that this method involves. Cf. 435 CD, 484 A, 506 DE with 506 A, where the practical object is emphasized. The ontology of 596-7, whatever interpretation we put upon it, is obviously mainly method (596 A) and cannot be pressed. The "more advanced ontology of the Timaeus" has to be inferred from the Philebus, Sophist, and Theaetetus. Our editor himself notes the agreement of Republic and Timaeus at 27 C, 29 C, 31 A, 42 D, 47 B, 64 C, etc. The differences he notes at 51 C, 51 E, 52 A are matters of inference. Lastly, that the

¹ The following notes are intended to be used with Mr. Archer-Hind's edition of the Timaeus or with Hermann's text. They are partly critical of Mr. Archer-Hind, partly supplementary. The matter I have added is, I think, not to be found in Stallbaum or Martin. It consists mainly of Platonic and Aristotelian parallels and observations on Platonic usage. As I shall be obliged to emphasize the points of difference between myself and Mr. Archer-Hind, I will add that he seems to me not only to have surpassed his predecessors in accuracy, but to have succeeded in what they did not even attempt—the rendering of the tone and movement of the original. Since these notes were put in type, Mr. J. Cook Wilson has published a review of Archer-Hind's work. Mr. Wilson partly anticipates me on some points—especially at 37 ABC and 53 B. His captious, but vague criticism will not aid the student much. Mr. Archer-Hind has undoubtedly read Stallbaum's notes carelessly and done him injustice, but all serious students are aware of Stallbaum's incompetency in all higher questions of Platonic exegesis. Of Mr. Archer-Hind's indebtedness to the "Engelmann translator" I am unable to speak. One seems to detect the flavor of an undigested German original in the unlucky "also" (p. 84), for which Nettleship (Mind, LIII, p. 130) proposes to read "therefore."

Laws are not "an abandonment by Plato of his political ideal" we learn not from the Timaeus, but from the explicit statement of the Laws themselves, 739 CD, 807 B.

18 A ὅσα προσήκει τοῖσι: not "all studies which are connected with these," but "all studies befitting these" (men); cf. Rep. 526 C, 530 C, Leges 822 A.

18 D ταῦτα εὐμνημόνευτα ἢ λέγεις: not "easy to remember this too as you describe it," but "this too is easy to remember for the reason you assign." Ibid. εὐθὺς γίγνεται, not "securing immediately," but technically "from birth," "by birth." Cf. Leges 782 E, Tim. 76 E, Menex. 237 A, Theaetet. 186 C.

19 B. Stallbaum's ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτ' should be accepted. ταῦτα should not be used, I think, except when there is a suggestion of applying the facts recalled to a new purpose; as in Gorg. 518 A, Repub. 329 B, Tim. 60 D, 88 C.

19 E ἔτι δὲ χαλεπώτερον λόγοις. Cf. Rep. 473 A ἡ φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἦντον ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι, κἂν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ; instead of the erroneous "well furnished with many fine discourses on other subjects," read "have had experience of many discourses and other fine things." For the experience in discourses cf. Gorgias 457 C; for the καλὰ ἄλλα of Plato's sophists cf. Protag. 341 A and Hipp. Maj. 282 D. For πανηγρὸν—κατὰ πόλεις cf. Rep. 371 D with Sophist 223 E and Protag. 314 AB. Below, instead of "fall short in their conception of philosophers and statesmen," render "fail to hit the mind of men at once both philosophers and statesmen."

20 B εἰς—πόλεμον. For prominence of war cf. Leges 626 A τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις αἰὲ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι.

20 D λόγον—εἰσηγήσατο, "told us a story." Rather, "introduced a topic," "suggested a theme." The Lexicon unnecessarily assigns to εἰσηγήσασθαι a special meaning 'narro' here and in Symp. 189 D.

21 A οὐ λεγόμενον μὲν. The translation "though unrecorded in history" is right, cf. 21 D and 22 C. In a note the editor strangely enough attacks his own translation, and will have it that οὐ λεγόμενον means not a fiction, πλασθέντα μῦθον, but a fact.

21 D ὡς ἀληθῆ διακηκοῦς, "heard it as true." It is perhaps not over-subtle to note that the emphasis is not on the priest's historic credibility, but on Solon's willingness and the present company's desire to accept the tale; cf. 26 D and Gorgias 523 A with Leges 684 A.

22 A ὡς διεγίνοντο, "how they survived." For this "rare use"

cf. Isoc. Archidamus 91 εἰ μηδὲνδ' ἄλλου φροντίζοιεν ἢ τοῦ διαγενέσθαι καὶ περιποιῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτούς. The translation here misses the effect of the position of μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν αὖ in contrast with the ante-diluvian Phoroneus. This perhaps favors taking διαγίγνεσθαι as a synonym of διάγειν, "how they fared."

22 Ε σωζόμενα λέγεται παλαιότατα. Note the order. Render: "Because they escape destruction are the most ancient that are told"; cf. Critias 107 D εἰκότα λεγόμενα. Jowett's "are said to be the oldest" is perhaps possible, but I think wrong. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές is equivalent to a τῷ δ' ἔργῳ opposed to the λόγῳ implicit in λέγεται.

23 Α τινα διαφορὰν ἄλλην ἔχον. The scholiast paraphrases by παραδόξως ἐκβεβηκός. Compare Polit. 272 C καὶ πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ πάσης φύσεως εἰ τινα τις ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχουσα ᾗσθετό τι διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων εἰς συναγυρμὸν φρονήσεως, with Ar. Met. 980a, 26 ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ πολλὰς δηλοῖ διαφοράς. This use of the word is connected with the conception of knowledge in Theaet. 208 sqq.

23 C γράμμασι—ἀφώνους; cf. 27 B and Aeschylus Septem 463 Βοῶ δὲ χοῦτος γραμμάτων ἐν συλλαβαῖς.

24 Β ἔτι δὲ ἡ τῆς ὀπλίσεως σχέσις κ. τ. λ. This is, I think, best construed by making a parenthesis of the words καθάπερ . . . παρ' ὑμῖν, placing a comma after ὑμῖν, and taking πρώτοις as a rhetorical repetition of πρώτοι, thus: "Wherewith we first of the men of Asia were armed, the goddess having taught us first as she did you in your region." The point emphasized here is not the priority of the Athenians to the Egyptians, which is better expressed by προτέρους below, but that each people was first in its own continent.

26 C ἵνα εὐποροῖεν λόγων, not so much "share my affluence of words," as "be provided with a theme."

27 C πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐκείνοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπομένως δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν. The balance of the sentence and the thought make it better to take ἐπομένως = 'secondly,' rather than 'consistently.' The word is used by Aristotle in that sense Met. 1030a, 22 τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τοῖς δ' ἐπομένως, and may well be so used by Plato. Alcinoüs employs it in both meanings. We learn from Phaedrus 273 E that the true object of speech is to please the gods rather than men. In Republic 528 A Socrates recommends pleasing oneself rather than others. Timaeus combines the two principles here; cf. also Sophist 264 E.

27 C ἢ γέγονεν, not "how far it is created," but "whether it is created"; literally, "how it is a created thing." γέγονεν is used

pregnantly for *γεγονός ἐστι* opposed to *ἀγενές ἐστι*. *ἦ* has no quantitative force; cf. 48 A.

27 D *ἦ διανοοῦμαι*. Stallbaum's *ā* is not necessary; but the meaning is not "carry out my intentions," but "expound my views," cf. 48 C *δηλῶσαι τὰ δοκούντα*, and Leges 966 A-B, where *διανοεῖσθαι* is made = *νοεῖν*, and as here is placed in antithesis to *ἐνδείκνυσθαι*.

28 A *τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ*; cf. Polit. 308 C *μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν καὶ ἰδέαν δημιουργεῖ*.

28 C *τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα*. Our editor construes this natural language of religious awe as an indication that Plato must have had some metaphysical *ἀρχή* in mind, and not the simple conception of a personal creator of the universe. But Plato's language here has been repeatedly adopted by the most devout Christian writers. The passage is quoted by nearly all the Greek fathers, and generally with qualified approval.

29 A *ὁ μὴδ' εἰπεῖν τινὲ θέμις*; cf. Epinomis 986 B *οἴους οὐδὲ θέμις εἰπεῖν*.

29 B *μέγιστον δὴ παντὸς ἀρξασθαι*. Not "it is all-important," but "it is important to begin everything"; cf. Leges 753 E. We have as often, a general proposition followed by its specific application.

πάντων μάλιστα and *παντὸς μᾶλλον* have no analogue in *μέγιστον παντός*.

Below cf. Meno. 80 C *καλαὶ γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες*, and Polit. 278 sqq. for *παράδειγμα*.

30 A. "Who are the *φρόνιμοι ἄνδρες*? Probably some Pythagoreans." Rather, I think, the blessed ancients generally whom Plato and Aristotle love to cite against the materialists; cf. Phileb. 28 D, 30 D, and Ar. Met. 1074b, and Leges passim. We need not press the exact statement of the principle here given. But Metaphys. 1091b, 9 comes very near it: *οἷον Φερεκύδης καὶ ἕτεροί τινες τὸ γεννήσαν πρώτον ἄριστον τιθέασι*. The *τέλος ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ* cited by our editor from Stobaeus Ecl. II 64 is purely ethical and refers to Theaetetus. 176 B.

30 A *πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν παραλαβών*. Our editor assumes here, as elsewhere (cf. *infra* on 48 A), that the pre-existence of chaos and the creation in time are to be understood *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* only. In support of this view he quotes Proclus and Apuleius, who, like the majority of post-Aristotelian thinkers, were dominated by the conception of the unchanging Aristotelian heaven. The sole argument by which he justifies his rejection of the numerous specific

declarations of Plato cited in Martin's luminous dissertation is that "it is impossible that Plato could have imagined that this disorderly motion ever actually existed; since all motion is of *ψυχή*, and *ψυχή* is intelligent." But this is begging the question. The necessary intelligence of *ψυχή* is implied only where, as in the Laws, Plato, determined to find some little plausibility for his ethical argument, smuggles in *τὰ ψυχῆς* along with the *ἀρχὴ κινήσεως*, which is all he has proved. But our editor cannot rely on this passage because *τὰ ψυχῆς* include *ἦθη καὶ τρόποι*, which he does not want. The Phaedrus tells us (246 B and 249 B) that soul appears in various forms, that every human soul has had a glimpse of the realities, and that soul made perfect governs the *κόσμος*. But it does not state that all soul is inherently informed by *νοῦς* working towards the good. The Politicus tells us of alternate cycles of government by the mind of God and by a *σύμφυτος ἐπιθυμία*, a kind of soul evidently analogous to the blind Will of Schopenhauer or the Unconscious of Hartmann. The Laws explicitly declare that there are two kinds of soul, and that the universe *εἰ—μανικῶς τε καὶ ἀτάκτως ἔρχεται* must be supposed to be ruled by the evil soul. Plato does not aim at consistency in so doubtful a matter (cf. Phaedrus 265 CD), but the *κακὴ ψυχή*, the *σύμφυτος ἐπιθυμία*, and the *πλανώμενη αἰτία* all fulfil practically the same function—they account for action which is not a development of *νοῦς*, and it is the modern imagination governed by the Théodicée of Malebranche, not the Platonic imagination inspired by Hesiod and the pre-Socratics, that refuses to admit such action.

31 A. Our editor compares Republic 597 C and Ar. Met. 1074a, 31, the bearing of which on this passage was brought out in my dissertation *De Platonis Ideis*, p. 30. It should also be observed that here, as well as in Republic 597 C, Plato is endeavoring to evade the *τρίτος ἄνθρωπος*, and that the terminology of this passage is unfavorable to the inference drawn in behalf of Plato's "later doctrine of ideas" by Mr. Jackson (*J. of Phil.* 22, pp. 292-3) from Parmenides 132 DE-133 A. Mr. Jackson there argues, laying undue stress on 133 A, that Parmenides accepts the idea as *παράδειγμα*, and merely objects to *ὁμοιότης* as the basis of its relation to particulars. In the "later" theory, then, we expect *ὁμοιότης* to be abandoned; and yet while in Parmen. 132 E it is stated explicitly: *οὐκ ἄρα οἶόν τέ τι τῷ εἶδει ὅμοιον εἶναι*, we find here the terms *ὁμοιωσάι*, *ὅμοιον ἀφωμοιωμένον*, *εἰς ὁμοιότητα*, etc. (cf. 52 A, 50 D, 51 A), used to characterize the relation of the particular to the

idea (cf. Polit. 278 A). The fact is, Plato was well aware that the objections of the Parmenides could not be answered by any reconstitution of his theory, but only by the transcendentalist's familiar device of affirming in one breath what is denied in another. The particular is only a likeness of the idea, but it never can be really like its exemplar. It is a pity that Mr. Archer-Hind should allow himself to employ the un-Platonic expression *νοητός κόσμος* in this connection. Philebus 64 B and Republic 517 B do not justify an expression which is introduced into the criticism of the Timaeus only in order to prepare the way for Philo Judaeus and Plotinus. Plato's *αὐτὸ ζῶν* is not Philo Judaeus' idea of a city in the mind of the architect. It is the general idea of living thing and nothing more. Plato is proceeding as naïvely as in Republic 596 AB. A living thing by the Platonic method must be patterned by its maker on the general idea of living thing. The universe comes nearer its model than other living things because it contains the same generic subdivision, and also because, like the idea, it is *one*. This, of course, does not, as our editor thinks, indicate an advance from the doctrine of Republic 596 A. Plato says there, not that the idea must have many particulars, but only that where we see a number of similar particulars with a common name we assume an idea. The two propositions are not convertible (cf. Ar. Met. 1040a, 26, who adopts the same rigid view).

32 AB. The mathematical propositions Plato may or must have had in mind here are explained by our editor after Böckh and Martin. His treatment of the subject would have profited by Zeller's elaborate note (op. cit. pp. 671-73). For the rest, so far as the application to the elements is concerned, the simpler explanations of Cousin and Grote are really quite sufficient. For the words *καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν* make it probable that the proportion between the elements is nothing more nor less than that of 56 D, 4 : 8 = 8 : 20!

32 D *ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ξύστασις*; cf. *ἡ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου ξύστασις ἐστὶ κόσμος καὶ οὐρανός*. Ar. de Cael. I 10.

32 D *οὐδὲ δύναμιν*. "*δύναμιν* is not to be understood as 'potentiality,' but as 'power' or 'faculty.'" Plato's inner affinity with the modern associationist school is by nothing more strongly marked than by this, that he is not careful to maintain this distinction. Both power and existence in the phenomenal world are for him potentialities; cf. Sophist 247 E with Locke on Power (Bohn, Vol. I, p. 360): "Power, thus considered, is two-fold, viz. as able to

make, or able to receive any change"; cf. also A. J. P., IX 417, and Phileb. 29 C πάση δυνάμει τῇ περὶ τὸ πῦρ οὕση.

33 D ἐκ τέχνης; cf. Sophist 265 E θῆσω τὰ μὲν φύσει λεγόμενα ποιῆσθαι θεία τέχνη. With μάτην cf. ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν. Ar. de Caelo I 4.

34 A κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι στρεφόμενον. In his desire to "eliminate the distinction between spirit and matter" and the notion of a pre-cosmic chaos, our editor slightly misrepresents the familiar myth of the Politicus. He says that the reversed motion of the universe in Polit. 269 A sqq. is "the recoil from that which had been imparted by God." The only words that even seem to justify this are 270 A κατὰ καιρὸν ἀφεθέντα τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀνάπαλιν στρέφεσθαι, etc. But the phraseology throughout (cf. 269 C αὐτόματον) implies an inherent principle of motion; sometimes the world is guided by God, sometimes left to the subordinate intelligence that God imparted to the original disorder of which the universe was full, πρὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν κόσμον ἀφικέσθαι (273 C); cf. especially 272 E τὸν δὲ δὴ κόσμον πάλιν ἀνέστρεφεν εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ ξύμφυτος ἐπιθυμία; cf. 273 A with Tim. 52 D and infra on 48 A.

34 A λογισμὸς θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. Jowett's paraphrase (Vol. II, p. 493), "the thought of God made God," is a striking illustration of the rhetorical temptations that seem to make it impossible for a modern commentator to represent the Timaeus correctly. We profess to have abjured Plotinus, but still read the later books of Aristotle's Metaphysics into everything.

34 C. Mr. Archer-Hind is wrong in objecting to Stallbaum's citation of Laws 904 A on the ground that οὐκ αἰώνιον there applies to the ξύστασις of soul and body, but not to ψυχὴ and σῶμα severally. This reading is undoubtedly supported by Phaedrus 245 C and 246 CD, but the words γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἦν ζῶων ἀπολομένου τούτοις θατέρου make it simply impossible (cf. Phaedo 70 CD). For the rest it is idle to deny that the Laws assign ψυχὴ τοῖς γένεσις; cf. 966 E and 967 D ψυχὴ τε ὡς ἔστι πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων ὅσα γοῆς μετελήφεν. We must admit *inconstantia Platonis* to this extent.

35 A. Our editor's treatment of the ψυχογονία is unsatisfactory even if we allow it to be correct. Ignoring the differing readings of scholars like Zeller, and citing no Platonic parallels, he gives dogmatically an interpretation of his own; and this interpretation he states not in proximate terms, but in the language of his own metaphysical theory of the true Platonism.

I doubt if any absolutely certain and satisfactory construction

of the Greek is attainable. But I will endeavor to state clearly the difficulties, the alternative solutions, and the general significance of the passage, with regard to which I think certainty can be attained. And first we must be careful not to reduce the number of the elements of the problem by rashly identifying apparent synonyms. The imaginative method of the *Timaeus* treats different words as different entities, and if we identify approximate synonyms, in the interests of a preconceived system, some of the meaning escapes.

The ἀμέριστος οὐσία, for example, is not identical with ταῦτόν (I cannot guess what Mr. Archer-Hind means by saying it is "identical but not co-extensive"), nor is it "pure mind" as yet undifferentiated. It is plainly the "Idee," the ideas, the ideal reality and unity as distinguished from the reality we apprehend only as divided and dissipated ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις αὐ καὶ ἀπείροις (*Phileb.* 15 B; cf. *Theaetet.* 205 C μία τις ἰδέα ἀμέριστος, *Repub.* 525 E εὐλαβούμενος μή ποτε φανῇ τὸ ἐν μὴ ἐν ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μόρια, *Repub.* 476 A).

The περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένη μεριστή οὐσία is not primarily the θάτερον, still less is it "differentiated intelligence"; it is the unity of the idea as we apprehend it divided among concrete things (cf. the passages cited above and *Symp.* 210 C where τὸ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὸν is contrasted with τὸ ἐπ' εἶδει καλόν, which we are told is μονοειδές, etc.) ταῦτόν and θάτερον are primarily the logical categories of sameness and difference discussed in the *Sophist*. It is not necessary to answer Jowett's amazing assertion (*Plato II* 494) that "the *other* of the *Timaeus* . . . has nothing to do with the *other* of the *Sophist*." When Plato descends from the transcendental world of *Symposium* 211, both of these categories, since they are necessary conditions of intelligible speech, present themselves as well among the ideas as in concrete things, and the θάτερον is then as truly an οὐσία or φύσις (*Sophist* 258 B) as the ταῦτόν.

When we turn to οὐσία or φύσις in the transcendental sense of *Timaeus* 38 AB, 52 B, which Plato does whenever he can escape the trammels of logic, ταῦτόν, of course, approaches the idea or absolute μονάς—αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτ' ὄν, while θάτερον tends to become identified with the multiplicity of changing particulars that are now one thing and now another. Pressing this analogy we might come to identify ταῦτόν with the ἀμέριστος οὐσία, and θάτερον with the μεριστή. And this identification would be helped by the logical terminology of the *Sophist* (cf. 257 C ἡ θατέρου μοι φύσις φαίνεται κατακεκερματισθαι; cf. 258 D).

οὐσία is a *πολλαχῶς λεγόμενον*. Sometimes it means a particular substance or φύσις, the Aristotelian οὐσία, sometimes transcendental being, and sometimes the mixed logical relative being (cf. Sophist 254 D τὸ δὲ γε ὃν μικτόν ἀμφοῖν, whereas the ideas are transcendently ἀμκτότατα ἔχοντα, Phileb. 59 C). The three οὐσίαι of our passage, the ἀμέριστος, the μεριστή, and the τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, are equivocally denoted by the common term οὐσία, much as the three kinds of φιλία in Leges 837 A: δύο γὰρ ὄντα αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἄλλο εἶδος ἐν ὄνομα περιλαβὼν πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ σκότον ἀπεργάζεται. Mr. Archer-Hind, ignoring all this, says that οὐσία is the unity of consciousness, that is to say, that ὑποκείμενον of psychic processes which Mill was unable to discern, which Kant aimed at by his synthetic unity of apperception, and which most thinkers postulate in some form or other. But this thought, so far as it is in Plato, is expressed not by the τρίτον οὐσίας εἶδος, but by the subsequent words καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὄντα συνεκράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ἰδέαν. As Zeller, ed. 1875, II 1, 647, rightly says: Nur diese beiden [sc. ταῦτόν and θάτερον] werden neben der οὐσία als Theile der Weltseele genannt, das Untheilbare und Theilbare sind blos Bestandtheile der οὐσία. The close parallelism of the expression in Theaetet. 184 D εἰς μίαν τινὰ ἰδέαν εἶτε ψυχὴν εἶτε ὃ τι θεὶ καλεῖν, shows for the rest that ἰδέα, and not οὐσία, is the word that expresses the psychic unity demanded by Mr. Archer-Hind. These five categories of the Platonic logic and metaphysic are treated as real substances and commingled to form the soul (cf. Zeller ubi supra, Alcinous εἰσαγωγή 14); to the end, as we learn in 37 BC, that the soul may take cognizance of sameness and diversity in the world of divided as well as undivided οὐσία. So far all is clear, but there are some obscurities in the text. We have seen that there are probably two stages in the ψυχογονία: (1) the "chemical" combination of the divided and undivided substance in οὐσία, and (2) the union of οὐσία, ταῦτόν and θάτερον to form the soul. But in the Greek, on the words describing the preliminary formation of οὐσία follow close the words τῆς τε ταύτου φύσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς θατέρου. This seems to give us the alternative of identifying the ταῦτόν and θάτερον with the ἀμέριστος and μεριστή οὐσία, or of assuming that the mingling of the latter drew with or after it some admixture of the former. Grote adopts the former alternative, Zeller not very clearly the latter. Martin holds that the first mingling of the *divided* and *undivided* involved a partial preliminary union of the *same* and the *other*, which facilitated the final difficult reunion of these two refractory elements in the soul.

These different interpretations involve different views of the syntax. Mr. Archer-Hind omits *ad περί*, construes the genitives *τῆς ἀμερίστου*, etc., as loose anticipative apposition to *ἐξ ἀμφοῖν*, and makes the second genitives *τῆς τε ταύτου*, etc., dependent on *ἐν μέσῳ* (though his punctuation is hopelessly irreconcilable with his rendering). Zeller, rejecting *περί*, retains *ad* in sense of "ferner auch," and, reversing Archer-Hind's syntax, construes the first genitives with *ἐν μέσῳ* and the second with *ἐξ*. I think all the genitives alike are "loose" genitives of origin helped by *ἐξ ἀμφοῖν* and possibly by *ἐν μέσῳ*. The first *ἐν μέσῳ* need not be construed with any genitive; it is, as it were, epexegetic of *τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν*, fulfilling the function of *μέσση* in 74 D *μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν μέσση*, or of *μικτὴν* in Phileb. 27 B *ἐκ τούτων τρίτον μικτὴν*, etc. If referred to anything, however, it must be to the *divided* and *undivided* like the second *ἐν μέσῳ* (cf. now Nettleship, *Mind*, LIII, p. 132).

35 B. Our editor's explanation of the harmonic divisions of the soul is made up from Martin and Westphal. He is quite right, in spite of Böckh and Zeller (op. cit. pp. 653-5), in rejecting the *ἀποστομή* and the 36 terms of the pseudo-Timæus Locrus, for the simple reason that they are not in the text. Later theorists would be sure to add them. He should have observed, however, that his modern musical notation can represent Greek scales only on the (I think doubtful) supposition that Plato's intervals were purely theoretic, and that in practice the ancients always used our intervals and half-intervals. The text of the Timæus really gives us nothing but a succession of tetrachords with the intervals 8 : 9, 8 : 9, 243 : 256. These intervals through two octaves give us the *διάτονον διτονιαῖον* of Ptolemy, if Martin's tables are to be trusted, though Mr. Archer-Hind declares that Plato's scale "is *διάτονον σύντονον* of the strictest sort." We have no means of deciding how extensive a musical scale Plato contemplated. For the extension of the series to the number 27 may have only an astronomical significance. All that can be certainly assigned to music is the succession of the three intervals in the tetrachord. There is possibly one hitherto unnoticed means of determining the extent of the particular series of numbers Plato had in mind. The words, 36 B, *καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μικθὲν . . . οὕτως ἦδη πᾶν ἀναλώκει*, if they mean anything, must signify that assuming the first portion cut off to be $\frac{1}{x}$ of the whole, and x to be an integer, the sum of the fractional parts = unity. The sum of the fractions in the true series, then, must be an integer.

36 C ἐπὶ δεξιὰ. The contradiction with the Laws (760 D), where the east is ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, is sufficiently explained by our editor, after Martin, by the statement that Plato knew right and left to be arbitrary terms, and employed them to suit his convenience. There is, perhaps, another special reason for making the circle of ταῦτόν proceed ἐπὶ δεξιὰ. In successive logical dichotomies the *unity* or *sameness* of the idea sought is found by proceeding always to the right; cf. Sophistes 264 E and Phaedr. 266 A, where right and left are made to convey further connotations of praise and disparagement. Or we might reconcile Timaeus and Laws by means of the ἀνακύλησις of the Politicus.

37 A ψυχή. The "strange" position of ψυχή is intentional and effective. The omission of the article and the isolated αὐτή convey a truly Platonic suggestion, that the real "self" of the heavens is not the visible σῶμα of the firmament, but the soul made to partake of reason and harmony; cf. 38 A for similar implication concerning the stars, and cf. the language of 40 A and the locus classicus Alc. I 129-30. Below our editor is wrong to press νοητῶν into the service of his modern idealism. The Demiurgus is νοητός, not in any technical sense because thought is to be identified with its object, but simply because he belongs to the γένος—ἀναισθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι (Laws 898 DE). As for saying that Plato could not have used λογιστικόν for νοητόν in 37 B before he "deliberately affirmed the identity of thought and its object," he might as well say that the phrase θρέψαντα—ἰσχυρόν τὸ ἐλευθόν (Rep. 606 B) could have been penned only after he deliberately affirmed the identity of pity and its object. This confounding of the subjective and objective is not infrequent even when the language has developed distinct terms as νοητός and νοητικός. There are many cases where the better reading is still undecided.

Where the Greek language had not made the distinction, the ambiguity was inevitable. Plato likes to use λογισμός and its paronyms for the higher reason which is a kind of calculation. The term λογιστός for the objective correlate of λογισμός does not seem to have been in use, though Stephanus wished to read it here, and the use of λογιστικός was inevitable. In Charmides 174 A τὸ λογιστικόν is used in this objective sense with πεπτευτικός and ὑγιεινός, for which likewise the Greek language lacked a distinctly discriminated objective term (Ast's i. q. τὴν λογιστικὴν is sufficiently refuted by the context). Zeller, who pointed out the difficulty (op. cit. p. 662), would read αἰσθητικόν ("das der Wahrnehmung

fähige Subjekt"), to which he makes αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν refer. He thinks it a simpler remedy to read αὐτόν. Our editor reads αὐτά.

37 B κατὰ ταῦτόν. Should we not read κατὰ ταῦτα? κατὰ ταῦτόν cannot, of course, be taken, with Martin, to mean "cette parole vraie par son rapport avec le même," and I do not think it can mean "pariter," "equally," "alike," in the quantitative sense assigned to it by our editor, Stallbaum, and Jowett (cf. Rep. 436 C), nor is the meaning apt if possible. Phrases like κατὰ ταῦτα by way of pleonastic resumption are frequent in the Timaeus (cf. 40 B κατ' ἐκείνα, and 48 A, in both of which places our editor silently corrects Jowett, 46 E, 76 C, 80 D where some read κατὰ ταῦτα. Here the phrase may be simply resumptive of the process described in the preceding sentence, or it may refer specifically to the enumeration of quasi-Aristotelian categories. At any rate Plato does not tell us that the λόγος is true "alike," but that it is true in the manner or matters aforesaid. ἐφάπτηται, etc., in 37 A represents the αἰσθήσεις out of which arise, in the Platonic psychology, δόξα and its accompanying λόγος; cf. Theaetet. 179 C αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ αἱ κατὰ ταύτας δόξαι, and 194 B ἡ δόξα ψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθὴς γιγνομένη κατανατικρὺ μὲν . . . ἀληθὴς, εἰς πλάγια δὲ καὶ σκολιὰ ψευδὴς, a sentence which illustrates our passage in many ways.¹

37 C τοῦτω. Proclus is probably right in referring this to the two pairs δόξαι πίστεις νοῦς ἐπιστήμη. In protesting against the materialists Plato confounds the boundaries; cf. Leges 892 B. Below, τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα. There is nothing to surprise us in this phrase if we remember that Plato uses "divine" as loosely as Cicero. The ideas themselves may well be gods (cf. σφαίρας αὐτῆς τῆς θείας, Phileb. 62 A, and Polit. 309 C, where true opinion about justice in the soul is θεῖαν—ἐν δαιμονίῳ γενεῖ), or Plato may have relapsed into the strain of Republic 596 C. The best commentary is the alternative offered in Epinomis 983 E—984 A ἡ γὰρ θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ὑμνητέον ὀρθότατα ἢ θεῶν εἰκόνας ὡς ἀγάλματα ὑπολαβεῖν γεγονέναι θεῶν αὐτῶν ἐργασαμένων.

¹ I cannot accept J. Cook Wilson's defence of Stallbaum against Archer-Hind here. Sameness and difference are among the things told by the soul; and the subjunctive is no obstacle to this construction. Mr. Archer-Hind's exaggeration of ὅπη into "place" in order to secure another category is of no moment. εἶναι πρὸς ἕκαστον = "to act upon each thing" is of course not a perfect equation, but it represents the meaning, and Mr. Archer-Hind can easily defend himself if he chooses with the aid of Theaetetetus 160 BC—τὸ ἐμὲ ποιοῦν ἐμοί ἐστι. Cf. a similar antithesis of γίγνεσθαι and πάσχειν Euthyphron 10 C.

37 D ἡ—τοῦ ζῶντος φύσις. "The nature of the ideal" is one of those rhetorical temptations which the judicious interpreter should resist.

38 B ὧν οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς λέγομεν. Speak inaccurately rather than "incorrectly." There is a difference.

38 C αἰῶνα. The word has rhetorical rather than strictly metaphysical force; cf. Ar. de Caelo 1, 9: τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦνομα θεῖως ἔφθεγκται παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων. In the passage before us αἰώνιον may be a mere play on αἰῶνος.

38 D τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν εἰληχότας αὐτῷ δύναμιν. May we not escape the difficulty of attributing to Plato an obviously inadequate hypothesis, and account for Cicero's *vim quandam contrariam*, by reading πῇ δ' ἐναντίαν? cf. Theaetet. 191 B πῇ δυνατόν, and Polit. 306 B κατὰ δὴ τινα τρόπον . . . στάσιν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντε.

39 B. Our editor reads very plausibly καθ' ἃ for καὶ τά. The subject of προεῖναι above is αὐτά implicit in αὐτῶν.

39 D τὸν τέλεον ἐνιαυτόν. Zeller (op. cit. II 1, p. 684) is probably right in saying that Plato dogmatically fixed the length of the perfect year as 10,000 years.

39 E πρὸς τὴν τῆς διαιωνίας μίμησιν φύσεως. Not "by its assimilation to the eternal being," but rather "by imitation of the eternity of its (sc. τοῦ ζῶντος) nature." Our editor, like the Neo-Platonists, wants to escape from the ζῶν to the region of eternal being generally and the νοητὸς κόσμος.

39 E—40 A ἡπερ οὐκ ἐνούσας ιδέας; cf. Phileb. 16 C—D δεῖν—ἀεὶ μίαν ιδέαν—ζητεῖν εὐρήσειν γὰρ ἐνούσαν. Grote strangely errs in making *men* one of the four classes. From this passage and pp. 30—31 we see that in the Timaeus Plato assumes coexistent ideas of genera, sub-genera, and species. This is the doctrine attributed to him by Aristotle, and if we can only understand that Plato used the ideas seriously only as postulated unities of logical method, and give up trying to construct systems out of his myths, the doctrine presents no difficulties. Accepted literally, however, it is quite irreconcilable with the theory of the limitation of ideas to ὅποσα φύσει, so far as that limitation is supposed to remove difficulties. For, as the Aristotelian polemic repeatedly points out, the coexistence of ideas of genera and species is exposed to all the objections that confront ideas of relative and purely abstract terms.

40 B τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ταύτου . . . κρουμένῳ. "The other

forward but controlled by the revolution of the same." The 'but' is over-subtle and not in the Greek. *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν* is merely contrasted as a motion of translation with revolution on an axis. There is no idea of a motion in a circle as the *resultant* of two forces. τὰ δὲ τρεπόμενα κ. τ. λ. is rightly rendered, except that τρεπόμενα is not "that move in a circle," but as Martin says *qui vont et reviennent*, that is, which seem to "hedge aside from the direct forthright." Zeller (Phil. d. Gr. 1875, II 1, 685) and Jowett wrongly take κατ' ἐκείνα to mean "in the likeness of the fixed stars." The phrase is merely a pleonastic resumption of *καθάπερ—ἐρρήθη*, which refers to the creation of planets as ὄργανα χρόνου (cf. supra on 37 B). For πλάνην τοιαύτην = τρεπόμενα cf. 51 C τοιαύτην ἀλήθειαν and the idiomatic ἕτερα τοιαῦτα Rep. 488 B; cf. also 87 C and Herod. VI 105 ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα.

40 C φύλακα καὶ δημιουργόν. Our editor rightly rejects Grote's hypothesis that the earth revolves, and translates *εἰλλομένην* well "globed." We need not be surprised at δημιουργόν used of the passive earth; cf. Cic. De Nat. Deor. II 19, 49: *Primusque sol qui astrorum tenet principatum ita movetur ut cum terras larga luce compleverit, easdem modo his modo illis ex partibus opacel.*

40 D. Mr. Archer-Hind rightly retains οὐ before *δυναμένοις*, which Jowett with some MSS omits. There is no superstition in all Plato unaccompanied by irony; cf. the good notes on 40 D-E and on 71 E.

40 D ἄνευ <τῶν> δι' ὅψεως τούτων αὐτῶν μιμημάτων is the reading our editor would substitute for the Vulgate ἄνευ διόψεως τούτων αὐτῶν μιμημάτων. He has in his favor the doubtfulness of διόψεως, which is not found elsewhere before Plutarch, though we may of course ask, where did Plutarch get it if not here? But I think what Mr. Archer-Hind calls "an uncouth phrase" admits of a strong defense by Platonic analogies. The stars are but an image of true mathematical movements; cf. Rep. 529 D τῇ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ποικιλία παραδείγμασι χρηστέον. An orrery, then, would be one of those imitations twice removed on which Plato's imagination loves to dwell. Hence the αὐ on which editors stumble; cf. Repub. 510 E τοῖς μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐ χρώμενοι.

41 C ἀθανάτοις ὁμώνυμον. ὁμώνυμος in Plato is on its way to the technical Aristotelian sense (cf. Parmen. 133 D), but never reaches it. Its force here is rhetorical, as θεῖον shows. The logical connotations of the Aristotelian adverb ὁμωνύμως, which Plato does not use, are misleading. Below, is it not just possible that ἐθελόντων is

genitive absolute (cf. 42 E and 47 A *ιδόντων*), and that τῶν αἰὲς δίκη means the justice of the "eternities"? cf. Leges 904 E αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν, and 905 A ἦν πασῶν δικῶν διαφερόντως ἔταξαν.—ὑπαρξάμενος. This "transitive" (?) use of the middle of this verb *is* quoted in Liddell and Scott and referred to this passage.

41 D. Our editor's note is a singular mixture of truth and error. He rightly emphasizes the distinction (confounded by Martin) between the νομή or apportionment to the stars of 41 D, and the σπóρος or sowing in the planets ὄργανα χρόνου of 42 D. But otherwise his interpretation is almost identical with that of Martin, which he pronounces "wholly un-Platonic, indeed unintelligible," but which he must have read very hastily. Martin thinks God first apportioned among the heavenly bodies large masses of soul, out of whose substance the individual souls were afterwards made, and into which they were finally to be reabsorbed. He does not deny, as Mr. Archer-Hind thinks, the formation of the individual souls out of these larger souls, but he implies that an inexhausted portion of the larger soul is left in the star, and that the individual soul on its return is merged in this. Mr. Archer-Hind's view differs only in that he assumes the deposits in the stars to be all used up in the formation of individual souls, and that he does not expressly state that the single souls on their return to the star merge their individuality. Both are in error, as is Mr. Henry Jackson, when he speaks (J. of Phil. 25, p. 22) of "several parcels of souls—assigned to their respective stars." The souls assigned to the stars are already divided—the individualization is accomplished by the νομή. Surely the stars are numerous enough to allow of this, and at any rate there is not a word in the Greek that suggests a further division. The close analogy of the myth at the end of the Republic makes this certain to a delicate literary sense. The word of Lachesis Daughter of Necessity (617 E) answers ethically to the Demiurgus' enumeration of the laws of destiny (cf. θεὸς ἀνάιτιος with ἵνα τῆς ἔπειτα εἴη κακίας . . . ἀνάιτιος 42 D), and the souls are in each case distinct individuals prepared for the mortal birth. That the Timaeus describes an absolute beginning and the Republic merely the beginning of a new cycle is irrelevant to the argument. In both passages Plato's imagination associates individual souls with stars; cf. Rep. 621 B καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξαπίνης ἄλλον ἄλλη φέρεσθαι ἄνω εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἄττοντας ὥσπερ ἀστέρων. The Platonic tradition has always understood in this sense, "quel che Timeo delle anime argomenta." Cf. also Repub. 611 A ὅτι αἰεὶ ἀν εἶεν αἱ αὐταί.

41 E τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε. We need not be surprised that "here in Plato's maturest period we have something closely resembling the ἀνάμνησις of the *Phaedo* and *Phaedrus*." The idea was always present to Plato, and its expression was always mythical; cf. *Polit.* 278 C θαυμάζομεν ἂν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτόν τούτο ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει περὶ τὰ τῶν πάντων στοιχεῖα πεπονθῦα κ. τ. λ., the meaning of which passage is substantially the same as that of *Meno* 81 CD, though the suggestion of reminiscence in the former passage is wholly lost in Jowett's translation, and the negative half of the doctrine is, I think, exaggerated by Campbell's rendering of πεπονθῦα, "naturally liable to the same *infirmity*." The *Meno* and *Phaedrus* in reality affirm no more than the *Timaeus* and the *Politicus*. See the persistently ignored *loci*, *Meno* 86 B καὶ τὰ μὲν γε ἄλλα οὐκ ἂν πάνυ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου δισχυρισαίμην κ. τ. λ., and *Phaedrus* 252 C and 265 C τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῷ ὄντι παιδιᾷ πεπαῖσθαι.

42 A βίαια παθήματα are the *involuntary* affections forced upon us by the impingement of the external world on our bodies (cf. 43 C τὰ τῶν προσπιπτόντων παθήματα ἐκάστοις)—Das Blenden der Erscheinung | Die sich an unsere Sinne drängt—with their inevitable concomitants of pleasure and pain (cf. 64 A). There may be a slight further implication of "masterful"; cf. *Phaedrus* 254 A, 254 D, and *infra* 43 B βία δ' ἐφέροντο.

42 E καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀκόλουθα ἐκείνοις. These words seem to be omitted in the translation. They refer, I suppose, to the παθήματα of 61 CD, which are inseparable from σάρξ and the θνητὸν εἶδος ψυχῆς. Martin's "tout ce dont elle pouvait avoir besoin" is obviously wrong. Stallbaum without further explanation rightly renders "et omnia his consequentia."

43 A ἐπύρρυντον σῶμα; cf. *Gorgias* 494 B ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ὡς πλείστον ἐπυρρεῖν.

43 D ἐπέσχον . . . ἰοῦσαν. Vide si tanti est *Cratyl.* 416 B, 417 D.

44 B ἔμφρονα γινόμενον. "Note that he is only put in the way to become rational," says our editor. Note rather that a periphrasis with γίγνεσθαι is a marked feature of Plato's elaborate style; cf. *Polit.* 277 D, *Tim.* 47 E. For the complicated phrasing with ἀποτελεῖν cf. the similar use with παρέχειν, *Phaedr.* 274 E, 238 A, *Tim.* 88 E, etc.

44 C τοῦ βίου διαπορευθεὶς ζωὴν. "The conscious existence of his lifetime." There is no question of consciousness here. The phrase is loosely pleonastic; but, if we must discriminate, ζωὴ is the mere vitality and βίος the moral fabric of weal or woe, success or failure,

reared thereon. Hence, Repub. 620 AB, Plato can speak of *κύκλου* and *αὐτοῦ βίον*. Below, in *ἀκριβέστερον, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων*, the text and punctuation offend. Put a period after *ἀκριβέστερον* and read *τὰ δὲ* with Par. A. Bekker and Martin.

45 B *τοιᾷδε ἐνδύσαντες αἰτία*. The translation, "on the plan I shall explain," hardly brings out the subtle Platonic suggestion that the *αἰτίας λογισμὸς* (Meno 98 A), in this case *λογισμὸς θεοῦ*, or teleological adaptation, is the strongest Atlas to keep anything in its place (Phaedo 99). Below, in *φῶς ἡμερον οἰκεῖον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, σῶμα*, etc. Madvig's expunction of comma after *ἡμέρας* is unnecessary; the etymological pun is better felt with the other punctuation. The word *σῶμα* here is simply used to describe the shaping and forming of the *ᾧψις*, so that it becomes, as it were, an extension of the physiological body; cf. 64 D *ἦν δὲ σῶμα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐρρήθη καθ' ἡμέραν ξυμφυῆς ἡμῶν γίγνεσθαι*, and the use of *σῶμα* in 56 DE.

46 A *ἀφομοιωθέντα ἐντός ἔξω τε ἐγερθεῖσιν ἀπομνημονεύμενα φαντάσματα*. Our editor rightly, I think, glosses *ἔξω*, "when we have emerged from the dream world." His translation, "are remembered as outside us," seems to give a different shade of thought. *ἐντός* and *ἔξω* are practically equivalent to *ἔνερ* and *ὑπαρ*.

46 E *ᾧσαι δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλων μὲν κινουμένων—γίγνονται*. Instead of rendering these as partitive genitives, may we not construe them with *γίγνονται ὑπὸ*, and render: "Those which are the transitory products (*γίγνονται ὑπὸ*) of things themselves in motion and different from the disparate things they of necessity move"? For the thought cf. Theaetet. 160 B and 156 D sqq. For the idiomatic use of *ἄλλων* and *ἕτερα* cf. Tim. 55 D, 52 E, and Polit. 262 A. For *κινούμενος* used absolutely without *ὑπὸ* cf. 53 A.

47 C *ὅσον τ' αὖ μουσικῆς φωνῇ χρήσιμον*. The reading *φωνῇ* for the received *φωνῆς* is not happy. *φωνῇ χρήσιμον* is hardly Greek for "expressed in sound." Our editor has failed to follow Plato's thought, which is this: Utterance generally is given us for teleological ends, for (1) *λόγος* is obviously a servant of reason, and (2) *musical* utterance too, so far as useful, has a purpose beyond mere pleasure; cf. Leges 667–8, and the use of *χρήται* in 654 C.

48 A *ἣ φέρειν πέφυκεν*; cf. Epin. 988 C *καὶ φορὰ κρείττων καὶ τιμωτέρα ἦν τὸ σῶμα εἴληχε φέρειν*, etc., with Leges 887 B *τύχῃ δὲ φερόμενα*, etc. Stallbaum is practically about right in saying that the *πλανωμένη αἰτία* is *materia corporum*. Strictly speaking, of course, it is any operative agency not directed to the single *σκοπὸς* of the Good. But when Plato has once used the principle that soul is *ἀρχὴ κινή-*

σεως to establish against materialists the priority of τὰ ψυχῆς (Leges 896 D), he is comparatively careless as to the exact denomination of the inferior causal agencies to which he is obliged to *concede* (47 E μεμυγμένη γὰρ οὖν: cf. Politicus 269 D ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινωνηκέ γε καὶ σώματος) a rôle in the universe. Logically, perhaps, they belong to the evil soul (Leges 986-7). But Plato readily falls into the language of the materialists and assigns them to matter. Our editor's dissertation on the origin of evil; his explanation of ἀνάγκη as the "laws which govern the existence of νοῦς in the form of plurality," and his warning that "these laws once set in motion must needs act constantly according to their nature," and that they will therefore "inevitably under some conditions produce effects which are not beneficial"—all this would be very pertinent in a commentary on Malebranche's principle that "Dieu agit toujours par des volontés générales," but it does not elucidate Plato. Plato's ἀνάγκη is not the product of these fine-spun modern subtleties, but springs from the simpler Greek conception of an original chaos, not wholly plastic in the hands of the "artisan of the best in visible things."

48 B προσήκουσαν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν is not a "second fitting cause." πυρὸς . . . φύσιν . . . αὐτὴν, etc., is better rendered in the notes: "the nature of fire, etc., before," than in the text, "the very origin of fire," etc.

48 D πειράσομαι μηδενὸς ἦττον εἰκότα, μᾶλλον δὲ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς περὶ ἐκάστων καὶ ξυμπάντων λέγειν. Archer-Hind renders: "I will strive to give an explanation that is no less probable than another but more so; returning back to describe from the beginning each and all things." Expunge the comma after δὲ and translate: I will strive to speak of each and all no less plausibly than others, and even more with reference to (from the starting point of) first principles. Timaeus complains that his predecessors treated the four elements as ἀρχαί. He will give as plausible an account as they, but will begin from a point nearer the real ἀρχή, though even he cannot reach an absolute beginning; cf. 53 D τὰς δ' ἔτι τοῦτων ἀρχὰς ἄνωθεν θεὸς οἶδε. μᾶλλον δὲ thus abruptly used means *vel potius*, as in 57 E, 17 B. I know of no instance where it means "more so," for Thucydides 3, 82 is not in point. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς is justified by Laches 189 E σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴη ἂν, which is quoted by Campbell at Theaetetus. 179 D. The thought is familiar to Plato; cf. Leges 626 D, where the Athenian stranger is commended: τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὁρθῶς ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον

ἐποίησας. ἔμπροσθεν is simply pleonastic: cf. Alcinous εἰσαγωγή VIII ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχόμενοι.

48 E διηρημένη. This passage, together with 50 CDE, 52 D (τρία τριχῇ), and Philebus 23 CD, sufficiently accounts for the διαιρέσεις of which Aristotle speaks De Gen. et Corr. II 3, 5. We have the τρία, we have paronyms of διαίρεσις, and Aristotle's words τὸ γὰρ μέσον μῆγμα ποιεῖ, are paralleled explicitly in the Philebus by τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῦτοι ἐν τι ξυμμισγόμενον, and implicitly in the Timaeus by the figure of father, mother and offspring. Zeller's objection (ed. 1875, II 1, p. 381) that Aristotle is speaking of ἀπλὰ σώματα as στοιχεῖα and not of ἀρχαί is naught. Aristotle is trying to show that his predecessors had two ἀρχαί, one active and the other passive, and that even Plato's three can be reduced to this; and he is never over-scrupulous when engaged in such a task; cf. the explicit words τοῦτοι συμβαίνει δύο ποιῆν τὰς ἀρχάς. The Platonic work Διαιρέσεις is a myth so far as it rests on Aristotelian testimony.

49 E τῷ τόδε καὶ τοῦτο. Our editor exaggerates in ascribing the ἀκλειστάτη διάλεκτος of the Heracliteans to Plato, citing Theaetet. 183 A. Parmen. 164 AB is a parallel to Theaetet. 183 A. Here Plato goes only half way with the ρέοντες. They can use neither ἐκεῖνο nor τοιοῦτον (Cratyl. 439 D); he renounces ἐκεῖνο, but hopes to be able τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον (more idiomatic and forcible than the unnecessary correction ὁμοίως; cf. Politicus 287 B ἐνδεικνύναι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ φύσιν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις οὖσαν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς)—καλεῖν. In short he is able to tell οἷα ἅττα ρεῖ τὰ φερόμενα (Theaetet. 182 C). They are not.

50 A ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐναντίων. Our editor corrects Jowett's errors here. For the history of these ἐναντία cf. Republic 524 AB, Theaetet. 186 AB, and Aristotle's deduction of the four elements from the ἐναντιώσεις κατὰ τὴν ἀφῆν De Gen. et Corr. II 2.

50 A πλάσας ἐκ χρυσοῦ. It is well to see with Mr. Archer-Hind that Aristotle's criticisms of Plato (De Gen. et Corr. II 1, 329a, 17) are irrelevant, but it is necessary also to show Aristotle's justification from his own point of view. The difference between the two thinkers is fundamental and has, I think, never been clearly stated. Plato identifies "matter" with extension, and derives all the qualities of special kinds of matter from the ideas. Nevertheless, to illustrate his meaning he employs an analogy in which "matter" is represented by gold, an αἰσθητόν already endowed with qualities. Now, this figure, which for Plato is a mere analogy, corresponds very closely to the actual Aristotelian conception of "matter."

For Aristotle's imagination was closed to all dynamic systems which reduce "matter" to combinations of forces in space. Accordingly he feels that Plato has no right to this illustration unless he is willing to posit his *πανδεχές* distinctly as an *αἰσθητόν* with sensible qualities, *ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἄνευ ἐναντιώσεως εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο αἰσθητόν ὄν*. But Plato, he thinks, has not defined his opinion: *Ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται, οὐδένα ἔχει διορισμόν*, etc. Unable, therefore, to join issue directly with Plato on the philosophic problem, he attacks a minor point in his expression, by means of a favorite distinction of his own in Greek usage which he thinks Plato has ignored. In *Metaphysics Z 7, 1033a* (an interesting locus for the elucidation of our passage) he shows (somewhat confusedly, as usual) that *γίγνεσθαι* has two uses, that of *γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὕλης* and *γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως*. In the first case he adds *ἐξ οὗ δὲ ὡς ὕλης γίγνεται ἐνια λέγεται ὅταν γένηται οὐκ ἐκ κείνου ἀλλ' ἐκ κείνινον*. The result of a *γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως*, however ("How camst thou speakable of mute?") is not denoted by a paronym of the original *στέρησις*, but may be still directly denoted by the name of the *ὑποκείμενον* necessarily implied in such a *γίγνεσθαι*. That is, of a man become well from sick we do not predicate "sick" or any term derived from "sick," but we may predicate directly the noun "man" without, as in the former case, having recourse to a derived adjective *ἐκείνινον*. Now an *ἀνδριάς ἐκ λίθου* is in a certain sense a *γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως*, but the *στέρησις* being *ἀνώνυμος*, language treats it as a *γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὕλης* and we do not call it *λίθος*, but *λίθινος*. I have ignored the manifold confusions of this passage, to bring out the meaning which appears more clearly in the distinction between *ἀλλοίωσις* and *γένεσις* in *De Gen. et Corr. I 4*. There it is made plain that Aristotle's reason for working out *ἀνδριάς ἐκ λίθου* as a case of *στέρησις* in the *Metaphysics*, ten lines after he had used it as a case of *ἐξ ὕλης*, is that, strictly speaking, he admits a *γένεσις* only *ὅταν (δὲ) ὅλον μεταβάλλῃ μὴ ὑπομένουτος αἰσθητοῦ τινος*, while the *στέρησις* of the *Metaphysics* is here identified with *ἀλλοίωσις*. The transformations of the elements are expressly declared to be *γενέσεις* in the stricter sense. We are now at last in a position to understand the criticism cited by Mr. Archer-Hind, *De Gen. et Corr. II, 1, 329a, 17*: *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καλῶς λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡν μὲν ἀλλοίωσις, ἔστιν οὕτως, ὡν δὲ γένεσις καὶ φθορά, ἀδύνατον ἐκ κείνου προσαγορεύεσθαι ἐξ οὗ γέγονεν. καίτοι γέ φησι μακρῷ ἀληθέστατον εἶναι χρυσὸν λέγειν ἕκαστον εἶναι*. Which may be freely paraphrased as follows: Plato has veiled an obscurity in his doctrine by using a case of *ἀλλοίωσις*

to illustrate what is really *γένεσις* in the strict sense. But the Greek language does not apply the *ἐξ οὗ* directly as a predicate to the product of a strict *γένεσις*. The statement, therefore, that "it would be safer to call figures out of gold, gold," does not help us. Whether Aristotle further means that in any case the *σχήματα* would not be gold but golden, *οὐκ ἐκείνο ἀλλ' ἐκείνινον*, I cannot say. He ought to mean that.

51 B λόγῳ δὲ δῆ, etc. Has not the exact force of these words been overlooked? Are they not the Platonic expression of Aristotle's *καὶ πρῶτον εἴπωμεν ἕνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λογικῶς*, *Met.* 1029b, 13?

51 C ἀλλὰ μάτην ἐκάστοτε εἶναι τί φάμεν εἶδος ἐκάστου νοητόν, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πλὴν λόγος. "But we talk idly when we speak of an intelligible idea as actually existent, *whereas it was nothing but a conception.*" And in the notes: "By λόγος Plato means a mental concept or universal; the question is in fact between Sokraticism and Platonism; that is to say, between conceptualism and idealism." This is enough to make one despair of Greek philosophy ever being intelligently studied among us. The Greeks did not use λόγος to denote the antithesis between a mere concept and an hypostasis—they used a paronym of νοῦς; cf. *Parmenides* 132 B μὴ τῶν εἰδῶν ἕκαστον ἢ τούτων νόημα καὶ οὐδαμοῦ αὐτῷ προσήκη ἐγγίγνεσθαι ἀλλοθι ἢ ἐν ψυχαῖς. *Diogenes Laertius* 7, 1, 61 ἐν νόημα δέ ἐστι φάντασμα διανοίας οὔτε τι ὄν οὔτε ποιόν· ὥσανεὶ δέ τι ὄν, etc. *Aetii Plac.* 1, 10, 5 apud *Diels Doxog. Graec.* p. 309a, 9 οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος Στωικοὶ ἐν νοήματα ἡμέτερα τὰς ιδέας ἔφασαν; *ibid.* p. 318b, 22 νόημα . . . τὸν χρόνον, οὐχ ὑπόστασιν. *Porphyr.* *εἰσαγωγή Praefat.* αὐτίκα περὶ γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν τὸ μὲν εἶτε ὑφέστηκεν εἶτε καὶ ἐν μόναϊς ψυχαῖς ἐπινοίαις κεῖται. Plato's use of λόγος here is obviously analogous to that in *Laches* 196 C, *Euthyd.* 286 D, or *Critias* 46 D *ὅτι ἄλλως ἕνεκα λόγου ἐλέγετο*. The distinction between "concept" and "idea," which Mr. Jackson finds in *Phaedo* 100 A–B sqq., has already been criticized by me, *Am. J. of Phil.* IX, p. 304. The distinction made familiar by Coleridge is absolutely without warrant in Plato. This is just the fundamental difference between Plato and the "Platonists," that for him all "concepts of the understanding," without regard to their dignity, are "ideas."

51 D ὁρος ὁρισθείς μέγας is hardly a "great definition," as our editor renders it. It is rather something between a "criterion" and an "alternative"; cf. the language of *Phileb.* 56 D, *Leges* 899 C *εἰπόντες ὁρους ἀπαλαττώμεθα*; cf. the parallel reasoning of *Phaedo* 92 D and *Polit.* 284 D, where, however, the word ὁρος is not used.

52 A οὔτε αὐτὸ εἰς ἄλλο ποι ἰόν. Our editor notes this as an "unmistakable assertion of the solely transcendental existence of the ideas." The difficulties of Parmenides 131 A are insurmountable, he says. "From that time forth *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* (in connection with αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη) disappear from Plato's vocabulary; *μίμησις* takes their place." To this amazing series of question-begging assertions one can only reply: (1) The "transcendence" of the idea is stated quite as strongly in Symp. 211 A οὐδέ που ὃν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τινί. (2) The chief difficulty of the Parmenides is found in the Republic; cf. 597 C, Tim. 31 A. (3) We have not been told by Mr. Jackson what dialogues were written "from that time forth." (4) The phrase καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη is not used by Plato, so that it can be grammatically construed as the denomination of a class of ideas. (5) *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* could not be used by a good Greek stylist of the objects belonging to Mr. Jackson's class of καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη. Obviously we can speak of the "presence" of beauty or goodness informing a thing, but we cannot speak of the presence of an ox as lending it "bovinity." That is to say, Plato cannot, though Dionysodorus can; cf. Euthyd. 301 A εἰάν οὖν, ἔφη, παραγένηται σοι βούς, βούς εἶ, καὶ ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ σοι πάρεμι Διονυσώδορος εἶ; As a matter of fact Plato never uses *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* except of such terms as "good," "true," "beautiful," "reality," "being," and the like, and he continues so to use them till the end. We have no right, therefore, to say that they disappear from his vocabulary in any sense. In the chief passage for the assumed earlier use of *παρουσία*, Phaedo 100 D, Plato expressly says: εἴτε παρουσία εἴτε κοινωνία εἴτε ὅπη δὴ καὶ ὅπως προσγενομένη, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι, thus betraying the same embarrassment as to the proper terminology that we note in Symp. 211 B ἐκείνου μετέχοντα τρόπον τινὰ τοιοῦτον, οἷον γιγνομένων τε τῶν ἄλλων, etc., and in Tim. 51 AB μεταλαμβάνον δὲ ἀπορώτατά πη τοῦ νοητοῦ, etc., in view of which last passage it is hard to see how Mr. Archer-Hind can say that Aristotle has no right to apply to the ὑποδοχή the term μεταληπτικόν in relation to the ideas. (6) As *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* do not disappear, so *μίμησις* and its associates *μορφή*, *παράδειγμα*, *ἀποβλέπειν*, etc., do not appear to take the place of rejected terms. Plato throughout uses all these terms according to the exigencies of Greek style. In the Phaedo itself, when he deals with such objects as are naturally most conspicuous in the Timaeus, hot and cold, fire and snow, he employs *μορφή* (103 E; cf. Tim. 50 DE, 52 D). The language of pattern and copy, artist and designer, is especially

appropriate in connection with material things, or with the action of a *Δημιουργός*, be he the Δ. of the Cratylus 389 B, 389 C, of the Republic 500 D, 596 sqq., or of the Timaeus. On Mr. Jackson's theory of a rigid metaphysical and chronological discrimination of these terms, what are the relations of the following passages: Politicus 300 C and Repub. 517 D, Sophist 247 A *δικαιοσύνης ἔξει καὶ παρουσίᾳ*, Repub. 509 A *τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξιν*, Phaedrus 247 D *καθορᾷ μὲν αὐτὴν δικαιοσύνην*, etc., 250 A *ὅταν τι τῶν ἐκεῖ ὁμοίωμα ἴδωσιν*, 250 B *εἰκόνας*, Philebus 62 A *αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης* taken with 61 E and 59 C.—Cratyl. 439–40, Theaetet. 157 D, Politicus 285–6. Do these passages imply ideas of good and justice, etc., or are they *λόγῳ μάτην*?

52 B *ὄνειροπολοῦμεν βλέποντες*. Note the hyperbaton of *βλέποντες*, intended, I think, to yield the oxymoron of “a waking dream,” though construed with *πρὸς ὁ*; cf. Rep. 476 CD.

52 C *ὡς εἰκόνι μὲν*, etc. Mr. Archer-Hind's ingenious suggestion that by a *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαϊνόμενον* we are to construe *ἐαντῆς* with *αὐτὸ-τοῦτο-ἐφ-ᾧ-γένονεν* = *παράδειγμα*, will probably find favor. I cannot accept it: (1) Because I cannot credit Plato with such a portentous phrase. (2) Because the force of *οὐδ'*, “not even,” is thus ignored. (3) Because the sense yielded is unsatisfactory. The difficulty is, I fear, insoluble by strict logic. The general meaning is that an image deriving no reality from its model must get all its reality from its medium. But does Plato confine himself, as he logically should, to phaenomena or things considered as copies of the ideas? Or in generalizing his thought has he confused the logic of his sentence by insinuating his favorite and familiar notion of images in water or mirrors, which are copies of copies? (cf. the language of Rep. 510 E–511 A). Such inconsistencies are natural in these transcendental matters, as e. g. supra 29 A, where the Demiurgus looks *πρὸς τὸ γεγονός* when by hypothesis no *γεγονός* exists. On the former alternative we must translate: “that to an image it belongs, seeing that not even that which it was made to represent (Zeller, op. cit. p. 603, “Das Wesen zu dessen Darstellung sie dient”; for *ἐφ ᾧ*, cf. Rep. 477 D–478 E, and Parmen. 147 E) belongs to it,¹ but it is ever the fleeting semblance of another,” etc., understanding *εἰκόν* as subject of *φέρεται*. This rendering may be supported by Parmenides 133 DE, where the relation of the “possessive genitive” is said not to obtain between the ideas

¹ Should we read *αὐτῆς* with Stephanus? cf. 29 B *περί τε εἰκόνης καὶ περί τοῦ παραδείγματος αὐτῆς*.

and their *ὁμώνυμα* in this world. The thought here may be that while the images are "of" the ideas, the ideas are not in any sense "of" or belonging to the images; cf. Aristotle's precious distinction that the slave is "of" the master, but the master not "of" the slave.

On the second alternative we may conceive Plato, by a natural inconsistency, to be speaking of images twice removed, reflections in water whose very models are in turn only fleeting phantasms of the ideas. On this supposition that *φέρεται* declares the models of the *εἰκόνας* to be in their turn only phantasms, we might read *ἐαυτοῦ* for *ἐαυτῆς*. I should feel certain of this rendering but for the parallelism of *ἐτέρου*—*τινος* and *ἐν ἐτέρῳ τινί*, which makes it probable that *εἰκών* is the subject of *φέρεται*.

52 C ὥς ἔως ἂν τι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο ᾗ, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, etc. "So long as one thing is one and another thing is other, neither of them shall come to be in the other so that the same becomes at once one and two." Our editor, with Jowett, takes the two things to be the idea and the image, and eagerly proclaims the passage to be a repudiation of the "earlier" doctrine of *παρουσία*. But the context shows that the two things are the idea and space (cf. Zeller ubi supra, pp. 617 and 631). The argument runs: We blindly assert that that which is in no place is nothing. But right reason points out that while the *εἰκών*, having no reality of its own, must exist in a medium, the true being has no need of such derived reality, and, indeed, so long as the ideas and space are distinct entities, one of them cannot be in the other. Our editor's interpretation makes the argument run: Men blindly assert that everything must be in some place or be nothing. This is true of the image which has no inherent reality, but is not true of the idea—for so long as the idea and the image are distinct entities, neither of them can be in the other—a *foeda inconsequentia*.

53 D κατὰ τὸν μετ' ἀνάγκης εἰκότα λόγον. "The probable account which is concerned with necessity." I do not think this is the meaning. Plato characteristically tries to suggest to the reader that, though his statements are, strictly speaking, only *εἰκότα*, there is a kind of logical inevitableness in his method that makes them provisionally, and in default of something better, necessary and true; cf. 56 B κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα, 68 B μήτε τινα ἀνάγκην μήτε τὸν εἰκότα λόγον.

53 E. This passage, wrongly rendered by Jowett and Martin, is given correctly here, all but the last sentence. The clue to the

meaning is found in the deliberately teleological form of expression. We cannot admit that the four elements are not the fairest simple natural bodies. Now, all bodies are constructed from the elementary triangles. If, then, we find the four prettiest combinations of these triangles that will meet the physical conditions we shall have solved our problem. Hence he concludes: *τοῦτ' οὖν προθυμητέον τὰ διαφέροντα κάλλει σωμάτων τέτταρα γένη συναρμόσασθαι καὶ φάναι τὴν τοῦτων ἡμᾶς φύσιν ἱκανῶς εἰληφέναι*, "This, then, must be our effort to put together [out of the triangles] the prettiest kinds of bodies to the number of four, and then assert that we have grasped the nature of them [namely, the four elements, cf. *τούτων* just above in same sense] sufficiently." Our editor translates: We must do our diligence then to put together these four kinds of bodies most excellent in beauty, and so we shall say we have a full comprehension of their nature." But this rendering fails to bring out the distinction between the four elements and the four ideal constructions deliberately devised to meet the conditions of (1) conformity with phaenomena, (2) of maximum of attainable beauty. *τὰ διαφέροντα*, etc., cannot be construed "*these* four kinds of bodies," etc., nor can *τούτων* be referred to them.

54 B. The note on the "extreme ἀήθεια of Plato's theory" should at least mention Zeller's assertion (op. cit. II 1, p. 674) that the correlation of the four elements with the four geometrical solids is taken from Philolaus.

55 A *ὅλου περιφεροῦς διανεμητικόν*, etc., is not "dividing *its* whole surface into four equal and similar parts," but dividing the surface of the circumscribed sphere; cf. Martin ad loc.

55 D *ταύτη στάς* does not mean "if he stopped short there," but either "taking up this position" (cf. Campbell on Theaetet. 171 D, and Parmen. 130 D *ὅταν ταύτη στῶ*), or "pausing to reflect on this view." *ἵσσημι* is constantly used by both Plato and Aristotle to denote the checking of the mind either to consider an *ἀπορία* or grasp a fixed idea amid the flux of sense.

57 B *εἰάν δ' εἰς αὐτὰ ἴη*. I think both grammar and context require us to read *εἰς αὐτά*, an emendation proposed by me a few years ago. This will appear if we examine the argument of 57 AB and note the balanced parallelism of the language. Beginning *ὥδε γὰρ δὴ* (56 E), Plato supposes air or water to be caught and cut up by a mass of fire. Earth is excluded by hypothesis, *οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλο γε εἶδος ἔλθει ποτ' ἂν* 56 D, and hence *ξυστὰν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν* cannot be used of it. On this supposition (1) the water or

air may become fire, *εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν*, when conflict ceases; or, (2) *εἰς ἄλλο τι γιγνόμενον*, water may recombine as water or change to air, and air may recombine to air or change to water, when the conflict may continue. The parallel alternative hypothesis is that the *σμικρότερα* elements are caught *ἐν τοῖς μείζουσι*. The only possible, or at least plausible examples of this, and the only cases Plato's language shows he contemplates, would be air in water and fire in air. Then, on this supposition (1) *ξυνίστασθαι μὲν ἐθέλοντα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἰδέαν* (cf. (1) above), the air becomes water or the fire air and the conflict ceases; or (2) reading, as I propose, *ἐὰν δ' εἰς αὐτὰ ᾗ*, the air or fire recombine in their own form, and the conflict continues. Air in water either recombines as air or becomes water. If it recombines as air the conflict is maintained with the water, or perhaps with fire from without. Fire in air either reunites as fire or becomes air. If it reunites as fire the conflict is maintained with the air, or perhaps with water approaching. The parallelism with (2) above is exact, only instead of *εἰς ἄλλο τι γιγνόμενον* we have *εἰς αὐτὰ ᾗ*, because in (2) above the air or water may either become fire, or return into themselves, or pass the one into the other. But the conditions of (2) here allow fire in air or air in water only the choice of returning into themselves or passing into the element by which they are surrounded. *Non datur tertium*. The concinnity of this parallelism is wholly lost if we read *εἰς αὐτὰ*, and render "if they assail the others." Nor can any good reason be assigned for the triangular contest then implied by *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τι ξυνιὼν γενῶν μάχηται*. Lastly, *εἰς αὐτὰ* is grammatically much more plausible than *εἰς αὐτά*. Stallbaum's examples of *εἰς τινα ἵεναι* for "assail" are all doubtful, and admit, I think, of discrimination; cf. Symp. 219 E *στρατεία—εἰς Ποτίδαιαν*, and Xen. Mem. IV 5, 14 *ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους*. The best example that my reading supplies, Herod. VII 103 *καὶ ἴσμεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι εἰς πλεῦνας*, is not quite satisfactory. On the other hand, *εἰς τι ἵεναι* or *γίγνεσθαι* and similar expressions are constantly used by Plato and Aristotle in the sense of "pass into," "change to," etc.; cf. Tim. 52 A, 49 C, 56 DE, 57 A, 84 C, 64 E ἐπὶ, 65 A, Phaedr. 249 B, Phaedo 87 A, Repub. 434 D, Republic 497 B *εἰς τὸ ἐπιχώριον φιλεῖ κρατούμενον ἵεναι*, Ar. Met. 1055a, 7; Phileb. 32 B *τὴν δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ὁδόν*. This last passage, taken with such expressions as Tim. 32 C *εἰς ταῦτόν αὐτῷ ξυνελθόν*, and 59 A *εἰς ταῦτόν αὐτῷ ξυνίσταται*, brings us very near the reading proposed here.

58 A ἐπειδὴ συμπεριέλαβε is, of course, not "when it had embraced," but "since it has" (and does).

58 D διὰ τὸ μετέχον εἶναι τῶν γενῶν τῶν ὕδατος ὅσα σμικρά, ἀνίσων ὄντων. γενῶν does not mean primarily the "corpuscles" of water, as Mr. Archer-Hind thinks, but the kinds of water resulting from the different sizes of the corpuscles, or rather, triangles; cf. 57 CD. The great sub-class of "liquid" water is composed chiefly of the smaller kinds. ἀνίσων ὄντων may well be a parenthetical genitive absolute; cf. 82 A ἐπειδὴ γένη πλείονα ἐνὸς ὄντα τυγχάνει. For the rest Plato is by no means consistent in using εἶδος for the four elements and γένος for their "kinds"; cf. 57 C, 58 A, 58 C, 60 B γῆς δὲ εἶδη, 61 C, 61 D, 66 D, 82 A.

58 E. Martin merely queries whether Plato supposed the fire to dilate the triangles. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Archer-Hind seems to have construed the French very hastily; cf. my notes on 41 D and 88 A.

59 C τὴν τῶν εἰκότων μύθων μεταδιώκοντα ἰδέαν. Not "following the outline of our probable account," but "aiming (only) at probability in our discourse," lit. "following the type of probable words."

60 B μέχρι φύσεως. Our editor is the first to publish a correct explanation of these words, which are sadly misconceived by Jowett and others.

60 B-61 C. The summary, p. 219, is wrong in saying that water predominates in glass and earth in wax, but the translation, 61 C, corrects the error.

60 C ἀλύτως ὕδατι. Our editor rightly construes these words together, correcting Jowett and Martin.

61 B. Mr. Archer-Hind's conjecture, τοῦθ' ὕδωρ for πῦρ ἀέρα should be received into the text.

61 C. σχήματα gives, I think, better grammar and sense than σχήμασι. The syntax is analogous to 47 E. The meaning is that the σχήματα in their various modifications have been exhibited as εἶδη. Ibid. τὰ δὲ πλεόν ὕδατος, etc. The translation is right, but the summary, p. 219, by an error of inadvertence, makes water predominate in glass, earth in wax.

61 C πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν αἴσθησιν δεῖ τοῖς λεγομένοις αἰεῖ. "First we must assign to all the substances we have described the property of causing sensation." So also Zeller (op. cit. p. 679). αἴσθησιν ὑπάρχειν in this sense is justified by αἴσθησιν σχῆ Laws 894 A, but this rendering does not take account of αἰεῖ or the present

participle. Translate rather: "In all we are going to say the existence of sensation must be assumed"; cf. 53 B *ὡς ἀεὶ τοῦτο λεγόμενον ὑπαρχέτω*, and *λεγόμενα* in 53 C.

61 D. This passage, sadly mangled by Jowett, Stallbaum, and Martin, is nearly right here. *ἵνα οὖν ἐξῆς τὰ παθήματα λέγηται τοῖς γένεσιν* does not mean "in order that the properties of the several elements may be discussed in due order," but "in order that we may take up the *παθήματα* next in order after the *γένη* (i. e. without interposing the discussion of the mortal soul, etc., logically required). For this use of *ἐξῆς* cf. 27 E *τὸ δ' ἐξῆς δὴ τούτοις*.

63 A *ἐν οἷς ὄντα*, etc., does not mean "and under what conditions we use them," etc., but "from what sphere or domain where they really are we have been led by custom (and analogy) to transfer them," etc.; cf. *ἐν φ—ἐκείθεν* 49 E and 37 C; cf. 67 E *ἐν ἄλλῳ γένοι τὰ αὐτά*. So in substance Martin, whom our editor seems to have overlooked. Below, Martin's "en posant les principes suivants" is much better than "on the following hypothesis."

63 E. There is no reason for translating *παθημάτων* "conditions" here.

64 A. The exact force of this passage has, I think, been missed hitherto. Plato says he now will take up as last of the *κοινά* pleasure and pain, both as connected with the sensations already discussed and as involved in the special senses. The treatment of the special senses, except in so far as they involve pleasure and pain, is continued in the next chapter, 65 B. The Greek indicates this, but our editor's version, I think, does not. He ignores the force of *καὶ* before *λύπας*. Translate, not "that is the cause of pleasure and pain accompanying the sensations which we have discussed; and also the affections which produce sensation by means of the separate bodily organs and which involve attendant pains and pleasure," but "the cause of pleasure and pain in the affections we have discussed and (in the) affections which producing sensation through the special organs involve also attendant pains and pleasures." The affections of the special senses do not all or always involve attendant pains and pleasures, as Plato goes on to show.

64 B *ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὸ τῆς εὐκινήτου τε καὶ δυσκινήτου φύσεως ὅτι διειλόμεθα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν* is not "recollecting how we defined above the source of mobility and immobility," but simply "bearing in mind our former distinction between the mobile and immobile nature." This distinction plays a great part in Platonism, especially in ethics;

cf. *Repub.* 503 C, *Polit.* 306 E–307 AB, *Theaetet.* 194–5, *Polit.* 311 A, and *Protag.* 349 E, quoted as key-note to John Morley's *Voltaire*, and his statement suggested by Plato that "the cardinal element of character is the speed at which its energies move." ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν refers to 61 E–62 BC rather than to 55 B.

64 C τὸ πρῶτον πάθος, etc., is needed as subject of πᾶρσχε, and must be "understood" with διαδιδόντων; cf. *infra* on 82 A.

65 B ἰδίους μέρεσιν. More than "separate parts"; cf. *Theaetet.* 185 A, 186 D ὅργανον ἴδιον. The κοινά of the *Theaetetus*, however, are conceptions of the mind. Below, for use of δρώντων cf. 64 E, 62 B, *Theaetet.* 160 C τὸ ἐμὲ ποιοῦν, and *Ar. Met.* 1010b, 34 ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν.

65 D. Construe ῥηπτικά with τούτων

66 AB. This "portentous sentence" can, I think, be cured by reading ἐχόντων, as our editor suggests, and by inserting τε after περιτεινόμενα (66 B). ἃ δὴ—καθαρᾶς is an explanatory parenthesis. ἃ δὴ = ἄτε, as often. The following infinitives, γενέσθαι, etc., will then have the same construction as the preceding περιπίπτειν and ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

68 B. "παρασχόμενον scripsi," says our editor, and adds in a note: "Stallbaum, accepting μινυμένου, oddly enough retains παρασχομένη." Here, as elsewhere, he does injustice to Stallbaum by failing to distinguish between text and notes. Stallbaum expressly says: "deinde pro παρασχομένη haud dubie de conjectura Lindavii reponi oportet παρασχόμενον."

68 D τὰ πολλὰ εἰς ἐν συγκεραννύναι, etc. It is a mistake to refer this to the problem of ἐν καὶ πολλὰ in cognition. In 83 C and elsewhere, man is quite competent to this problem. It is the creation of one out of many, etc., that Plato reserves to God; cf. *Sympos.* 191 D. His feeling is analogous to that of the Xenophontic Socrates when he asks if men expect to control the weather by knowledge of its causes.

69 D. The translation is excellent. Is there any authority for making εἰπαράγων active, or for rendering λύπας ἀγαθῶν φυγὰς, "pains that scare good things away"? The note on 86 E seems to imply that pains scare good things away because they bring evil on the soul, but the σπεύδων τὸ μὲν εἰλεῖν ἀκαίρως τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν of 86 C is more to the point, and favors the other rendering; cf. *Leges* 792 C ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος οὐθ' ἡδονὰς φησι δεῖν διώκειν τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον οὐτ' αὐτὸ παράπαν φεύγειν τὰς λύπας.

70 B κατέστησαν. Not "made into the guardhouse," but "placed in the guardhouse"; cf. 71 B.

73 A τὴν τῶν ἐντέρων γένεσιν; cf. 76 E, 75 D φύσιν τοῦ προσώπου, 75 A, 70 C, 71 A, 47 B φιλοσοφίας γένος, 75 B, 76 A, 76 C. For other pleonasms cf. 25 E δαίμονίως ἐκ τινὸς τύχης, 26 E, 31 A μεθ' ἑτέρου δεύτερον, 31 B, 38 C, 66 E, 59 A πεπηγὸς εἶναι γένος, 70 C, 77 B ἐν δίκη ὀρθότατα.

74 A. τῇ θατέρου must, I think, be hopelessly corrupt. Mr. Jackson's interpretation that *θάτερον* is plurality, and the joints represent the principle of plurality in the bones, is more ingenious than convincing.

74 B ἔξιν. This seems an anticipation of the Stoic specialized sense of *ἔξις*.

75 A τὸ περὶ; cf. 24 B, 46 A, 56 C, 67 C, 80 A, 74 E, 79 E, 80 D, 81 E.

75 D τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων. The *ἀναγκαῖον* is contrasted with the *ἀγαθόν* in Plato as the *condicio sine qua non* of a desired end; cf. Tim. 70 E, Republic 347 C, 493 C, where Jowett is misleading, and the pregnant use of the adverb *ἀναγκαίως* Tim. 69 D, Leges 757 E, and Republic 527 A γελοίως τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως, where commentators do not seem to understand that it refers to the necessity (cf. 511 AC) geometers are under of employing the inferior intellectual method, and not at all to the ludicrous necessity of "il faut vivre" so strangely introduced by Jowett.

77 B στραφέντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Our editor repeats the usual wrong rendering of these words, which was long since corrected by Zeller (op. cit. p. 731). Translate: for it ever remains passive to all sensations, and its generation has not granted to it to turn in and revolve upon itself, and repelling motion from without to use its own motion, and getting some perception of its own nature to reflect on its own concernings. The idiomatic use of the participle *στραφέντι*, to which the force of the negative must be extended, is analogous to though not identical with that in Virgil's *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit*. A closer parallel is Rep. 582 B τῷ δὲ φιλοκρεδεῖ ὅπῃ πέφυκε τὰ ὄντα μαθάνοντι τῆς ἡδονῆς ταύτης ὡς γλυκεῖά ἐστιν οὐκ ἀνάγκη γεύεσθαι, etc. For the rest this is not a matter of opinion. Plato's use of phrases like "revolve in and upon itself," "use its own motions," etc., leaves no room for doubt. They always refer to the higher activities of intelligence and its allies, and could not possibly be employed to disparage the passivity of plants; cf. supra 34 A, 36 E, and infra 89 E ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ἀργίᾳ διάγον καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κινήσεων ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀσθενέστατον, etc., which shows that to "use its own motion" is an attribute of the active intelligence.

For the thought in παιδευθέντα above cf. Theaetet. 167 B and Bacon's *Georgics of the Mind*.

77 C-80. Mr. Archer-Hind, with the aid of the Greek original of the Commentary of Galen, published in 1848, claims to have improved on his predecessors' treatment of the theory of respiration.

80 B εὐφροσύνην. Cf. Protag. 337 B ἡμεῖς τ' αὖ οἱ ἀκούοντες μάλιστ' ἂν οὕτως εὐφραينوίμεθα, οὐχ ἡδοίμεθα. Ἡδονή, χαρά and εὐφροσύνη are progressive in dignity. The Stoics allowed χαρά to their sage; cf. Diog. Laert. VII 1, 116 καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἶναι τῇ ἡδονῇ οὖσαν εὐλογον ἔπαρσιν. Plato (Phileb. 33 B) rejects χαίρειν of God. Hence, εὐφρανθεῖς Tim. 37 C, and εὐφραυνόμενοι Leges 739 D. Aristotle is less scrupulous: ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ μίαν καὶ ἀπλὴν χαίρει ἡδονήν Nic. Eth. 7, 14.

81 A ἡ φορά—ἦν τὸ ξυγγενὲς πᾶν φέρεται. Cf. Epin. 988 C. The Timaeus affects cognate, adverbial, and "inner" accusatives; cf. 76 C, 42 C, 40 B, 87 C, 71 E, 60 C, 50 D, and cf. the genitives in 34 A, 50 D, 47 B ὧν . . . τυφλωθεῖς, 20 A, and the dative in 87 D with acc. in 87 E.

81 C τρέφουσα ἐκ πολλῶν ὁμοίων. Aristotle's real reason, I think, for saying that Plato has treated οὕτε περὶ ἀλλοιώσεως οὕτε περὶ αὐξήσεως τίνα τρόπον ὑπάρχουσι τοῖς πράγμασιν, is that Plato fails to explain that ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς τὸ ὁμοιον ὁμοίῳ αὐξάνεται ἔστι δ' ὡς ἀνομοίῳ. (De Gen. et Corr. I 5), and appears to be unaware of the further exquisite distinction that "growth is the accession of potentially *quantified* flesh, while nutrition is the accession of potential flesh" (ibid. in fine).

82 A. Our editor, mainly after Martin, explains correctly a passage bungled by Stallbaum and Jowett. Grammar and concinnity, I think, require us to read προσλαμβάνον. The article τὸ is certainly needed with μὴ προσήκον, and could hardly be spared from προσλαμβάνειν. The participial construction τὸ μὴ προσήκον ἕκαστον ἐαντὶ προσλαμβάνον is perfectly simple, and parallel with μετástasis . . . γιγνομένη above; cf. similarly with παρέχειν 64 C, 65 A, and for thought cf. Symp. 188.

82 B. Construe ἐκτός with τούτων.

82 C τὰ πλεῖστα ἤπερ τὰ πρόσθεν, etc. This can hardly mean that the majority of ailments are due to defects of the πρώται ξυστάσεις. What Plato says is that of the ailments connected with the δεύτεραι ξυστάσεις some are due, like those of the former class, to πλεονεξία (cf. Leges 906 C), but the severest to a reversal of the true order of generation. So Zeller, op. cit. p. 733.

82 D "τὸ δ' αὖ answers ἄμα μὲν." "Dein isti ἄμα μὲν nihil in sequentibus respondet," Stallbaum. ἄμα μὲν obviously is answered by αὐτό τε; cf. Herod. 8, 51 ἄμα μὲν . . . πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοί. τὸ δ' αὖ follows up τὸ δὲ above; cf. my note on the particles, A. J. P., IX 409 (note), and τὸ δ' αὖ after a succession of τὸ δὲ 83 C.

82 D διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν ὁσῶν διηθούμενον. Can it be that Mr. Archer-Hind has, like Stallbaum (per ossium densitatem) and Martin (à travers la substance), ignored the difference between the genitive and the accusative? cf. 59 B, 60 B.

83 C ἄξιον ἐπωϊνμίας; cf. διαφανή 60 A, Repub. 554 ACD, 445 C, Sophist 229 D.

83 C τὸ δ' αὖ. The anacoluthon favors perspicuity by putting the main thought first. This is a constant feature of the Timaeus; cf. 30 C, 37 E, 40 C, 29 B, 41 C, 69 B, etc., hence the frequency of pendent constructions, accusative absolutes and the like.

83 D. Ought we not to read νέον for νέου?

84 A καὶ μηκέτι αὐτὸ ἐξ ἰνῶν ἄμα καὶ νέρων. Our editor accepts Lindau's ἄμα for αἶμα, and emends αὐτὸ to αὐτὸ. This is possible, but the Vulgate can be defended. αὐ does not usually introduce an antithesis in the Timaeus. The substance spoken of is αἶμα, indirectly at least (82 CD). If Plato had had in mind Aristotle's two kinds of *īves* he would have indicated it. The reading of Schneider in the Didot edition is plausible: μηκέτι αὐτὸ ἐξ ἐκείνων (sc. σαρκῶν) αἶμα καὶ νέρων.

84 E α̃ δὴ. Stephanus is offended by α̃ with following τὰ, and rewrites the passage. Stallbaum's instances, Gorg. 483 A, Protag. 313 A, etc., are not in point. 43 C α̃ δὴ is similar, but there is no article. An easy emendation would be ἦ, which is in place in etymologies and explanations of verbal usage; cf. 61 D ἦ πῦρ θερμὸν λέγομεν, and Cratyl. 409 D κατὰ τίνα τρόπον καλεῖται; cf. Thucyd. I 101 ἦ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

86 B ξυμβαίνει γιγνόμενα. This phrase seems to have been one of the mannerisms of Plato's "later" style; cf. Phileb. 42 D, Leges 682 D, 867 E, 874 E. It is crudely imitated by the writer of the Seventh Epistle. 328 A ξυμβῆναι γενομένους and 330 C bis.

86 B τὸ μὲν μανίαν τὸ δὲ ἀμαθίαν. Plato's use of these terms can be traced a little further. The ἀμαθία of the Sophist, which is ignorance plus conceit of knowledge, receives an ethical connotation, as (1) the atheist's conceit of knowledge (Leges 886 B; cf. 881 A), (2) as ignorance of the saving truth of the Republic that virtue is happiness (cf. Leges 734 B), or as the supreme folly of not conforming the will to that knowledge (Leges 689 AB); cf.

Leges 886 BC, where two causes of wrong-doing are assigned: ἀκράτεια ἡδονῶν = μανία (cf. 888 A), and ἀμαθία τις μάλα χαλεπή, that is, atheism which is called νόσος 888 B.

86 C τὸ μὲν ελεῖν . . . τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν. Not "grasp the one or shun the other," but, with Martin, "suivre tel objet, ou de fuir tel autre."

86 D ἀκράτεια καὶ ὄνειδος. The text has already been suspected by Zeller, who conjectures κατ' ὄνειδος, op. cit. p. 719. The slight pleonasm is perfectly natural; cf. Ast. s. v.

86 D κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς. Ethical not metaphysical considerations must be called in to explain Plato's position towards free will. Plato was logically a consistent determinist as far as his instinct as a moral teacher allowed. He feels, with a great modern necessitarian, that it is well to look upon the actions of other men as necessitated, on our own as free. Hence, as a theologian he says αἰτία ἐλόμενου, and as a poet, "Love virtue, she alone is free" (ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον Rep. 617 E), in spite of the inevitableness of Aristotle's objection that virtue and vice must be equally free or necessitated.

Similar inconsistencies can be pointed out in the materialistic school of determinists, from Lucretius (De Rerum Natura III 319-322) to Diderot.

Above κακὸς κακῶς δοξάζεται, κακῶς should not be omitted. It is characteristic of the unctuous style of the Timaeus to qualify with seeming pleonasm the state of mind that accompanies the acceptance or rejection of certain opinions; cf. 30 A ὁρθότατα, 31 A, 49 D ἀσχυνεῖται τις ἑαυτὸν, 62 D, 55 C ἐμμελῶς ἀποροῖ.

87 A οὕτω κακῶς παγέντων. "These vicious conditions" is vague. The meaning is: the physical organization (temperament) of men being so vicious; cf. 82 C ξυμπαγέντος. The participle alone in genitive absolute is frequent in the Timaeus; cf. 47 A ἰδόντων, 19 A, 64 E, 42 E, 58 D (?), 41 C (?). Below, πολιτεία κακαί; cf. Leges 832 B τὰς οὐ πολιτείας ἔγωγε αἰτίας εἶναι φημι.

87 B φυτεύοντας. Not "those who train," but simply the parents; cf. ὁ φυτεύσας πατὴρ Soph. O. T. 793. The translation here, as in 18 D, misses the familiar Greek antithesis of φύσις and τροφή, nature and nurture (cf. Repub. 451 C). Parents are responsible for the constitutions as well as for the training of their offspring; cf. Rep. 417 E of valetudinarians καὶ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν ὡς τὸ εἶδος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα φυτεύειν.

88 A ρεύματα. Fluxes, not chills. Ibid. τ' ἀναντία αἰτιασθαί. Schneider's reading, τὰ ἀνάτεια, is tempting. The thought is that of Rep. 407 C καὶ ἱλγγοὺς ὑποπτεύουσα καὶ αἰτιωμένη ἐκ φιλοσοφίας

ἐγγίγνεσθαι. In the note, Martin's "les qualités de l'âme ne sauraient jamais être ni devenir trop belles," does not mean, as our editor seems to think, "they ought never to be trop belles," but "it is impossible for them to be trop belles." As the expression occurs, however, not in Martin's statement of the Platonic view, but in his own protest against it, one error corrects the other. For the rest, Martin is right to the extent that a modern contemplates with more complacency than Plato did a soul that o'erinforms its tenement of clay.

88 B μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνευ σώματος κινεῖν. This seems to have become proverbial; cf. Sallust, Cat. 8, Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat.

89 B τοῦ τε γένους ξύμπαντος. This is not necessarily an assertion that the "species wears out." It may mean only that there is a maximum fixed for all members of a species generally, as well as a special limit for each member.

89 C παιδαγωγεῖν. The contrast between this and Repub. 406 A is one of the strongest in all Plato.

90 A δαίμονα; cf. Diog. Laert. VII 53; Marcus Aurelius V 27 and passim; Pope's "the God within the mind"; Matthew Arnold, Palladium; Swinburne, Preface to "Songs before Sunrise."

90 C θεραπεία δὲ δὴ παντὶ, etc. Not "the care of this is the same for every man," but "there is one general principle for the proper care of anything, viz." It is a general proposition to be followed by specific application; cf. Phaedr. 237 B περὶ πάντος ὁ παῖς ἀρχή.

91 C παρὰ τὴν ὥραν. Is there any authority for rendering παρὰ "beyond" here? I think we must render, with Schneider, per magnam maturae aetatis partem; or, with Martin, "malgré la saison venue"; cf. παρὰ καιρόν.

92 A οἱ μεταπλάττοντες . . . δίκην. This is the doctrine of the ῥεστώνη ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων (Laws 903 E εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον αἰεὶ βλέπων πλάττει τις μετασχηματίζων τὰ πάντα), whereby soul always seeks its own level (cf. 904 E).

92 C εἰκὼν τοῦ ποιητοῦ. This reading had already been admitted to the text by the Firmin Didot edition. Epinomis 984 A might be quoted in its favor. I do not think it right, but it is useless to argue the question further. As Mr. Archer-Hind says: "The word ποιητοῦ must necessarily be unintelligible to any student of the dialogue who had not arrived at some such conclusion about the nature of the δημιουργός as that which I have done my best to defend."

PAUL SHOREY.

IV.—THE RELATION OF ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ TO ΝΟΜΟΙ AT ATHENS IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CEN- TURIES B. C.

If we are to believe Aristotle, there existed between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα an essential logical distinction, the distinction, namely, between the universal and the particular, the abstract and the concrete. A νόμος was a law of general application; a ψηφίσμα was a decree for an individual case. Or, to quote his own words, ὁ νόμος καθόλου πᾶς (Eth. V 14); οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται ψηφίσμα εἶναι καθόλου (Pol. IV 4). The language of the pseudo-Platonic Definitions is similar, and may, for present purposes, be allowed to pass as substantially identical in purport: νόμος δόγμα πλήθους πολιτικὸν οὐκ εἰς τινα χρόνον ἀφωρισμένον· ψηφίσμα δόγμα πολιτικὸν εἰς τινα χρόνον ἀφωρισμένον. That the first half of this antithesis, in whichever way worded, is on the whole true, admits of no dispute. In spite of νόμοι ἐπ' ἀνδρί, we may say that the word νόμος, unlike *lex*, generally implied universality and intended permanence. The case stands otherwise with the second half of the antithesis. As a general definition of ψηφίσμα it will not do at all. Thus, not to go outside of Attika for illustrations, the ψηφίσματα of Attic tribes, phratries, demes, and non-political corporations must needs often be general and permanent regulations.¹ However, Aristotle's statement is not to be judged from the lexicographer's point of view. The context of the sentence quoted above from the Politics shows that the writer is there thinking, not of subordinate bodies, but of a sovereign state. Presumably he had his eye especially upon Athens. Here there were, at least in his time, two organs of legislation, the Nomothetae and the Ekklesia, and although etymologically the name ψηφίσματα was applicable to the enactments of both bodies, usage had restricted it to those of the latter. The proper point of view, then, from which to judge Aristotle's statement is that of Athenian constitutional law. The question is, Was the Ekklesia, according to the theory of the Athenian constitution, incompetent to enact general laws? Modern writers on Greek political antiquities,

¹ E. g. CIA II 564 (lines 6-11); 841b (lines 26 ff.), with its continuation in the Ἀρχαιολ. Δελτίον, 1888, pp. 161-3; 570 (lines 11 ff.); 624 (lines 1-20).

influenced, no doubt, directly or indirectly, by Aristotle's great name, take the affirmative answer for granted, at most admitting a cautious qualification or two.¹ But the subject deserves a new and unprejudiced examination.

Before proceeding to the evidence, it is worth while to remember that the distinction of abstract and concrete is not always broad and unmistakable. The two classes shade into one another, and a merely verbal change may transform a proposition from the one to the other. Which is then *à priori* more likely, that the illogical populace who framed and worked the Athenian constitution should have made a corner-stone of such a distinction, or that Aristotle should have been guilty of an unwarrantably sweeping generalization?

But let us look at the facts. And here it is important to distinguish between the periods before and after the archonship of Eukleides.

² In the pre-Euklidean period, then, we find in the first place that in dealing with an allied or subject state the Ekklesia might assume, as well as impose, permanent obligations. The terms made with conquered Chalkis³ afford an instance in point. Again, in the conduct of internal affairs, it fell to the Ekklesia to define the classes of persons entitled to entertainment in the Prytaneum,⁴ to impose a permanent tax for the benefit of the temple of Demeter and Kora at Eleusis,⁵ to prescribe the mode of election and the duties of a new board of financial officers,⁶ or to enact rules for the celebration of festivals.⁷ These may be called administrative measures. But we have law in the narrowest sense of the term in the psephism of Isotimides,⁸ *εἶργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν τοὺς ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ δμολογήσαντας*, in that of Alkibiades⁹ relative to *παράσιτοι*, and in that of Kannonos,¹⁰ defining the mode of trial and the punishment for the crime of "wronging the people." Nay more. The great constitutional changes of the fifth century were carried, so far as

¹ Cf. Busolt in the Handb. d. kl. Alt. IV, p. 124.

² For several references in this paragraph and the next, acknowledgment is due to Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen*, pp. 47-56.

³ CIA IV 27a.

⁴ Ibid. I 8.

⁵ Ibid. IV 27b.

⁶ Ibid. I 32.

⁷ *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1883, 167 ff.; Plut. *Per.* XIII 5.

⁸ Andok. I 71.

⁹ Polemo in Athenaeus VI 26. Schoemann (*De Comit. Ath.* p. 249) did not believe that this was a decree of the Ekklesia.

¹⁰ If the psephism of Diopieithes (Plut. *Per.* XXXII 1), *εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας*, was intended to be of permanent application, it would be another case in point.

we can see, through the Ekklesia. This was the case, if we may trust Plutarch,¹ who probably gets his information from Krateros' συναγωγή ψηφισμάτων, with the removal in 478 of the property qualification for the archonship. At any rate, in 411 the ξυγγραφεῖς ἀντοκράτορες reported to the Ekklesia,² which no doubt formally ratified their proposals. And a little later the Ekklesia took a decisive part both in settling the principles of the transitory compromise constitution,³ and in putting the restored democracy on a lasting basis.⁴ Thus we find this body, sometimes with,⁵ sometimes without the assistance of a special committee, enacting general ψηφίσματα on all sorts of subjects. Nor is there a shadow of reason for supposing that, in so doing, it was exceeding its constitutional powers. Furthermore, although the name νόμοι was appropriated especially to fundamental laws of immemorial date, these general psephisms might be called νόμοι also. The ψηφισματοπώλης of Aristophanes⁶ sells νόμοι. The psephism of Kannonos is called a νόμος by Xenophon, in the speech which he puts into the mouth of Euryptolemos.⁷ And when the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία⁸ includes νόμων θέσις among the duties of the Senate, it accords best with what we know from other sources of the legislative methods at Athens in the fifth century, to understand here the preparation of προβουλευήματα for submission to the Ekklesia.

In view of all this evidence, two conjectures may be hazarded: first, that in the period under consideration Athens had no organ of legislation except the Ekklesia (the Senate having, at most, as in the post-Euklidean period, a narrow independent competence); and second, that there was no constitutional hindrance to general legislation by the Ekklesia, nor even to the repeal of existing laws, the only constitutional (as distinct from moral or sentimental)

¹ Arist. XXII 1.² Thuk. VIII 67.³ Ibid. 97.⁴ Dem. ag. Leptines 159; Lyk. 125, 127; Andok. I 96-98.

⁵ No distinction has been made above between συγγραφαί, or bills prepared by special committees, and other psephisms. Foucart (Bull. de Corr. Hell. 1880, p. 248) calls the συγγραφαί "une catégorie de mesures législatives . . . qui est distincte des lois et des decrets." Similarly Dittenberger (Sylloge Inscr. Graec. 13, 1): "medium quodammodo inter νόμους et ψηφίσματα." But the συγγραφεῖς were not empowered to take final action. The measures they proposed had to pass the Ekklesia like any others, and this implies that the Ekklesia, in theory at least, reserved the right to reject such measures, if it chose; so that, in discussing the powers of the Ekklesia, there is no ground for considering the συγγραφαί as a class apart. Cf. Foucart, op. cit. pp. 252-3.

⁶ Birds 1035 ff.⁷ Hell. I 7, 23.⁸ Ibid. 3, 2.

restriction being that the moving a psephism in conflict with an unrepealed law exposed the offender to a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. In short, the Ekklesiasts were literally, in Antiphon's phrase,¹ *κύριοι πάσης τῆς πολιτείας*.

If the foregoing hypotheses be sound, then the permanent institution of the Nomothesia in the archonship of Eukleides was an innovation of cardinal significance. By it the Ekklesia was deprived of its sovereign character and became, to speak in modern terms, subject to a written constitution. It is not impossible that at a later period the Nomothetae became degraded into mere instruments for recording the will of the general assembly. The decree CIA II 115b, in which the Nomothetae are instructed under penalties to enact the supplementary legislation necessary for carrying the vote of the Ekklesia into effect, may mark the beginning of this process. If and in so far as such degradation took place, it virtually restored the Ekklesia to its pre-Euklidean prerogatives. But for at least half a century, as we know from the orations of Demosthenes, *Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους* and *Πρὸς Λεπτίνην*, the Nomothetae were in theory, and probably in practice, a truly sovereign body. The Ekklesia might prevent, but could not force, the repeal of an old law or the passage of a new one. It is interesting to compare this with the institutions of the United States. There the people amend the constitution, and the legislature is a committee of the people; in Athens the people were the ordinary legislature, and the constitution was amended by a committee of the people. But, from the point of view of constitutional law, the resemblance is deeper than the difference. In fact, the resemblance goes farther than has yet been indicated; for the subjection of the Ekklesia to the *νόμοι* had for its corollary that unconstitutional psephisms were liable to review and practical annulment by a dikastery.

Yet even in this period the Ekklesia was not inhibited from enacting general decrees, provided they did not conflict with existing laws. In the department of foreign affairs, into which the *νόμοι* did not intrude, this is a matter of course; CIA II 17 is a classic instance in point, and there are others in plenty. And in internal affairs we find the Ekklesia issuing a police order against the dumping of rubbish in the agora and streets of the Peiraeus,² regulating the celebration of the Panathenaea,³ and legislating in

¹ Tetr. B, a, 1.

² Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* 337, lines 35-45.

³ CIA II 163.

regard to trespass on sacred precincts.¹ Again, it is hard to resist the inference that the psephism *περὶ εὐσεβείας*, appealed to by Lykurgus² to clinch his case against Leokrates, was of the nature of a general law. These instances belong, it is true, to the period for which it was above suggested as possible that the Nomothetae had lost or were losing their sovereign prerogatives. If one should choose to suppose that the first and second of the measures just cited were formally ratified by the Nomothetae, it would be hard to disprove it, though there is nothing in the record to favor the supposition. And at any rate the others were obviously not so ratified, or they would have been called *νόμοι* outright. Moreover, it is significant that we never hear of a complaint, much less of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, based upon a psephism's being of general application. Aristotle³ does indeed censure the degenerate democracy for encroaching in its psephisms on the province of the laws, but says explicitly, what we have seen to be false, that a psephism cannot be general law. That the law of Leptines was passed by the Ekklesia is anything but clear, in spite of the sweeping language of Demosthenes.⁴ And in any case, the orator attacks the measure on the ground, not of its generality, but of its unconstitutionality; while his often-quoted words, *ψηφισμάτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι*,⁵ refer, as the context shows, to the frequency with which new laws were enacted, and not to the mode of their enactment. But as it was difficult to pass a general psephism without coming into conflict with existing laws, the proper consequence would be that such psephisms would be few and far between. This was actually the case, so far as our records go to show. No doubt the Athenian constitution was a most unstable structure. But the picture which it has been the fashion with modern authorities to draw, of the Ekklesia unconstitutionally arrogating to itself the function of general legislation, to the exclusion of the Nomothetae, does not seem to have any good basis of evidence.

FRANK B. TARBELL.

¹ See CIA II 841, lines 7-18. This may belong, according to Köhler, to a period a little later than the end of the fourth century. Other third century examples are afforded by CIA II 352b, and the inscription given in the *Ἀρχαιολ. Δελτίον*, 1888, pp. 187-8.

² Lyk. 146. Cf. further the psephism regulating the distribution of the theoric fund: Dem. XLIV 38.

³ Pol. IV 4.

⁴ Dem. Lept. 94.

⁵ Ibid. 92.

NOTES.

ON A PASSAGE IN THE TRINUMMUS.

Dei dívites sunt, deós decent opuléntiæ
Et fáctiones ; vérum nos homúnculi
Vatillum animai ; quam quom extemplo emísimus
Aequó mendicus átque ille opulentíssimus
Censétur censu ad Áccheruntem mórtuos.

(Plaut. Trin. 490-495.)

In view of the many emendations proposed for this passage, I beg leave to submit the following conjecture, namely, *vitella* or *vitellula*, a substitute for the initial word in line 492. These words, diminutives of *vita*, present several possible readings, and these I shall endeavor to defend after a brief review of the diminutives.

Diminutives of the second or third order may be formed from substantives of the first or second declension that have already become diminutives by the addition of the suffixes *-la* and *-lus* with the connecting vowel *u*. (Vid. Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* I, §2238 & η.) *Vita* would thus pass through the following stages : 1 *vita*, 2 *vitula*, 3 *vitella*, 4 *vitellula*, just as 1 *cista*, 2 *cistula* (Amph. 420), 3 *cistella* (Rud. 1109), 4 *cistellula* (Rud. 391). Hence there seems no objection to the formation of the words.

It is needless to speak of the emendations already proposed, as this may be found in the last Ritschl edition (Schöll, 1884), *Appendix critica* l. c. The manuscripts offer, A *satillum*, (B, C, D, Z) *sal illum* or *sal illu*, whence Loewe has conjectured *Vatillum* (*Batillum*), and (F) *tantillum*. These words bear a strong resemblance to one another, and confusion is easy. Assuming *vitellam* to have been the original, it is an easy step to *vatillum*, thence to the errors of *sal illum*, *satillum*, seeing that *vitella* would be ατ. λεγ., while *vatillum* is elsewhere accredited. Here the confusion is among letters greatly similar, and one readily made by a copyist in transcription. I am, therefore, inclined to think *vitella* may have been the original reading. These words give us an intelligent reading, which is somewhat obscure with the other conjectures save that of Fritsche, *scintilla*, or *scintillula*, adopted

by Brix, which is, however, '*longius a fide memoriae.*' The readings will now be taken up separately.

1. Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitellam et animam quí quom extemplo emísimus.

The punctuation is changed from that found in the Ritschl edition, and the two words *Vitellam et animam* drawn into the relative clause. The deviations from the manuscript are slight, namely, *lanimam* for *animae* or *anime*, and the insertion of *et*. The redundancy causes no objection, as Plautus frequently uses synonyms, with or without connecting particles (vid. Lorenz, Einl. Pseud. p. 43, Anm. 40, and Brix, Trin. 302).

2. Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitellulam animam quí quom extemplo emísimus.

Here the diminutive of the third order is used, and the substantives placed asyndetically.

3. Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitellulae animam quí quom extemplo emísimus.

The diminutive of the third order is again used, and *anima* in the signification *breath*.

4. Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitellulam animae quí quom extemplo emísimus.

And lastly, *animae* of the manuscripts may be retained, *vitellula* assuming the transferred sense of *vita* = *victus*, a peculiarly Plautine use of the word.

All the above readings avoid the hiatus, and seem to adhere to Plautine usage. The translation is relieved of heaviness and obscurity, and rendered easy and intelligent. The omission of *sumus* may be justified by the strong contrast the verse bears to *Dei divites sunt*, whence it may be easily supplied (vid. Brix, Trin. 535, and Anhang to this passage).

I should then propose the following reading :

Dei dívites sunt, deós decent opuléntiae
Et fáctiones ; vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitellam et animam quí quom extemplo emísimus
Aequó mendicus átque ille opulentíssimus
Censétur censu ad Áccheruntem mortuos.

CHAS. W. BAIN.

ON AVESTA *f* = ORIGINAL *pv*.

It is generally accepted that in the word Av. *āfəntəm* 'aquosum,' *āfəntō* 'aquosi,' the *f* is sprung from orig. *pv*—that Av. *āfənt-* stands for orig. **āpvant-*. (So Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache* s. v. compares Skt. *āpavant-*, see PWb. s. v. on the *a* between *p* and *v*, also Justi, p. 362, §57; see especially Bartholomae, *Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte*, §89b; Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik*, §473, §159.) No other example for the rule seems to have been given; see Bartholomae, loc. cit.; but Justi, §57 *kaofa-* and *sifa-*. Two instances, however, may perhaps now be suggested as falling under this head; these will support the law, and the forms themselves will thus be clearly explained.

The first instance to be added is in Ys. 57. 29 *āfənte*. The form is 3 pl. pres. mid. (pass.) from √ *āp-*, *ap-* 'to attain' according to the (Skt.) VIIIth Conjugation, i. e. **āp-vantē*; cf. Av. *kərənvanṭe*. —Ys. 57. 29 will thus be rendered: 'Who (i. e. the horses of Sraosha) overtake all those whom they pursue from behind, but they themselves are never overtaken from behind.'

The second suggestion is from Ys. 57. 17 to consider the adjective *hušhvafa* 'slumbering' nom. sg. = orig. **sušvapvan-* or **sušvapvant-* (√ *svap-* 'to sleep') according as *van-* or *vant-* stem. The Av. *hu-* (*su-*) looks like the prefix *su-* 'well,' but as Professor Geldner kindly writes me, it may also be a reduplication (cf. Skt. pf. *sušvāpa*) as *ci-* in Skt. *cikīvdn-* 'wise' (also adjective). The form nom. sg. *hušhvafa* is like *ašava* if from *van-* stem, or like *račva*, *amava*, etc., if from *vant-* stem.

The law of phonetic change in Av. may be regularly explained thus: the *v* must have had its voiceless spirant value (Germ. *v*, Eng. *f*) and spirantized the preceding *p*, cf. Av. *tv* (*v*-vocalic) beside Av. *pw* (*v*-spirant). The combination *fv* (*fw* voiceless = phonetically *ff*) was no longer tolerated, but according to the regular Av. law, avoiding the repetition of the same sound, was reduced to *f*. Hence orig. *pv* = Av. **fv* (*fw* voiceless = phonetically *ff*) = *f*.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

F. W. SCHMIDT. *Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern. Nebst einem Anhang zur Kritik der Anthologie.* 2 Bde. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886.

Among the many books that have loaded the editor's table for months and mutely appealed for some notice, none makes stronger demand for sympathy than Prof. F. W. Schmidt's 'Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern.' In these two volumes we have the results of a long life of patient study and devotion, and even if, as must needs be the case, a large proportion of the emendations proposed cannot hope for the heaven of the conjectural critic, incorporation into the text, still the erudition and acumen with which the emendations are commended make the work one of great interest and usefulness, and young students may learn much from the way in which the peccant verses are handled. To discuss these hundreds of conjectures is, of course, out of the question—the space at the command of the Journal is too limited—but it was thought that a simple registration of the changes made in those plays that are most frequently read in American schools and colleges might be of service to teachers and scholars, and might be considered as a tribute of respect to the veteran critic. But it has turned out that in the course of registration sundry observations have forced themselves on the writer, and the notice has grown insensibly into its present bulk. It is hoped, however, that the objections raised here and there will not seem to imply similar dissent all through—and yet it would be a want of candor to say that the results of this prodigious labor commend themselves to any considerable degree as successes. To be a success an emendation must fill the mind of a student with perfect peace, and many, I venture to say most, of Professor Schmidt's emendations irritate rather than soothe. Nay, if found in the text, some of his favorites would have been counted as thorns, not roses. An emendation that needs a highly artificial translation, such as the one to be cited on Aischyl. Ag. 663, is self-condemned; and while in So. O. R. 370: τὰ πάντα might not have been turned out of the text if found in the MSS, why foist it in despite the excellent tradition, to the weakening of the παρήχσεις and the effacement of the tumultuous passion that marks the hasty utterance of Oidipus? The surprise of τὰ τ' ὅσα is part of the dramaturgy. But we will not anticipate.

AISCHYLOS, P. V. 2 read Σκίθην ἀκύνον'. 27 οὐ πέφυκε σοί. 292 μείζον' ἂν ὦραν (Burgess, νείμαιμ' ἢ σοῦ). 442 τάδε βροτοῖς δωρήματα. 1031 ἀλλ' ἐκ καρδίας εἰρημένος.

Sept. 244 θοῦρος γὰρ Ἀρης. 308 βενμάτων for πωμάτων. 590 οὐκ ὄγκῳ νέμων for εἰκυκλον νέμων of the second hand. (Verrall says that νέμων has no meaning, in other words, denies that it can be used as νωμών). 811 ἰσθ' ὡς ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἡναῖροντ' ἄμα. | οὕτως δ' δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἄρα. 1009 ἐν πάλῃ (anticipated by Stadtmüller). 1025 ὦδε for τῶδε (with a valuable list of parallels).

Ag. 97 καὶ θέμις εἰπεῖν. 327-8 τάλανες κασιγνήτων τε κτέ. | ἀνδρῶν τεκόντων τ' οὐκέτ' κτέ., τεκῶν and γέρων being elsewhere confounded; 360 τάχα δειλαίας for μέγα δουλείας. 418 ὁ μάτων ἐν ἐρημίαις. 492 τὸ νύχιον for τὸ δ' ἔλθόν. 515 θεῶν for φίλον. 520 φαιδροῖσιν ὁμμασιν τὰ νῦν. 549 σκληρὰς δ' ἀπόντων κοιρανῶν ἐτλης τύχας. 615-16 αὐτὴ μὲν εἰποῦσ' εἶρπε μανθάνοντί σοι | τορὸν τιν' ἐρμηνεύει δὴ τομοῖς λόγον. 617 τῆς στολῆς κοινὸν κράτος. 626 πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἢ λθεῖς μόνος ἐξ Ἰλίου, | ἢ χεῖμ' ἐκείνον ἀλλοσ' ἤρπασ' ἐκ στρατοῦ; 635 ἐλθεῖν τε λυπησαί τε κτέ. 663 ὅστις ἐστὶ δὴ θεῶν (d. h. wer den Göttern zugethan ist) for χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν. 640 πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἡ δὲ πολέμειαν τύχην. 674 Μενέλεω γ' ἐμοὶ | πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα τοι δόκει μέλειν. 676 εἰσρᾶ for ἱστορεῖ. 846 ἐμμενεῖ or αὐ μενεῖ. 854 τύχη for νίκη. 859 δεῖξω βίον for λέξω β., a common confusion. 886 ὁδόν τρέφει for δ. φέρι. 912 σὺν θεοῖς εὐήμερα. 961 ὄγκος with Ty. Mommsen, but 962 ἡμῖν for ἔχειν. 999 θερμαίνεις δόμον for σημαίνεις μολῶν. 1003 ἐπείγει for ἐρεῖδει. 1046 σχήσεις παρ' ἡμῶν. 1048-9 ἐντὸς δ' ἀλοῦσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων | πείθου' ἄν, ἡ πάθοις γ' ἀπειθοῦσ' ἄν κακῶς, to the effacement of one of Hermann's pet lines (A. J. P. VI 487), and in the teeth of the echoing verse 1393 χαίρουτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίρουτ' which S. ends thus: ἐγὼ μέγ' ἤδομαι (comp. also So. O. R. 936). 1052 εἰσω φρενῶν ἄν οὔσα πείθοι' ἄν λόγῳ. 1124 τελεῖ or πελᾷ. 1129 στέγαν for τύχαν. 1133 κακᾶν γὰρ δυνά. 1200 γονῇ for πόλιν. 1256 νέφω τὸ πῦρ μ' ἐπέρχεται μένει. 1285 τί δῆτα δ' οὐσ' ἐπακτὸς ὦδ' ἀναστένω; 1290 ἰθ', οὐ στενάξω | τλήσομαι κατθανεῖν or ἰοῦσ' ἄρ' εἰσω κτέ. 1430 κᾶν τήνδ' ἀκούοις. 1497 μηδεὶς λέξῃ δ' | Ἀγαμέμνονιαν καίνειν ἄλοχον. 1546 μελῶν (anticipated by Wecklein) αἰκῶς. 1605 ἔρνος for ἐπὶ δέκ'. 1630 πάντα τοι. 1654 ἀμὰ γὰρ τὰδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πρότερα δύστηνον θέρος. 1659 εἰ δ' ἄκος μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' αἰὺς πεπλήγμενοι | δαίμονος χολῇ βαρεῖα δυσμενοῦς, δεχοίμενοι' ἄν. 1669 παῖς' ἀγάλλου δὴ μαινῶν τὴν δίκην, ἐταίς γ' ἀρά. 1670 ἴσθι μοι δῶσαν ἀποινα τῆσδ' ἐπηρείας, γέρον.

SOPHOKLES, Ai. 65 ἄγαν ἀγων (ἀγω and ἔχω being often confounded); 270 οὐ κάτοιδα σοὺς λόγους. 461 προδοῦς (anticipated by Mekler) τ' Ἀτρεΐδας. 523 οὐκ ἂν πέλοι τοιοῦτος for οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ' ἐθ' οὕτως (see A. J. P. III 491, where this verse is discussed). 781-2 transpose πέμπει and Τεύκρος. 784 δύσμορ' ἐπέδωξ. 923 οἷος ὦν σύ γ' ὥς ἔχεις. 988-9 ἰθ' ἐγκνέει, σύκαμν' ὅτ' ὀρφανοῖσι τοι | φιλοῦσιν ἄνδρες δυσμενεῖς ἐπεγγελᾶν (θανοῦσι and κειμένοις of the text displaced are no more tautological than Eur. famous τέθνασιν οἱ θανόντες). 1054 δῆτ' ὄντ' ἔτ' or τηροῦντες for ζητοῦντες, which, acc. to Schmidt, cannot mean ἐξετάζοντες. IIII στόλου πολλοὶ λεφί. 1195 ἐτενυξεν for εἰδεξεν. 1307 ψέγων for λέγων, with Erfurd, a common confusion as between ψόγος and λόγος. 1324 ἤκουσεν ἐχθρά.

O. R. 140 κάμ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ χειρὶ ποτ' ἐναίρειν θέλοι. 273 Καδμείους θ' ὄσοις. 284-5 ἀνακτὶ Φοῖβῳ κτέ | μάλιστα φωρᾶν κτέ. 296 ὥ μὴ ἐστι δρᾶν τι. 360 ἡ ἐτέρω λέγω; cf. Ar. Ran. 64 ἡ ἐτέρα φράσω; 370 τὰ πάντα for τὰ τ' ὦτα. 374 διαστρέφῃ (for μῶς τρέφῃ) πρὸς νυκτός, an emendation which suggests Ar. Eq. 175 εὐδαιμονήσω δ' εἰ διαστραφήσομαι. As Teiresias was blind, the literal meaning lies too near, and could anything be more Sophoklean than τρέφῃ? 389 εὐ μὲν δέδορκε. 420 foll. S. rewrites thus βοῆς δὲ σῆς τίς οὐκ ἀκούσεται μέλῃ or βοῆς τε τῆς σῆς τοῦ ποτ' οὐκ ἔσται μέλῃ, and then with greater confidence ποιοῖς Κιθαρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος γόοις, | ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν ἔμνηαιον, ὃν

πάλαι | ἀνορμον εἰσέπλευσας, εὐπλοίας τυχών; Whereon it may be remarked that the language of Teiresias is designedly obscure, and to flatten out such a passage is not to emend it. The λιμήν of v. 420 is a fearful foreshadowing of v. 1208, ὃ μέγας λιμήν, and the figure, if dark to Oidipus, was plain enough to the audience. Every one who has read the Thesmophoriazusiai knows how Aristophanes rings the changes on the 'port' idea (cf. δεῦρ' ἐσπλέων, v. 1106, with O. R. 424 εἰσέπλευσας), and the same figure is used of the other sex, as is shown by Theogn. 459-60 οὐκ ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν · ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ | πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα. Whatever else is changed, λιμήν is not to be changed. 424 λαχών for ἄλλων. 440-41 οὐκ οὖν τοιαῦτ' ἄριστος εὐρίσκειν ἔφης; | σὺ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἰδίζεις, ἃ μ' ἤρε καὶ μέγαν, by which we lose the angry retort in εὐρήσεις which we want, and gain a lame καί which we can dispense with. 445-6 ὥς παρών με δυστομῶν | ὀχλείς, συθείς τ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἀλγύνοις λέγων. 495 ἐπίσασμον. 597 ἄρχῃς δ' ἐκείνη ταῦτ' ἔχεις ἴσον νέμων; 'beherrschest du aber dies Land (ταῦτ' ἔχεις) mit jener die Herrschaft teilend?' 594 οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον. 598 ὦν γὰρ τυχεῖν ἐρώσει, πάντ' ἐν τῷδ' ἐνι. 600 οὐ τὰν ἐγένετο νοῦς ἐμὸς καλῶς φρονῶν. 608 δήλου δ' ἔλεγχου μή με χωρὶς αἰτιῶ. 635 νεικοῦντες, although, as S. himself notes, the verb is not used in tragic poetry. 676 σοὶ μὲν δοκῶν ἀλλοῖος, ἐν δὲ τοῖσδ' ἴσος. 682 δάκνει δ' ἀγαν τὸ μὴ ἐνδοικον. 708-9 οὐνεκ' ἐστὶ τοι | βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικὴν ἔχον τέχνην. 715 ξενικόντοι 'professional murderers'. 718 ἔρμην' ὁ παδῶν. 724 ἔχῃ μέριμναν. 750 ἐχώρησ' οἶος. 792 γεννήσοιμ' for δηλώσοιμ'. 930 ναίους for γένοι'. 936 ἡδοιτό γ' ἂν, πῶς δ' οὐχ, ἃ μ' ἀσχάλλοι δ' ἰσως. 1013 ἐστὶ δὴ φοβούν. 1031 ἐσχάτοις δντ' ἐν κακοῖς. 1050 ἐσθ' ἐύρεῖν τάδε. The objection made is to the passive inf. εὐρῆσθαι. Untaught by Wecklein and Schmidt, one would have considered the common text a beautiful example of the force of the perf. inf., and one might have thought that the pass. form was not only more common as a representative of the pass. imperative, but more delicate in the circumstances. See Rehdantz, Indices, s. v. Infin., where there are many passive examples, and add Isok. 5, 103 πάντων γ' ἂν εἴη σχετλιώτατος εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο καταλελυθῆναι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν. Oidipus says in effect εὐρῆσθω τάδε. 1073 λύσσης for λύπης; 1084-5 τοῖσδε δ' ἐκφῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλθοιμί τις | ἀνθρῶπος, οὐ' στι μὴ ἐκμαθεῖν λῆγον γένος. S. does not translate this 'untadelhaften Gedanken,' nor does he observe that it admits of more than one rendering. Perhaps that gives a Sophoclean charm to the passage. 1137 πάροικεν ἤμεν ἐς for κάτωιδεν, ἥμος τὸν κτέ. | ὁ μὲν κτέ. | καπλησίαζον κτέ. 1156 τὸν δ' εἰ δέδωκας παῖδ' δν οὗτος ἱστορεῖ. 11671 ἐκ δαμάτων for γεννημάτων. 1267 δεινὰ μὴν τάνθενδ' ὄραν. 1284 ἐσχάτων for αἰσχύνῃ is suggested but immediately taken back. 1286 ῥοπή for σχολή. 1291 μενῶν, λόγοις ἀραῖος οὐς ἡράσατο. 1292 πάντως δ' ἀρωγῇς κτέ. 1400 αἰ πατρὸς αἶμα κτέ. | ἐπιερ' ἐρεμνόν, to the utter destruction of the passion of the original, which is perfectly explained by Jebb, αἰ τοῦμὸν αἶμα τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν ἀπο | ἐπίετε πατρός. It is a characteristic of Oidipus that he speaks too fast even in quiet passages, how much more natural is the epanorthosis πατρός here! 1512 ἐν δὲ τοῦτ' εὐχος φανῶ | οὐ χάρις ἂν ἦ ζῆν, with the translation 'hoc tamen unum votum expromam, ut ubicunque libeat (votis vivere) vos vivatis.' 1518 δοικον for ἀποικον. 1523 οὐ σοί γ' ὀλεβίφι.

Ant. 183 οὐδαμοῦ νέμω. 390 σχολή ποθ' ἤξειν δεῦρ', ἀναξ, ἤχουν ἐγώ. 517 οὐ γὰρ τριδουλος ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς ὤλετο. 700 ἀρ' ἡμῖν for ἐμεμνή. 788 ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων. 855 τάλαν for πολύν (La.). 1183 ἄνδρες γεραῖοι for ὧ πάντες ἀστοί.

EURIPIDES. Here we must definitely limit ourselves to two plays.

Alc. 83 *αἰεί* for *ἐμοί*. 180 *ὄλην* for *μόνην*. 223 *τόνδ' ἐφορεύεις*. 225 *ἀπότηρεψον* or *ἀπώσων* for *ἀπόπανυσον*. 231 *ἐτ' ὄψει* for *ἐπόψει*, which would infallibly have been put back if *ἐτ' ὄψει* were in the text. This conjecture is, in spite of the respected critic's protest, 'eine blasse Spielerei'. 274 *κάλγιον* for *καὶ παντός*. 278 *ἔχομεν* or *τοῦμόν* for *ἔσμεν*. 228 *πόλλ'* for *δῶρ'*. 304 *διαδόχους* for *δεσπότης*. 313 *πῶς κορευθήσῃ καλῶς, ἐτέρας τάχ' οὔσης*; 328 *ἄλοχον* for *εἶχον*. 356 *κάρτ' ἐστὶ λευσσεῖν*. 360 *κατ' ἡδον ἄν* (with Weidner), the aor. *κατήλθον* not being tenable. So 362 *εἶργον* for *ἔσχον*. Nauck has in the former passage *κατῆα*, in the latter *εἶχον*. But the aorist with *ἄν* can be opposed to an aoristic present as well as to an aoristic past, and Nauck's canon would force us to change many passages or to conceive them unnaturally. To the examples in Kühner, II 974, add Eur. I. A. 1211 sqq., Philem. fr. 129 (4, 48 Mein.), Dem. 18, 76, where *εἰ γὰρ εἶχες* (= *οὐκ ἔχεις*, not = *οὐκ εἶχες*). Isok. 13, 4 *εἰ . . . ἐπώλουν* (= *οὐ πωλοῦσι*, not = *οὐκ ἐπώλουν*), *οὐκ ἂν ἡμφισβήτησαν*. In Thuc. 2, 62, 1 *ἐχρησάμην* may be explained by *ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγους*, but it is not necessary to resort to Zeugma. 365-6 are to be omitted as an interpolation, and 367 we are to read *κάν νεπτέροισι*. 423 *μέλποντες* for *μένοντες*. 459 *νεπτέρα σε*. 481 *στόλον* for *πόνον*. 495 *δόρπον* for *χόρτον*. 526 *οἶκτον* for *εἰς τόδ'*. Wakefield's *εἰς τότε*, 'when the time comes,' seems to satisfy the conditions in spite of Dr. Schmidt. 530 *λελείμμεθα* for *μεμνήμεθα*. 533 *ἄμοις* for *ἄλλως*. 539 *μ' ἐρδοῖς* for *ἐλθοι*. 540 *ἡ δόμους* or *ἂν μόλοι* for *εἰ μόλοι*, which it is not the least necessary to disturb. If one must have an explanation of the conditional form, it is given in the preceding verse, *μὴ τοσόνδ' ἔλθοι κακόν*. *εἰ μόλοι* suggests, in conformity with the origin of the optative condition, *μὴ μόλοι*. See A. J. P. III 436. 543 *οὐ σε δαΐσομεν* for *οἷ σ' ἐξάσομεν*. 565 *καὺ τῷ μὲν οἶμαι κτέ*. 574 *νομοῖς* for *δόμοις*. 617 *δυσπετῇ* for *δυσμενῇ*. 648 *καὶ πατέρα πανδίκως ἂν ἡγοίμην ὁμοῦ*. 666 *οὐ δ' ἐμοῦ τυχῶν κτέ*. 667 *μέλω* for *λέγω*. 669-72 *μάτην*—*βαρὺ* are obelized; 673-4 *παῦσαι κτέ*. | *λῶβαις* for *ὦ παῖ κτέ*. 687-8 *ὅ βλεως μὲν ἀρχάς, πολυπλήθους δὲ καὶ γνάς*. | *λήψῃ δὲ πατρὸς ἀπερ ἐδεξάμην πάρα*. 690 to be put after 691 (*χαίρεις ὁρῶν φῶς κτέ*). 713 *μάσσον'* for *μεῖζον'*. 720 *μνήστεν' ἐτ' ἄλλας* or *μν. πλεῖους*. 724 *οὐκ οὐ ν γε λῆς γε, τόνδε βαστάζων νεκρόν*; 728 *τήνδε δ' ἡῖρες ἄφρονα* for *τήνδ' ἐφηῖρες ἄφρονα*, in which the asyndeton and the compound are both better than what S. gives us. 792 *πάντα* for *ταῦτα*. 808 *ὦ τᾶν* for *τάλαν*. 812 *σύννοικον* for *τιν' οὔσαν*. 814 *τῷ δ' οὐ θυραίων πημάτων ἄρ' ἦν ὁ τλος* or *ὁ δ' οὐ θυραίων π. ἄλ γ εἰ π ό τ μ φ*. The text as it stands reads *ὁδ' οὐ θυραίων πημάτων ἄρχη λόγος*. 'This speech opens with no foreign woes.' Cf. Tro. 983 *τοῖνονμ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχη θεᾶς*. Every time the servant begins to tell his tale he has something to say that contradicts the statement, 805 *γυνὴ θυραῖος ἡ θανούσα*. This recurring *ἀρχή* forces itself on the hero. 826 *κάνεστρεφον* for *ἀλλ' ἡσθόμην*. 827 *κουράν τ' ἄχει προσφόν*. 828 *κεῖνος ἐκφέρειν νεκρόν* for *κῆδος εἰς τάφον φέρειν*. 844 *πεινῶντα* for *πίνοντα*. 857 to be deleted. 866 *νεκύν ἄγαμαι* for *κεῖνον ἔραμαι*. 906 *εὐ τλάς* for *ἔμπας*. 907 *ἄχος* for *ἄλς*. 930 *σε φίλα* for *φίλιαν*. 1005 *φωναί* for *φῆμαι*. 1009 *στέγειν* for *ἔχειν*. 1045 *μή με, μμνήσκεις κακῶν* to be omitted, and 1046 *ἄδακρυς εἶναι*, and then with transposition *τήνδ' ὁρᾶν ἐν δώμασιν* | *οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μὴ νοσοῦντι κτέ*. 1055 *ἐμβήσας*. 1058 *συνευνέκτιν* for *εὐεργέτιν*. 1070 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ λέγοιμ' ἄν, εὐ σ' ἔχειν τῆχης*, | *χρηδ', ὁσιος εἰ σὺ, καρτερεῖν θεοῦ δόσιν* (with an interesting list of ellipses

of εἰ). 1087 νέοι γάμοι πόθον for Guttentag's νέος γάμος πόθον. 1097 τήνδε γ' ἐνναίειν δόμον. 1125 θέα τις ἐμπαίζει τάχα. 1152 ἀπερχεσθαι for ἐπείγεσθαι.

Medea 49 οἰκοῖσθαι for οἰκῶν κτῆμα. 77 τοῖσδε δὴ παισὶν for τοῖσδε δόμασιν. 143 παραθελγομένη for παραθαλπομένη, with a long list of passages where θέλγειν and θάλπειν are confounded. 182 γὰρ τάδ' for καὶ τάδ'; 240 οἷοις μάλιστα τέρπεται συνενέτης. 301 στυγερὸς for λυπρὸς. 319-20 suspected. 325 οὐ γὰρ ἐμὲ πείσεις ποτέ. (We hope nobody will be so cruel as to quote Ar. Plut. 600 οὐ γὰρ πείσεις οὐδ' ἦν πείσης.) 334 σοῦ πλέον κεκτῆμεθα for κοῦ πόνων κεκτῆμεθα. 382 φόνους χερὶ ῥάπτουσα for δόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα. 384-5 are cut down to κράτιστα τλῆναι φαρμάκοις αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν. 533 μ' ὤνησας. 540 ὁροις ἐν ὥκεις. 545 τῶν γε σὼν πόνων πέρι. 606 μὴν ἄλλου σ' ἐνεκα προσοῦσ' ἐγώ. 780 μὴ ἔλάν for μείναι. 863-4 οὐ τῷ ξέμου γὰρ παῖδ' ἐσόψεται ποτε | ζῶντ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲ τῆς νεοζίγου. 955 ἐκγόνοις ἐμός. 1079 νέων for ἐμῶν. 1108 σῶματ' ἐς ἥβην δ' ἦλθε. 1110 δαίμων ἔτερος, φροῦδ' εἰς Ἀἶδην | θαλερῶν κτέ. | πῶς ἂν λῖοι; 1188 λιπαροὶ for λεπτοί. 1291 γένος for λέχος. 1327 ἐτι for τε. 1338 νηλεῶς for λέχος. 1382 μείον for λῦει. 1370 οἱ δ' for οἶδ', and again v. 1371. 1374 κνίξη for στυγῆ. 1388 τίνων for ἰδών.

The motto prefixed to the collection is taken from Stob. Flor. XXIX 26, but with a modest emendation. Stobaeus has ἀπανθ' ὁ τοῦ ζητοῦντος εἰρρίσκει πόνος. Professor Schmidt reads, with a slight but significant variation, οὐ πάνθ' ὁ τοῦ ζητοῦντος κτέ. Well and good, so long as there is real πόνος and not toying conjecture merely.

B. L. G.

The Sacred Books of the East. Translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. XXXI. Oxford, 1887.

The Zend-Avesta. Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrnagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS.

During the last ten years, active and very successful efforts have been made in the criticism and interpretation of the Old Iranian religious book, the Zend-Avesta, the Bible of the Parsees. The present volume of Mr. Mills is a new and very welcome proof of this fact. It finishes the treatment of the Avesta in the series of the "Sacred Books of the East," ed. by F. Max Müller, thus completing the well known translation of the Vendidad and Yashts by Mr. T. Darmesteter.¹

Dr. Mills, who has now given us the translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrnagân, and Gâhs, was led by his researches into Gnostic philosophy to devote himself to the study of the Avesta, and more particularly of the Gâthâs, for the principal traits of the ancient Zoroastrian faith are most prominent in these hymns, which are not very extensive, but constitute the most ancient part of the Zend-Avesta. Dr. Mills² went to Germany for this purpose, and spent more than ten years in collecting and studying all accessible materials for a translation of the Gâthâs. He has been in communication with almost every Zend scholar of note in Germany, France, England, and India, and has thus become so familiar with the different views of the two opposing schools of

¹ See A. J. P. II 322 foll.

² For a detailed account of Dr. Mills's studies see A. J. P. III 499 foll.

Avesta-interpretation as to be able to judge of the merit of each of them in removing the darkness which still obscures the Avesta, and to be able to profit by both their methods. Being of opinion that it is not sufficient to study the original Zend text, he looked for other means of instruction. We recall the excellent words which Max Müller delivered years ago in his lecture on Veda and Zend-Avesta, with regard to the interpretation of the Avesta: "Not a corner of the Brahmanas, Sutras, in Yaska and Sâyana, ought to be left unexplored ere we risk to give a translation of our own," and Dr. Mills, by applying them to Avestic studies, has acted in the same spirit. He not only made himself acquainted with the Pahlavi and the Parsi translations, but also referred to the Iranian dialects, and especially to the rich and highly developed Neo-Persian language, which is calculated to shed light on points still dark in the grammar and exegesis of the Avesta, since, by a correct application of phonetic laws, many Old Iranian words may be reconstructed from Neo-Persian forms. That the Vedas have been drawn on as a further help for interpretation of the Avesta is a matter of course. Dr. Mills was well aware what excellent services the study of the Vedas has already rendered to Iranian philology, and that it will probably continue to do so in future, and that the Gâthâs especially ought to be studied in the light of the Vedas, though he is by no means of opinion that Veda and Avesta are identical. Dr. Mills, moreover, pays due regard to etymology and comparative philology, the value of which for the study of the Avesta has, in fact, never been disputed. But the time is certainly past when it was thought possible to complete a translation of the Avesta, which abounds in new and indisputable revelations, solely by the help of comparative philology, disregarding tradition.

As early as 1885 Dr. Mills printed for private circulation, as a result of his laborious studies, one volume of his edition of the Gâthâs which is to come out in two volumes. It was distributed among Orientalists in Germany, France, Belgium, England, and America, and is now well known.

The second volume is to contain a commentary and a glossary, and we are awaiting its publication with the greatest interest. But pending the appearance of this work, which was interrupted by Dr. Mills's engagement to write the present one, we welcome this latter as a highly gratifying event.

In the preface Dr. Mills gives his leading views as a translator of the Gâthâs. Then follows a highly instructive introduction, from which we will only point out the author's opinions with regard to Zarathustra, the origin and age of the Avesta and the Pahlavi translation. Zoroaster, according to him, is an historical personage. Parts of the hymns ascribed to him and to his immediate associates may have been interpolated, but the Gâthâs as a whole show great unity, and the interpolations are made in the spirit of the original. And that Zoroaster was the name of the individual in which this unity centres we have no sufficient reason to dispute. The scene of the Gâthic and original Zarathustrianism was, according to Dr. Mills's opinion, the north-east of Iran, and the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathustrian tribes were migrating westward in Media. The populations among whom these hymns were composed were made up chiefly of agriculturists and herdsmen; accordingly rapine and raid, affecting them in their interests as such, were regarded as the most terrible of visitations. The religion which

appears in the cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of Persepolis and Behistun may have been Gâthic Zarathustrianism or something closely related to it, at any rate it was not the religion of the Vendidad. A form of Mazda worship, which had not yet forbidden the burial of the dead, seems to have existed in primeval Iran long before Zarathustrianism, for an important inscription is written on a tomb, and it is very probable that some form of it survived unadulterated by Zarathustrianism. In view of the established age of the oldest Riks, dating from 1500-2000 B. C., the Gâthâs may possibly have been composed as early as about 1500 B. C.; it is also possible to place them as late as 1200-900 B. C., while the fragments in the Gâthic dialect must be considered somewhat later.

The dates of the composition of the several parts of the later Avesta must be supposed, according to Dr. Mills's opinion, to extend over many centuries. He places the later portions of it somewhat earlier than Darius, while he extends the period during which its several parts were composed so far as perhaps to the third and fourth century before Christ, while interpolated passages, or indeed whole Yashts, may be very late.

Very interesting and instructive are the author's utterances concerning the Pahlavi translation and its study. He says (Intro. xxxix-xl): "In rendering the Pahlavi as a necessary prelude to rendering the Avesta, all possible help should of course be sought from the Asiatic translations of the Pahlavi, from those of Neryosangh in Sanscrit, and from the still later ones in Parsi and Persian. Here, again, those who read the Pahlavi only as rendered by Neryosangh need great caution. If Neryosangh is simply read like the classical Sanscrit, great errors will be committed. He needs a glossary of his own, and should be read only in the light of the Pahlavi, which was chiefly his original. So of the Parsi Persian translations, they must be read with especial attention to their originals. After these original translations have been fully mastered, and compared with an improved rendering of the Gâthic, likewise also studied in the full light of the Veda, the patient scholar will be surprised at the result. He will find that, to a certain extensive degree, the two sources of information coincide when reasonably estimated, and, moreover, that where the Pahlavi gives us an indication differing from that derived from the Vedic, the surmise of the Pahlavi is the more often correct. I say 'reasonably estimated,' for not only is the Pahlavi, as a less highly inflected language, incapable of rendering the Avesta literally, but its authors do not uniformly make the attempt to do so; nor do they always follow the order of the Gâthic or Zend. Their translations generally run word for word as to their outward forms, for the ancient interpreters probably regarded such a following as essential to a complete rendering, but they found themselves compelled to resort to the most important exceptions. And, lastly, the rejection or total neglect of the Pahlavi translations and their successors, on the ground that they contain errors, is a policy which seems to me defective, and to the last degree. What absurdities can Sâyana be capable of, and yet who would utter final opinions upon the Rigveda without either the ability, or the attempt, to read Sâyana?"

The main point of the whole work is certainly the translation of the Gâthâs, which are prominent already by their relative extent when compared with the translations of the remaining Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, Gâhs, and miscel-

laneous fragments. The translation of the Gáthâs is accompanied by many remarks which partly endeavor to support the translation and partly give deviating opinions of other scholars. The translation is closely literal, but filled out and rounded as to form by the free use of additions. When it is read with a critical eye, it will be observed that the translator occasionally strove after a more pleasing effect, but as we lose the metrical flow of the original entirely, such an effort to put the rendering somewhat on a level with the original in this respect becomes a real necessity.

Each hymn is preceded by a synopsis, and the author's talent (certainly acquired by theological studies) in following the often twisted train of thoughts and disentangling them has proved eminent here. He reminds one of an excellent interpreter of the Old Testament, who, when striving to interpret difficult psalms or doubtful passages from the prophets, must often try with all possible sagacity, but also with the greatest love and devotion for his task, and with a great faculty of after-feeling, to find out the hidden connexion of ideas and to put it in due light.

In fine, this translation is based throughout on solid studies and on a careful use of the existing materials. In a department of science where, in spite of many successful co-operating endeavors, much is still left to be done, a work like the present will certainly be efficacious, and we gladly acknowledge having drawn from it ourselves ample instruction and impulse for further inquiry. In a subject so much disputed as the Gáthâs are, it is inevitable that some of the views delivered in the introduction, as well as several parts of the translation, will meet with contradiction. When proceeding from earnest scholars, whose only aim is truth, contradiction has its rights and will be useful to science. But when proceeding from dilettanti who have come forward with studies half or less than half completed, and who are nevertheless consulted by a public which is ignorant as regards the innermost laws of science, contradiction is surely to be complained of. But the hard-working specialist may console himself with the consciousness that he has himself honestly striven to do his duty and that he has searched earnestly for the truth. Therefore we have the wish and firm hope that a book whereon its author has set a good portion of his lifetime (more than ten years) may find many attentive, thinking, and unprejudiced readers.

JENA, February 9, 1889.

EUGEN WILHELM.

A New English Dictionary, on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Part IV, Sect. I, Bra-Byz, completing Vol. I (A and B); Sect. 2, C-Cass, commencing Vol. II. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

Part IV of the New English Dictionary has been too long unnoticed in this Journal. It is, as seen above, divided into two sections, completing Vol. I and commencing Vol. II. With the first section is issued the preface and introduction to Vol. I. The latter has been noticed with Part I in this Journal (V 361); the former is, in part, new and is dated April, 1888. The plan of the work is familiar to all readers of the Journal, and it remains but to note progress as the work is issued from time to time.

The letters A and B include 31,254 words (A 15,123, B 16,131), divided as follows: main words, 22,232; special combinations, 4292; subordinate words, 4730; and the main words are classified as current, 15,380; obsolete, 5982; and imperfectly naturalized or alien, 870. It will thus be seen that a little more than one-fourth of the whole number of main words are obsolete, more in A than in B, so that the editor says: "Fewer of the Old English and Norman words have dropped out of use than of the much more recent learned importations of the Renaissance, which, after a short literary life, perished before the end of the seventeenth century." Any reader of late sixteenth and of seventeenth century prose can corroborate this statement, and it is a blessing that this has happened, for otherwise the vocabulary of the language would have been much more highly Latinized than it is. The editor says further: "It is also worthy of note that, of the whole English vocabulary on record since the twelfth century (so far as A and B show), more than three-fourths [even of main words nearly three-fourths] is still in current use"; and "the general fact furnishes striking evidence of the continuity and general identity of our language during seven centuries." Why then is the historical study of the language still tabooed in so many institutions of learning, and, even where recognized, too often looked at askance, and relegated to a subordinate position in the requirements for college honors, so that, as Professor Toller, of the Victoria University, England, writes (in a recent private letter which I take the liberty of quoting): "English is a sister of Latin and Greek all allow in theory, but when it is a question of going into society, English is Cinderella. I hope, however, the glass slipper and the prince are somewhere in the future!"

The Preface refers, further, to the question of admission or exclusion of proper names and their derivatives, the unsettled spelling and pronunciation of certain words, and the general difficulties of the work, quoting on this point from Dr. Johnson's Preface, but these difficulties have been enhanced a thousand-fold since Dr. Johnson's time, for so much more is now required. The editor may be commended for his caution, and his fearlessness in writing "derivation unknown," wherever necessary, for it is well not to be cocksure of everything. In another point the system adopted deserves commendation. While commenting on the fact that the vocabulary of this Dictionary "will be found to be, even in its modern words, much more extensive than that of any existing Dictionary," the editor well adds: "In connexion with this, it has to be borne in mind that a Dictionary of the English Language is not a Cyclopaedia: the Cyclopaedia *describes things*; the Dictionary *explains words*, and deals with the description of things only so far as is necessary in order to fix the exact significations and uses of words." It is doubtful whether the two can be satisfactorily combined, and the effort to do both may result in the proverbial "falling between two stools."

The Appendix to the Preface contains the names of the sub-editors and of those readers who have contributed at least 1000 quotations. In the latter list it is interesting to find several names of residents in this country, although not so many as might be desired. The great Dictionary should represent the work, as well as the vocabulary, of both branches of the English-speaking race. In respect to the latter point little difference will be found to exist, but

some words of local origin in this country are used, and therefore should be duly recorded. A cursory examination has been made in respect to this point with satisfactory results. A few words developed during the late Civil War may be cited: *Bummer* is characterized as "*U. S. slang*," and its definition is given in the first quotation from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 Sept., 1865. The corresponding verb, however, as in *to bum around*, is not included among other verbs of like spelling. It may be remarked just here in passing, for the benefit of our purists, that *Bumble-bee* is noted as a good word from 1530 on; we need not be restricted to *humble-bee*. *Bushwhacker* and its cognates are also "*U. S.*," found in the sense of "backwoodsman" in Irving as early as 1809, and in its transferred military sense in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1862. The color *Butternut* is defined as "of a brownish-grey," and explained as "the color of the Southern uniform in the American War of Secession." This is liable to convey a wrong impression. For the benefit of our English friends it may be stated here that the color of the Southern uniform was a bluish-grey, and that the uniforms furnished by some of the States to their troops were of a *butternut*, i. e., brownish, color; so that, when the writer in the *Cornhill Magazine* for January, 1863, speaks of "The regiments in homespun grey and butternut that trail dustily through the high streets [of Richmond]," he means two entirely different colors. The earliest quotation for the color is from Mrs. Stowe's *Pearl Orr's Island* (1861). A "*Butternut*" is defined, from *The Times* of 6 March, 1863, as "one who sympathizes with the South." We have not yet reached "*Copperhead*" in the second Section of this Part, but, as is well known, that word was much more common in this signification. In this Section "*Carpet-bagger*," a war-product, receives due recognition. These words illustrate the attention that has been paid to including American words of recent origin. Another American product that has crossed the water and gotten into the Dictionary is *Butterine*, first advertised in *The Grocer* for March, 1874, and in *Parkes's Manual of Practical Hygiene* (1878) we find: "A substance from New York has lately made its appearance in the market under the name of butterine." But as illustrating two points, that quotations for the use of words are still being accumulated as the work progresses, and that our English brethren can coin words as well as Americans, I quote the last example, from a newspaper of 14 July, 1887: "The dairy farmers scored heavily against the butterinists by securing the substitution of the word 'margarine' for 'butterine' in the bill for regulating the sale of imitation butter." The editor has not ventured to include the noun '*Butterinist*,' but there is an example to his hand, not a year old when this Part was issued, so that it is, perhaps, one of the latest word-formations in present English speech.

Perhaps it will surprise some Americans to find the word *Bug* as applied to an insect marked "Now chiefly *dial* and in U. S.," though the quotations reach back to 1642. It but shows that we still preserve words in everyday use that are obsolescent in England. "The U. S. slang 'a big bug' for an aristocrat, 'swell,'" is assigned to *Bug*, *sb.*¹ = bogy, "though regarded by those who use it as referring to *Bug*, *sb.*²"; but "U. S. *fire-bug*" is included under *Bug*, *sb.*² = insect. It may be added that the etymology of this *Bug* is unknown; that of the former, in use from the fourteenth century *bugge* to eighteenth century, is "possibly from Welsh *bug* = a ghost"; the word "now survives only in the compound *Bugbear*."

This must suffice for a very inadequate notice of this valuable work. It is a work that no library can dispense with, and it is replete with information and interest on every page. The sole drawback is "the element of time," which, the editor says, "still remains inexorable," but he adds, "since the close of Volume I, it has been the aim of the editor and his staff to maintain such a regular rate of progress as will ensure the production of one Part a year." In that event we may soon look for Part V, but even at that rate it will be twenty years before the work can be finished. This is sailing too close to the wind, and for the benefit of those of us who may have no use for mundane dictionaries by that time, as well as to secure the completion of the work by the present efficient editor and his staff, we may express the hope that it may be found possible to increase materially this rate of progress. We would not have the work slurred to effect this, but perhaps an increase of working force may expedite it.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Chaucer. The Minor Poems. Edited by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

We at last have a complete and critical edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, and are indebted for it to Professor Skeat, the indefatigable worker. It will be sufficient to describe just what this edition is, and to commend it to all *Fachmänner*. After an Introduction of lxxxvi pages, follow XXIII poems, occupying pages 1-222; the Notes fill pp. 223-404, the Glossarial Index, pp. 405-451, and the Indexes of Proper Names and of Subjects Explained in the Notes, pp. 452-462.

The Introduction is very full and complete, giving the testimony of Chaucer, Lydgate, Shirley, the scribes of the MSS, and Caxton, to Chaucer's works. The early editions of Chaucer's works are next enumerated, the table of contents of Stowe's edition (1561)—Part I, reprinted matter, and Part II, Stowe's additions—is given, and the poems contained in each Part are discussed. The poems added in Speght's editions of 1598 and 1602, and those in Dr. Morris's edition of 1866, are next considered. Then follow a complete list of the MSS, about forty in number, nearly all of which have been printed in the Chaucer Society's publications, and remarks upon some of the most important MSS at Oxford (6), Cambridge (4), and London (10), after which each of the twenty-three poems is considered at greater or less length, filling some forty pages of the Introduction.

The last three poems are printed as an Appendix. No. XXI is copied by Shirley in MS Harl. 78 as a continuation of the "Complaint to Pity," and its lines are so numbered in Furnivall's "Odd-texts of Chaucer's Poems," but Stowe's edition of 1561 prints it as a separate poem. Prof. Skeat says that it has nothing to do with the "Complaint to Pity," and is a succession of metrical experiments, two fragments furnishing "the sole example, in English literature of that period, of the use of *terza rima*, obviously copied from Dante; and Chaucer was the only writer who then had a real acquaintance with that author." Nos. XXII and XXIII are additions made by Prof. Skeat, discovered by him while searching various MSS of Chaucer's Minor Poems in the British Museum. They are both in Shirley's handwriting, though they are not claimed by Shirley

for Chaucer, but Prof. Skeat thinks that for the first the internal evidence is irresistible, and that the second fulfills all the usual tests of metre, rime, and language. Both poems are in Troilus-verse, the verse also of the "Parliament of Fowls," and the last stanza of the first one shows direct connection with that poem. The internal evidence for Chaucer's authorship is very strong, stronger to my mind than in No. XXI, and we are thus indebted to Prof. Skeat for the recovery of two of Chaucer's poems never before printed, the one of 91 and the other of 21 lines. In No. XXIII, line 19 seems to me susceptible of emendation by reading *suffren* for *suffre*. The line is as follows:

"Ne yit to long to *suffre* in this plyte."

According to Chaucer's usual practice, *e* in *suffre* would be elided before *i* in *in*, which would destroy the rhythm, whereas if we read *suffren*, we preserve the rhythm, and we preserve the form used by Chaucer under similar circumstances in "The Book of the Duchesse," line 412:

"Had mad it *suffren*, and his sorwes."

Various readings are given at the foot of each page, and the Notes state the reasons for particular readings or emendations, so that we have at last, what has been long wanted, a critical edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems. We could wish that the "Legend of Good Women" had been included, but its length forbade. Prof. Corson's edition of it has long been out of print, and it is not now accessible except in editions of Chaucer's complete works. Prof. Corson's edition should be reprinted.

It may be remarked, in passing, that Prof. Skeat makes no mention of Prof. Lounsbury's excellent little edition of the "Parliament of Fowls," which has been long before the public, but perhaps it has not yet found its way across the water; and while recognizing that this poem "may have been written in 1381, in which case it may very well refer to the betrothal of King Richard II to Queen Anne of Bohemia," Prof. Skeat omits to give credit for this discovery to Dr. John Koch, of Berlin, whose essay on the subject was long ago reprinted in the Chaucer Society's Publications. He quotes from Prof. Ward's "Life of Chaucer," but Ward simply follows Dr. Koch's essay.

The reader is referred to the Introduction itself for Prof. Skeat's reasons for the acceptance or rejection of certain poems heretofore included in Chaucer's works. Besides the three above-mentioned, Prof. Skeat has added two others found in Chaucer MSS, one of which has been printed by Maetzner as a specimen of Chaucer's Minor Poems, and he has rejected "The Mother of God," with others now generally regarded as spurious. As it stands, the edition will be welcomed by all lovers of Chaucer.

J. M. G.

The Poems of Laurence Minot. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JOSEPH HALL, M. A. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1887.

Mr. Hall has given us a handy little edition of the eleven lyrical poems written in the Northern dialect by Laurence Minot—a Yorkshireman, as is thought—in commemoration of the victories of Edward III over the Scots and over the French during twenty years of the fourteenth century (1333-52).

Very little is known of the author, hence Mr. Hall occupies part of his Introduction in telling what is known of some others of the same name who flourished during this century, in order, as he says, that "it may help some more fortunate searcher." The leading characteristics of the grammar and metre are noted, showing that the author wrote in the Northern dialect, "but with a slight admixture of Midland forms," and that he was a skilful metrist for his time. Every poem but the third is written in stanzas; five of them use the alliterative long line with end rime, and the others vary the form of the stanza; the prevailing rhythm of the former is trochaic and dactylic; of the latter, iambic.

These poems were first printed by Ritson in 1795, anonymously, and reprinted in 1825 with Ritson's name. They were again printed by Wright in 1859, in his "Political Poems and Songs," and in 1884 by Scholle in No. 52 of "Quellen und Forschungen," with "an elaborate grammatical and metrical study of the poems, a normalized text, and a few notes." In 1876 Bierbaum published "a dissertation principally on the grammar and historical interest of the author."

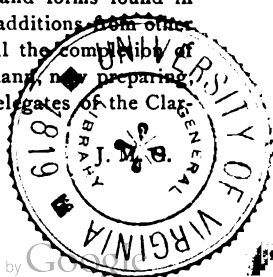
Minot's poems have also been treated in Chapter X of the recently published (1889) fourth volume of Morley's "English Writers," but Prof. Morley does not seem to have heard of Hall's edition, for, while the works of the other writers above-mentioned are noted, Hall's is omitted. These poems are preserved in but one MS (Cotton, Galba, E. ix), and we are thankful to the scribe for having included them in the other more notable contents of the MS, all enumerated by Mr. Hall, for in the dearth of lyrical poetry before Chaucer, Minot's poems, though less than a thousand lines all together, occupy a conspicuous position. We are grateful to editor and publishers for having presented them in such a neat and convenient form, especially for school use in the teaching of Middle English.

J. M. G.

A Concise Dictionary of Middle English from A. D. 1150 to 1580. By the Rev. A. L. MAYHEW, M. A., and the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL. D. Edin., M. A. Oxon. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

This work is intended, as the Preface states, "to meet, in some measure, the requirements of those who wish to make some study of Middle English, and who find a difficulty in obtaining such assistance as will enable them to find out the meanings and etymologies of the words most essential to their purpose." It gives under one alphabet "*all* the words and *every* form contained in the glossaries to eleven publications in the Clarendon Press Series," namely, the three well-known volumes of Morris and Skeat's Specimens (1150-1580), their equally well-known volumes of Chaucer selections, Skeat's Wycliffe publications, his Piers Plowman selections and Tale of Gamelyn, and Bramley's edition of Hampole's Psalter.

It may thus be called a convenient hand-list of words and forms found in all the texts contained in these publications, with some additions from other sources, and will serve very well to effect its object until the completion of Maetzner's M. E. Dictionary, or the new edition of Stratmann, now preparing, as Prof. Skeat tells us, by Mr. Henry Bradley for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.



REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1887.¹

Fascicle 7.

57. Zur geschichte griechischer göttertypen. F. Back. I. Hermes und Dionysos mit besonderer rücksicht auf die darstellung des Pheidias. The figure on the east side of the frieze of the Parthenon, opening the assembly of the gods, is Hermes. Next to him is Apollo, and next to Poseidon is Dionysos. Hermes and Dionysos are represented by Pheidias as beardless youths. B. adds an historical review of the development of this type.

(28). Zu Sophokles Aias (651). H. Blümner and R. Paehler. A closing word from each party in the discussion of the reading of the line cited.

(33). Skylla in der Aristotelischen poetik und der jüngere dithyrambos. Th. Gomperz. A reply to Susemihl (see Jahrb. 1887, fasc. 3 and 4).

(20). Zu Thukydides. R. Wöhler. Note on II 54, and the pronunciation of the diphthong *οι* (*λιδος—λοιιδος*).

58. Hat sich das klima Italiens seit dem altertum geändert? F. Olck, Königsberg. This is directed against Heinrich Nissen (Italische Landeskunde, I 396-402), who has sought to prove that such a change has taken place. In Petermann's Mitteilungen, Fischer had raised the question in 1879 and given a hypothetical affirmative. Cantoni, Enciclopedia Agraria I, Torino, 1880), a good authority, takes the opposite ground—the same ground with Olck. The present article concludes: "daz alle überlieferten natur-phänomene nur auf die stabilität des klimas in historischen zeiten hindeuten und daz einige derselben eine fast absolute sicherheit dieses schlusses verbürgen."

59. Zu Ciceros Sestiana. A. Weidner, Dortmund. Critical note on §69.

60. Zu Ciceros rhetorischen schriften. Th. Matthias, Zittau. Notes on *de inventione*, *de oratore*, *de opt. gen. orat.*, and *topica*.

61. Zu Ciceros reden. Steuding, Wurzen. Notes on *pro Roscio*, *de imp. Pomp.*, *pro Murena*, *pro Sestio*.

62. Zu Ennius, Lucilius, Juvenalis. E. Baehrens, Groningen. (1). On fr. 348b, Baehrens reads: <non ego cuncta quam uerbis comprehendere>, monstra si sibi lingua loqui speret atque ora decem sint, in moerum [= murum] ferro cor sit pectusque reuinctum. (2). On some new fragments of Lucilius. (3). Juvenal XIII 168, read *longis* for *parvis*.

¹ As soon as the arrears are overtaken, it is hoped to make the report of the Jahrbücher somewhat fuller—Ed. A. J. P.

63. Das Danaebild des Artemon und Plinius. W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. Note in defence of the reading *praedonibus* (XXXV 139), directed against Helbig (Bull. dell' Inst. 1865, pg. 232), who proposes *piscatoribus*.

64. Zu Vergilius Aeneis. O. Keller, Prag. Critical notes on I 461 (*lacrimae rerum*), II 552 (*lateri...abdidit*). *Rerum* = "die welt," and is to be construed with *mortalia* (*sunt lacrimae, rerum* etc.) Regarding *lateri*, the question is raised whether it may not be a locative.

65. Auguralia. P. Regell. On two passages of Festus, (1) pg. 245b, 12-14m, and (2) 245b, 31-34. Regell completes the first thus :

< propter->
via ap<pellantur auspicia quae se propter viam>
ostent<ant, quae si dissimilia sunt et maiore vi,>
infirm<antur superiora auguria minora.>

The second thus :

P<ullaria auspicia denuo obser->
vanda iudicant pri<oribus auspiciis aut perperam aut pro->
pere administratis, u<t repetitis auspiciis superiora>
stabiliantur.

The article concludes with observations on the "doctrin der collision verschiedener auguralzeichen."

66. Zu Tacitus Agricola. K. Hachtmann, Hermann Kothe. A discussion of c. 18, §6, with the proposed emendation of *qui mare* to *qui ratem*. This is followed by Kothe on c. 30, who proposes *nam et uni* for *nam et universi*—translating: wir sind das letzte unabhängige volk der insel, etc.

Fascicle 8.

67. Anz. v. A. Breusing, die Nautik der Alten. K. Buresch. The book is one of great scientific and paedagogic value. Of especial interest are the discussions of Homeric matters, and of the shipwreck of the Apostle Paul. Buresch closes his review with certain contributions of his own to the discussion of the subject.

68. Der Kokalos des Aristophanes. E. Hiller. Kock's note, "interdum Araroti fabula tribuitur," is erroneous.

69. Zu Aristophanes Wespen. K. Zacher. Critical notes on 107, 147, 191, 599, 603, 680 f., 699.

70. Zu Aristophanes Frieden. K. Zacher. Critical notes on 152, 201, 241.

71. Zur Anthologia Palatina. H. Stadtmüller. A number of critical notes.

72. Zu Ciceros Laelius. K. Meissner. Critical notes, in which are discussed (a) insertions of words such as *amicitia* in passages in which it is very possibly a gloss, as in §5 twice, §50, §63; *si* before *bonis*, §64; *esse debent*, §67; *dimittendis*, §76; *agrestibus*, §81; *non comitem*, §96. (b) omissions of words owing to resemblance or identity of letters, especially in

the terminations (see §§15, 33, 48, 68, 89, 91); (c) passages faultily transmitted (see §§33, 41, 68, 74, 77, 95).

73. Zu Phaedrus Fabeln. Th. Gomperz. Note on I 5, v. 8, *quia sum fortis*.

(64). Zu Vergilius Aeneis. Th. Maurer, F. Weck, W. Gebhardi. (1). On X 186, where M. reads: . . . *Ricina o paucis*, etc., on V 194, VII 804, 188. (2). On III 682-687. (3). On I 299; Gebhardi strikes out *ne . . . finibus arceret*.

74. Zu Cornelius Nepos. E. Anspach. Notes on Milt. 5, 3; Them. 7, 2; Cim. 2, 5; Epam. 3, 2; 4, 6; 9, 1; Pelop. 5, 1; Ages. 3, 4; 5, 2; Eum. 1, 1. Also by W. Boehme, on Them. 4, 1; Aris. 2, 2; Paus. 2, 6; Lys. 4, 1; Alc. 7, 3; Thras. 1, 5; Dion. 5, 5; Iph. 2, 4; Chabr. 3, 3.

(55). Zu Horatius. K. Nieberding. On Sat. II 2, 23 ff. N. reads line 29 thus: *carne tamen, quam vis, distat nil haec avis illa*, and gives reasons. On II 2, 9 ff., an explanation of the sense.

Fascicle 9.

75. Die beschreibung des marktes von Athen, und die enneakrunos episode bei Pausanias. P. Weiszäcker. The inner kerameikos is described under the following heads: 1. The west side of the market. 2. The south side and the orchestra. 3. The north side. 4. Additional *stoas* and *kolonos agoraios*. Then follows an extended discussion of the "enneakrunos-episode" in Pausanias, whom W. is inclined to defend against charges of inaccuracy.

76. Nochmals die schlangentopfwerferin des altarfrieses von Pergamon. W. H. Roscher. The writer abandons one of his former hypotheses (Jahrb. 1886, p. 225 ff.), that the figure is an Erinys, and supports his other conjecture, that an Hygieia is intended, by new arguments.

77. Zu Sophokles Oidipus Tyrannos. H. Steuding. Critical notes on 360, 715, 1478, 1528.

78. Zu Gregorios von Nazianz. G. Knaack. K. calls on A. Ludwich to prepare a critical edition of all the literary remains of Nazianzen.

(55). Zu Horatius (Carm. III 30). E. Schultze, St. Petersburg. An exegetical account of the entire ode, with a suggested rearrangement, namely, the omission of the second line, *regalique situ pyramidum altius*, and the insertion of *ortus, at ingeni | fama factus in urbe* after *regnavit populorum*.

79. Zu Tacitus Dialogus. H. Steuding. Critical notes on cc. 6, 25, 31.

80. Th. Vogel: Anzeige von S. Dosson, Étude sur Quinte Curce. An analysis of the book into four principal divisions—the first discussing Curtius in relation to the writers of antiquity; the second, the relation of the historian Curtius to historical tradition; the third, Curtius the man; and the last, the purposes Curtius had in mind in the composition of his work. The review is generously favorable.

(54). Zu Terentius. Hans Gilbert. The change in Andria 315 proposed by himself on p. 428 of this volume, should read *quid nisi illud*, etc.

81. Martialis Catullstudien. K. P. Schulze, Berlin. The best work on Martial as an admirer of Catullus is Paukstatt's dissertation, "de Martiale Catulli imitatore" (Halle, 1876), a work to which Friedländer has confessed his great indebtedness. In the present article Schulze adds not only passages from Catullus of which Martial felt the influence, but passages from other writers, as Tibullus and Horace.

Fascicle 10.

82. Die pronomina *μιν* und *νιν*. A. Thumb. *μιν* grew out of a union of the particle *μα* (which we find in the Thessalian *μὰ* and the Sanskrit *ma*), and the accusative *ιν*. In like manner *νιν* is from the particle *νὺ* (Sanskrit *nu*, Gothic *nu*) and *ιν*.

83. Zu den Orphischen Argonautikā. A. Ludwig. Notes on 57, 118, 820, 846, 1189.

84. Opferspenden. P. Stengel. An able and interesting discussion of this somewhat neglected subject.

85. Zu Sophokles Antigone. K. Nieberding. In 4, for *ἀρης ἀρεῖ* read *ἀτήρ' ἀπερ*. In 782 read *τλήμοσι* for *κτήμοσι*, and translate, "Eros, der du kühne helden bewältigst, der du auf den zarten wangen der jungfrau wohnst."

(37). Ad Plutarchi de proverbii Alexandrinorum libellum nuper reperi-
tum. O. Crusius. A large number of valuable notes.

(55). Zu Horatius. W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. On Carm. II 13, 13 ff. Recent editors of Horace confess to finding a difficulty in *Poenus* (15); Lachmann proposed *Thynus* in its stead. Against this emendation Roscher urges several reasons, and himself proposes *poenas*.

Fascicle 11.

88. Zur frage über die glaubwürdigkeit des Thukydidēs. E. Lange. A comprehensive discussion of the question directed against the sceptical views of Müller-Strübing. Lange shows that it is impossible to convict Thukydidēs of "tendenziöse verschweigungen" in his account of either external or internal relations.

(20). Zu Thukydidēs. E. A. Junghahn. The attack on Plataea, as described in Aen. Pol. 2, 3-5; in (Pseudo) Demosth. against Neaira, and in Diod. XII 41 f., may be traced back to the same authority as that followed by Thukydidēs, II 2-5.

(27). Zu Theognis. E. Hiller. A brief note.

89. Das Sophistengesetz des Demetrios Phalereus. G. F. Unger. This law should be ascribed to Dem. Phalereus, and not to Dem. Poliorketes. Its date was 315 B. C.

90. Zu Polybios. F. Hultsch. Notes on III 20, 8; XVIII 11, 7, and XXIX 9, 12.

91. Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos. K. Jacoby. A note on IV 15.

92. Miscellen. K. E. Georges, Gotha. Textual emendations on Varro de l. lat., Livy XXVI 22, a fragment of Cicero, Plaut. Stich. 198, Ulpian, Seneca, Cael. Aurelianus, Placidus, Vegetius, Fronto, Plaut. Curc., and Fulgentius.

93. Zur origo gentis romanae. E. Baehrens, Groningen. The date and authorship of this treatise are wrapped in uncertainty. After giving an outline of the discussion bearing on the elucidation of these two points, Baehrens combats Jordan's opinion that it dates from the 5th or 6th century; he claims Verrius Flaccus for the author, and holds that the treatise as we now have it is a selection dating from the 4th century. Textual emendations.

94. Die inauguration der duoviri sacris faciundis. P. Regell. In opposition to Becker-Marquardt (Handb. IV 351) that all sacerdotes pop. rom. received their sanction by means of inauguration. He denies that this is the case with the duov. sacr. fac.

95. Zur Aegritudo Perdicae. A. Otto, Glogau. Textual emendation on Baehrens' edition.

96. Zu Ausonius. R. Foerster, Kiel. Textual emendation on epigr. 99. Fascicle 12.

97. Zur ältern griechischen kunstgeschichte. M. Zucker. I. The alleged statue of Athene, by Dipoinos and Skyllis, in the Lauseion at Byzantium, was really a statue of the Egyptian goddess Neith, mentioned by Herodotus, II 182. II. The alleged statue of Apollo, by Theodoros and Telekles, at Samos, was one of the wooden statues of Amasis, mentioned in the same place. III. A note on the text of Pausanias VII 5, 5.

98. Zur Eurotasstatue des Eutychides. P. Weiszäcker. An interpretation of Anth. Gr. IX 709.

(44). Nochmals Charnabon. G. Knaack. In Hygin. de Astr. 14.

99. Die textüberlieferung der Aristotelischen Politik. F. Susemihl. In opposition to Heylbut (Rhein. Mus. XLII 102-110), S. holds that II¹ is more reliable than II².

(2). Zum Homerischen Hermeshymnos. R. Peppmüller. Notes on 258 and 427.

(38). Emendationes Vergilianae. E. Baehrens. Critical notes on the fourth and fifth books of the Aeneid.

100. Zu Quintilianus. M. Kiderlin, München. Critical notes on I 2, 4 and X 1, 130.

101. Neue Studien zu Dracontius und der Orestis tragoedia. Critical notes by Konrad Rossberg, Hiddesheim.

(23). Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen. W. H. Roscher. On III 642, in reply to Ehwald (Bursian-Müller's Jahresber. 1885, pg. 254) and in defence of the reading *ore* for *aure*.

102. Zu Tacitus Annalen. K. Schrader. On II 26. This places the nine campaigns of Tiberius in Germany in the years 8 and 7 B. C. and 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12 A. D. The campaigns of Germanicus beyond the Rhine are set in the years 14, 15, 16 A. D. In connection with XIII 6, the date of Pompey's birth is discussed.

103. Zu Livius. M. Müller. A note on XXXVI 23, 7.

E. B. CLAPP.

W. E. WATERS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM. Vol. XL.¹

Pp. 1-24. F. Blass. Notes on Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici*, ed. IV, vol. III. 1. Alcman. A renewed examination of the MS of Alcman's Parthenion, during a recent visit to Paris, has led Blass to cancel entirely a previous article on Alcman (*Hermes*, XIV 466-68). He shows that Bergk's copy needs to be corrected in accentuation and punctuation. The scholia are written in two different handwritings, one of which is also that of the text. Then follow new readings and a reproduction of the corrected text. The poem consisted of 11, not of 10 strophes, as Bl. formerly stated in *Hermes*, XIII 30, and with the rest of the *Παρθένεια* headed the collection of 6 books.

Pp. 25-29. L. Schwabe. The birth year of Juvenal. From *Juv.* XIII 17 Friedländer thought that the poet was born 67 A. D., in which opinion he was supported by K. Lehrs. But it is clear that v. 18 refers to Calvinus, to whom the XIII satire is addressed. We can only draw a general conclusion. The attitude of the poet is not that of a younger man mockingly reflecting on the age of his elder friend, but rather that of one equally old, or, still better, of one more advanced in years. O. Ribbeck heartily agrees with Schwabe's statements.

Pp. 30-37. E. Wellmann. Codex Hamilton 329 (Galenos). In the H. collection of MSS was discovered one of Galen, *περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων*, which proved important for determining the text. The fragment dates from the fifteenth century, and has been bound without reference to the sequence of parts. In its readings H always coincides with M (Marcianus 284), and generally with A (the source of the Aldine text, ed. 1525 A. D.) The treatment of lacunae, however, indicates that H and L (Laurentianus 74, 22) go back to the same MS, only that the copyist of H found the MS in a better state of preservation. M was copied from H after the latter had suffered from exposure; A was copied before M, and ere the exposure had rendered H in part illegible, or it was filled out from another MS. For textual criticism M can claim no independent value by the side of H. Thus the text must be based on two sources, viz. C (Cantabrigiensis 47) and the MS represented by L on the one side and H on the other.

¹ See A. J. P. IX 232.

Pp. 38-64. H. Nissen. On temple orientation. III. In this article, which is the third of a series (see XXVIII 513 and XXIX 369), N. treats of the ceremonies of the Egyptians in taking the bearings of temples. The inscriptions, relative to this point, confirm the principle laid down, that the Egyptian temples were laid out not with reference to the direction of the river Nile, as Vitruvius IV 5 maintains, but with reference to the stars; again, that the direction of the temple-axis coincided with the azimuth of the star which stood in a close connexion with the god to whom the temple was dedicated. After demonstrating the truth of this in respect of 10 Egyptian temples, the writer closes his article by showing that the same plan of orientation was observed in laying out Alexandria, so that the ascension of Canopus directed the minor and that of Regulus the major axis of the principal temple and of the whole city.

Pp. 66-113. Erw. Rhode. On Apuleius. Notwithstanding the merits of Hildebrand's Apuleius, a renewed examination into the life and the writings of the poet is called for, owing to erroneous views held at the present time. Abandoning the indefinite terms *puer* and *pueritia*, R. fixes on 158 A. D. as the date of the proconsulship of Claudius Maximus, before whom the Apology was delivered. The author's schoolmate, Aemilianus Strabo, was cos. suff. in 156 A. D. Assuming that he could not have been under 33 years of age at the time, and that their age was the same, Apuleius would have been 6 years younger than Pudentilla when they were married. This would give 124 A. D. as the year of his birth. The Metamorphoses he presumes to be the translation of a Greek book, the author of which, one Λούκιος, tells the story of his life before, during, and after his transmutation into an ass. Though the narrative is retained in the first person, it is easy to distinguish the individuals. Gradually, however, the distinction is abandoned, and Lukios of Corinth is lost sight of to such an extent that he is spoken of as Madaurensis. Accordingly R. believes to be justified in applying remarks in this portion of the book to Ap. himself. Upon his return from Greece, about 151 A. D., Ap. settled at Rome, and here he wrote the Metamorphoses. The character of the work shows that it belongs to the early part of his career, and that it was not composed at a time when he was obliged to stand on the dignity of a philosopher, or when, like Boccaccio, he felt ashamed of the frivolous performance of his youth. Why then was it not used by his accusers? The work need not have been known in those distant parts, and had it been known, Ap. was not the enchanter, but the enchanted. Besides, the Apology was written so long after the trial that he could represent himself as he wished to appear to his contemporaries and to posterity.

Pp. 114-132. F. Koepp. The Galatian wars of the Attalidai.¹

I. The defeat of the Gauls and that of Antiochus Hierax were not the same event, as Niebuhr and Koehler assert, but separate occurrences. While the Seleukidai were busy in the East, and Attalos had just begun to rule, the Gauls seized this opportunity and began war against the king; but Attalos defeated them. According to CIG. II 3536, and the narrative of Pausanias, their defeat

¹ See A. J. P. IX 235.

took place at the sources of the river Caicus. With the same event K. connects the story of the βασιλέως νίκη as given by Polyænus (Strateg. IV 19). The Gauls returned the following year, were defeated again near the temple of Aphrodite at Pergamum (?), and finally driven out of Asia Minor. A second period of the war begins about 230 B. C.

II. Contrary to the general opinion, K. believes that there was a war against the Gauls prior to the one of the year 168 B. C. According to the prologue of Trog. Pomp. XXXII and a frg. of Polybius XXII 21, this war ended about 183 B. C. with the subjugation of the whole nation. In memory of this victory over the Gauls, Eumenes II adorned the Nikephorion and erected the great altar of Zeus and Athene with the symbolic battle of the giants thereon.

Pp. 133-144. W. Deeke. Notes on the interpretation of the Messapian inscriptions. III. Continued from XXXVII 373 ff.¹ Linguistic and grammatical interpretation of the great inscription of Basta, the modern Vaste, in the south-western corner of Iapygia. The text is published by Th. Mommsen, Unteritalische Dialecte, IV, p. 52 ff. Special attention is paid to the proper names.

Pp. 145-160. Miscellanies. B. Nake changes the traditional reading τὰμ' ὧς ἂν εἴπω, Soph. O. R. 329, to σαφῶς ἀνείπω, *ibid.* 1447 f. reads αὐτὸς ὃν θέλεις, inserting the comma before instead of after αὐτὸς, and considering καὶ γὰρ ὀρθῶς τῶν γε σὺν τελείς ὑπερ as an explanation of ὃν θέλεις with the meaning 'thou wilt do it rightly'; and defends the reading, v. 1512b, νῦν δὲ τοῦτ' εὐχεσθὲ μοι, interpreting μοι as a dat. ethic. and translating εὐχεσθε by 'ye humbly beseech.'

R. Muenzel discovers a fragment of Antisthenes in the excerpts of the scholia of Proclus on Plato's Cratylus c. 37, ed. Boissonade.

Naevius bellum Punicum not being cited in books composed during the time of the Republic, Bücheler attributes its citation to the grammarians of the Empire. B. laments that ancient writers, as well as modern authors, misunderstood the phrase *bos luca*. It is not a Lucanian cow, but, as Varro has it, *lucas ab luce*; cp. Horace *elephans albus*.

E. Hoffmann. The *exiguus libellus* mentioned in Ovid's Ibis, 447 f., cannot refer to the poem of Callimachus; since *volucris devota* is said of a mythical personage, H. connects the line with the Pseudo-Vergilian Ciris, vv. 514-16, thereby giving a date for the composition of the latter.

L. Traube refers the passage in the Commentum Bernense on Lucan II 380, quantum praestare debeat sqq., to a phrase of Demetrius the cynic, whose name he emends into the text;—reads (Florus I 8) insidente galeae *corvo* alite, instead of *sacra* alite, the present text being the result of an old interpolation; and gives a textual note on Granius Livianus, p. 32, 18 ff. A, ed. Bonn.

J. Van der Vliet. Coniectanea. Petron. Sat. p. 71, 35 (ed. Bücheler), read gratiam *te adlegato* for gratiam a legato;—Minucius Felix Octavius (ed. Cornelissen) c. 6, read familiares, not familiaris, and c. 28 (i. fin.), tacent . . . and pati *nisi* mollior . . . *nisi* durior.

G. Busolt examines the accounts of the battle of Himera.

¹ See A. J. P. V 539.

Th. Aufrecht. The root *om* (*omo*) in *δυννμι* corresponds to the Sanskrit *am*. The primitive meaning probably was to be hard, and trans. to harden, to which belongs *ώμος*, etc.

Pp. 161-203. F. Leo. A chapter on the metres of Plautus. L. endeavors partly to explain certain sporadic metrical formations in the cantica of Plautus better than has been done hitherto, partly to bring about their recognition for the first time. We can see the limits of the art of versification in Plautus and the early Latin poets only when we know the examples which they followed and the extent of their dependence on them. In the study of Plautus L. is guided by the colometry of the Ambrosianus and the Palatinus. The exotic character of the senarius, the trochaic septenarius, the iambic trimeter, and the catalectic trochaic tetrameter is recognized, and the use of them by the Romans as early as Andronicus is fully shown. But what is the origin of the other measures? For models of the metres of Plautus we must go further back than the *νέα κωμωδία*, we must go to the *ἀρχαία κωμωδία*. The non-occurrence of the acatalectic iambic tetrameter in Greek dramatic poetry led Rufinus to refer this metre to Boiscus. But the acatalectic iambic, as well as the trochaic and anapaestic tetrameters, like the iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic octonarii, can be reduced to two complete dimeters, and consequently belong to the Greek hypermetra according to which the Latin octonarii were built. The Greek hypermetra, however, at least the iambic, and especially the trochaic, belong in the main to the old comedy. The cretics and bacchii have the same origin. Paeons are frequent in Aristophanes, and for cretics and bacchii the spondaic nature of the Latin language is well adapted. Then come the dochmiacs, which to the Romans had the ring of the combined bacchius and iambus. An extensive comparison and analysis of the several metres, covering some 30 pages, confirm this view throughout, and offer at the same time a metrical guide for the treatment of doubtful formations. Naevius and Plautus created the polymetric character of the Latin theatre; Ennius, with the exception of the dactyl, simply imitated them.

Pp. 204-209. E. Hiller. Contributions to the history of Greek literature. Continuation from XXXIX 321.¹ On a treatise generally attributed to Dioscorides, the pupil of Isocrates. Comparing the article in Suidas s. v. *Ὅμηρος* (II, p. 1098 Bernh.), beginning with *ὅτι Διοσκορίδης ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ νόμοις φησὶν ὡς κτλ.*, with the section in the epitome of Athenaeus beginning on p. 8e, Casaubonus and others concluded that the latter was an extract from a lost treatise of Dioscorides on Homeric ethics. A comparison shows that the article in Suidas is but a corruption of that in the epitome of Athenaeus. Ath. p. 11a says *καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ λέγει πού περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέῃσι πιθήσας* (I 119), *ἣ οἶνον μεθύων, ἥ μ' ἐβλαψαν θεοὶ αὐτοί, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τιθεὶς πλάστιγγα τὴν μέθην τῇ μανίᾳ* · οὕτω δὲ (i. e. with the addition of the second line, not found in the text of Homer) *τὰ ἐπη ταῦτα προηέγκατο Διοσκοουρίδης ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής*. Some careless scribe, misinterpreting *οὕτω*, concluded that Diosc. was the author of the whole treatise.

Pp. 210-22. W. Gilbert. Text criticism of Martial. II. Covering books VII-XIV.

¹ See A. J. P. IX 236.

Pp. 223-62. E. Schwartz. Hecataeus of Teos. Sch. examines the Egyptian history of Diodorus, contained in the first book of his *Bibliotheca*, and shows that though Diod. acknowledges much to have been taken from Hecataeus, still more comes from the same source. Diod. ignorance in reference to his own time, compared with the exact information which we find touching the period of the first Ptolemy, at once arouses suspicion. Again, the opposition to the Ptolemies and the girding at the Greeks, together with the fact that his chronological enumerations terminate with the march of Alexander into Asia, serve to strengthen this suspicion. Sch. quotes a number of passages borrowed from Hecataeus, one of which is used also by Plutarch in *de Iside et Osiride*, p. 354. We hear of a Hecataeus of Teos and one of Abdera. There can be no doubt that the two designations refer to the same individual, the former being the correct name. Hec. does not prove to be as scrupulous in his descriptions and narratives as one should expect of him. He is often superficial; his ideas about Egyptian cosmogony and theology are influenced by the Stoic philosophy. His own system of philosophy shows a great affinity with that of Heraclitus, and it is difficult to reconcile the different doctrines set forth by the same author. In his politics he betrays a spirit of opposition to the Ptolemies. To sum up, Hecataeus is by no means a great character with marked features; but just for that reason he reflects better than others the spirit and the ideas of his own time.

Pp. 263-82. Chr. Stephan. The *Florilegium Sangallense* No. 870 and its value for the criticism of Juvenal. Tibullus and other authors having profited by the excerpts of the middle ages, St. proposes to do the same for the text of Juv. He examines the Cod. Sang. 870, which contains 458 verses of the poets then mostly read. To the text of Juv. belong 282 vv.; they were no doubt copied from the valuable but now lost MS D 304, known to have existed at the monastery of Saint Gall. The MS dates from the ninth century. The first 190 verses are extracts from different Latin poets, with no special object in view save that of prosody; vv. 190-422 belong to the text of Juvenal; vv. 423-454 are taken from Persius, and again, vv. 455-58 from Juvenal.

Pp. 283-303. C. Wachsmuth. Public credit under the rule of Alexander's successors. W. reprints and annotates two inscriptions published some time ago by Kumanudis in the *'Αθήναιον* X 536 f., and in the *Bull. de corr. Hell.* VIII 23 ff. They are documents from Arkesine on Amorgos, and date from the second century B. C. They give an idea of the exorbitant conditions under which money was borrowed at that time. The states had exhausted their treasures, and the few wealthy temples that remained, such as that of Delos, took large pledges which, in case of non-payment, were appropriated unsparingly.

Pp. 304-307. F. Buecheler. Two authorities of Pliny. We read in Pliny's *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII 37 concerning the amber: *Theochrestus oceano id exaestuante ad Pyrenaei promontoria eici, quod et Xenocrates credidit. qui de his nuperrime scripsit vivitque adhuc Asurabas tradit iuxta Atlanticum mare esse lacum Cephisida quem Mauri vocent Electrum.* B. suggests to put a comma after *credidit*, and to insert a period after *adhuc*. Xenocrates was a well-known

writer, and his work *λιθογνώμων* is cited among others by Origen in his scholia to Psalm 118, v. 127. He, not Asurabas, is the principal authority for Pliny in his chapter on the amber. Asurabas' name and work is otherwise unknown, and Pliny probably took his quotation from the writings of the geographer Mnaseas. B. changes Asurabas into Asdrubas, with the approval of Gilde-meister.

Pp. 308-28. Miscellanies. R. Kekulé defends his theory of the arrangement of the figures on the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, against Curtius and Grüttner.

F. B. The story of Damon demonstrating to the Areopagus, according to Plato, the relation of morality to music is a literary fiction. Being prior to Plato, it is due to a sophist, perhaps to Damon himself, and it reminds us of the time described in Ps.-Xen. *πολιτ.* 'Αθην. I 13, *τοὺς μουσικῶν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καταλέλκεν ὁ δῆμος*.

H. Rassow prints conjectures on Aristotle *Mor. m.* I 35, p. 1198a 3, and II 8, p. 1207a, 35; *Eth. Nic.* I 4, p. 1096a 34, II 7, p. 1107b 8, V 10, p. 1135a 9, and X 2, p. 1173b 4.

O. Crusius. The notice in Suidas s. v. *χωρίς ἱππεῖς* appears to be extracted from a work of the paroemiographer Demon, whose partiality for the Ionians has misled historians in their arrangement of the battle of Marathon.

T. Schoell, in Quintil. I 5, 12, reads *Metteio Fufeteio*, and restores a fragment of Ennius quoted by Donatus in *Phorm.* II 2, 25.

G. Götz. Glossographical minutiae.

Pp. 329-70. H. Nissen. On temple orientation. IV. As the sanctuaries of the Egyptians, the Romans, and the Celts, as well as the Christian churches, were laid out with reference to the sunrise at high-festival days, it is but natural to assume that the Greeks did the same. An examination of over 60 Greek temples at Athens, Olympia, Nemea, Argos and Syracuse shows that all their axes are within the arc described by the rising sun. The façade is towards the east within this arc, and a correspondence is noticed between the position of the temple and the date of its erection. On p. 480 N. retracts his statement referring to the orientation of the temples at Olympia, and promises to treat of them in a special article.

Pp. 371-76. A. Kopp. The sources of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Some time ago K. believed that the words *εἰς τὸ αἰμωδεῖν* subjoined to the three articles in the E. M., *ὑπὴνη*, *φασκώλιον*, and *χρέος*, were a corruption of *εἰς τὸ Αἰλί[ου] Διου[νοῖου]*, and that the *Lexicon* of Ai. Dion. was the source for these articles. K. is now convinced that *αἰμωδεῖν* was the first word of a separate lexicon, embodied in the E. M., and identical with that of the lexicographer Methodius mentioned in the E. M. under the letter A. Many articles in the *Etym. Gudianum* beginning with A are but miserable extracts from this *αἰμωδεῖν*-lexicon.

Pp. 377-86. J. Kirchner continues the examination of the trustworthiness of the documents in the speeches of Dem. He disagrees with Westermann and his followers, who deny their authenticity, and identifies the witnesses in the speech against Neaira with names discovered on inscriptions.

Pp. 387-96. H. Buermann. The MSS of the minor Attic orators. 1. Laur. plut. IV cod. 11 (B) is a copy of Crippsianus A. 2. Ambros. D 42 sup. (Q) Saec. XV is, with the exception of A, the only codex of importance for the restoration of text of Isaeus and Andocides.

Pp. 397-414. Years ago A. Hug gave definite rules for the sequence of tense after the historical present, in an article published in the NJBPhil. XXXI 877 ff. Now he defends himself against an attack of Em. Hoffmann in the latter's Studien auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Syntax, Wien, 1884. On some points, it is true, Hoffmann agrees with Hug, and confirms the rules laid down by him, e. g. that after an historical present in the principal clause, the relative clauses introduced by *quam* and superlative, and the correlative clauses introduced by *tantum quantum*, *quicumque*, etc., are construed with the present; again, that *cum* historicum is followed by the subjunctive of the imperfect or pluperfect. On other points Hug disagrees with Hoffmann, especially with the latter's statement that the historical present was to the Romans simply a preterit.

Pp. 415-38. L. O. Bröcker. Galen's method of literary criticism. Br. attempts to explain the method followed by Galen (1) in lower and (2) in middle criticism, by which Br. means the separation of spurious sentences from genuine contexts; (3) in higher negative and (4) in higher positive criticism. He examines the commentary of G. on Hippocrates in order to discover G.'s attitude towards an author whose text was known to be corrupt, and whose works had to be sifted from a mass of writings ascribed to him in the course of time. Classifying the MSS he discriminates according to their number and value, at the same time remembering that an easy reading can more readily have replaced a difficult one than *vice versa*. Still he does not hesitate to omit or to insert words against the authority of all the MSS. A frequent source of corruption was the fact that η and ϵ , \omicron and ω were represented by the same sign, and that η and ι stood for ordinal as well as cardinal numbers. To decide the authorship of a treatise he compares one supposed to be spurious with one of acknowledged genuineness, and illustrates their difference in language and conception. A work is genuine to him when contemporary testimony in favor thereof can be produced, when form and contents do not contradict his knowledge of the history of language and of medicine, and finally when it conforms to what he considers Hippocratic. He appears, however, not to have trusted his system any further than to prove genuine or spurious what was regarded as such by the learned world at his time.

Pp. 439-43. J. M. Stahl. Δρακοντίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου Θοραιεύς. In the biography of the orator Andocides, the son of Leogoras, he is said to be Κυδαθηναίος ἢ Θορεΐς. Now, as we know that Andocides, son of Leogoras, son of Andocides was Κυδαθηναίεύς, whence Θοραιεύς? Simply because there was a Leogoras of Θοραί, the father of Δρακοντίδης. Comparing Thuc. I, 51, 4 Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου with CIA. I 179, where the names Γλαύκωνι and Δρακοντί[δῃ] occur as sent on the same errand as Glaucon and Andocides, we have a right to conclude that Ἀνδοκίδης in the Thucydidean passage is a corruption for Δρακοντίδης. This Dracontides, then, appears to have been the son

of Leogoras of Θοπαί. As Dracontides was a conspicuous character in Athenian politics, the question must naturally have arisen whether Leogoras of Θοπαί was not also the father of Andocides the orator.

Pp. 444-52. H. van Herwerden prints 48 conjectures 'ad Iamblichi de vita Pythagorica librum.'

Pp. 453-61. R. Förster. Notes on the history of philology. Continuation from XXXVII 485.¹ The Greek MSS of Guillaume Pellicier, ambassador of Francis I to Venice, 1539-42 A. D. The large collection of these MSS is now scattered among the libraries of Europe. Some are in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris, others in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the University Library at Leyden, and especially in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. Between the death of Pellicier, 25 Jan. 1568 A. D., and the establishment of the Bibliotheca Claromontana they were in the possession of Claude Naulot of Avallon, and when the library passed from the Jesuits in 1764 A. D., Gerard Meermann became their owner, with the exception of four, which he had to return to the Bibliothèque du Roy, and which are now in the Supplément grec de la bibl. nat. à Paris.

Pp. 462-80. Miscellanies. R. Peppmüller reads, in Hesiod Theog. 34, ἵστατον, id. 121 πάντων δὲ θεῶν, id. 224 κακότητα for φιλότητα; he interchanges vv. 407 and 408, reads 407 τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι, and interchanges vv. 426 and 427.

O. Crusius prints an additional note to his article published in XXXIX 581.

R. Muenzel changes αἰλοῦς to φίλους in Arist. Eth. Nic. I 5, p. 1097a, 25.

Having discovered that the relative dates of the founding of Sicilian and Italian cities consist in a suspicious series of round numbers ending in 0 or 5, Busolt adds that it is impossible to determine the exact dates, and that we must content ourselves with approximations.

C. Wachsmuth shows, on the basis of Paus. I 19, 5, and Plato's Critias 112a, that we have to interchange the names of the two sources of the Ilissos.

Sophus Bugge, in a note on Deeke's article in XXXIX 638, derives *luna* from primitive **lūxna*, **louxna*, **leuksnā*, and *erūs* from **aisu*, *esu* God.

F. B. Greek and Italian legal formulas. In cases where grammar, etymology or context fail to clear up the sense of an Italian inscription, B. resorts to a comparison with similar documents in Greek. This method is of late very much facilitated through the edition of the Gortynian Code, by the help of which B. proceeds to explain legal questions. One instance may suffice to show his method of procedure. The law of *Uro* 3, 6 (Bruns fontes, p. 111) says, in reference to an arrested person, si quis in eo vim faciet, ast eius vincitur, dupli damnas esto. The particle *ast* proves the great antiquity of the formula. According to Schöll it is conditional. Clarisius explains it by *atque*, *ac*. In a law of Bantia we have an equivalent to *ast eius vincitur* in the words in eizeic vinciter, i. e. the particle corresponding to Latin *et* or *atque*. In the Gortynian inscription we read *ai ka vikaθῇ*; *ast* corresponds to *ai ka*, and *vinci* is equal to *vikāσθαι*; in both instances this condition is dependent on another.

Zangemeister adds a remark to his article in XXXIX 634.

¹ See A. J. P. VI 242.

Pp. 481-505. O. Ribbeck. An essay on the interpretation and criticism of Propertius. 1. In Propertius, situations and themes are repeated in successive poems so as to form members of a group. The connexion is expressed in older MSS by smaller intervals which, in the course of time, were disregarded. Between the kindred pieces R. finds the relation of contrast or that of strophe and antistrophe; thus III 11 and 12, 13 and 14 were intended to be joined closely, while the connexion between the different parts of II 26 and 29 has been unduly severed. 2. The authentic picture of Cynthia being given in the Monobiblos, the simple rule is, not to admit into the cycle such poems as contradict her genuine character. One must rid oneself of the notion that wherever a mistress appears it is Cynthia. Evidently another person is mentioned in II 2 and 3, and numerous expressions in the first book harmonize but lamely with the known levity of Cynthia. 3. The text is not so unsatisfactory, nor are the necessary transpositions so frequent or extensive as they are supposed to be. After summing up the situation and contents of IV 11, R. arranges the opening distichs as follows: 3, 8, 5, 4, 7, 6; v. 18 reads *inde patent umbrae mollia iura meae*.

Pp. 506-20. E. Szanto. The organization of the Attic phratries and families. Sz. gives a commentary on an inscription found in CIA. II 841b. It contains a direction in respect of the presents to be given to the priests on the occasion of the introduction of children into the phratry, and a decision of the members of the same about the *διαδικασία*. The inscription, furthermore, shows that the family is but a subdivision of the phratry. Then follows the study of an inscription in the CIA. II 2, No. 1113, concerning a mortgage on their property taken by the tribe, family, and demos. Remarks on the relation of these different elements to one another.

Pp. 521-62. Th. Birt gives conjectures on the Miles gloriosus.

Pp. 563-98. F. Susemihl. Critical remarks on the zoological writings of Aristotle. 1. The six MSS of the works on the parts, the gait, and the development of the animals; their relation to one another. Corrections of the text of Bekker. 2. The first book 'on the parts of animals,' *περὶ ζῴων μορίων*, is a general introduction to all the works of Aristotle on psychology, physiology and zoology. Emendation of corrupt passages. 3. The double recension and the interpolations of the different schools. 4. Conjectures and corrections in punctuation, accentuation, etc., in said writings.

Pp. 598-610. V. Gardthausen, in notes on the history of the Greek alphabet, attempts to trace the development of ν , ϕ , χ , ψ , and ω .

Pp. 611-19. O. E. Schmidt. History of the Florentine MSS of the letters of Cicero.

Pp. 620-640. Miscellanies. R. Peppmüller prints another series of notes and emendations of Hesiod's Theogony, Scutum, Opera, and the fragments.

In a remark on Aeschylus and the Parthenon F. B. maintains that the reading *ἀσφαλές* in Aesch. Suppl. 152 is correct. When *Διὸς κόρα* is called upon in an Attic theatre, Pallas is meant. The *σεμνὰ ἐνώπια* refer to the rising structure of the goddess, and thus the trilogy must have been acted in the year 406 or 459 B. C.

J. M. Stahl thinks that *ἔχει τέλος* in Aisch. Prom. 12 is equal to *τελείται*, and not to *τετέλεσται*. He compares it with similar passages in Soph. Antig. 597, Thuc. V 41, 3, Plato's Phaedo 77c.

R. Förster emends *ὡς οἰεταί* in Plato's Rep. 571d to *ὡς Οἰδιποῦς*. In another article the same scholar maintains that the *temulenta tibicina* of Lysippus, mentioned by Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIV 63, is identical with the portrait of Praxilla of Sikyon, and that a picture of the seven wise men by Lysippus never existed. The epigram of Agathias in the Anthol. Plan. IV 332, *ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν ἐμπροσθεν*, simply means that in the selection of a subject Lysippus gave preference to Aesop.

R. Muenzel. Notes and conjectures on Heraclitus' Homeric allegories.

W. Deeke gives a translation of the Messapian helmet-inscription, *vetepise | aganasmētapontinas | supmedikiaioveare . . . ?* as follows: it (the helmet) dedicated A. Ganas the Metapontian under the magistracy of Ao. Veare . . .

The Supplementary Fascicle contains Das Recht von Gortyn herausg. u. erläutert von Franz Bücheler und Ernst Zittelmann.

ANDREW FOSSUM.

W. M. ARNOLT.

ROMANIA, Vol. XVII (1888).

Janvier.

L. Sudre. Sur une branche du Roman de Renart. Of the exploits of Reynard the Fox, as related in the French redaction, one of the best known is that of his feigning to be dead in order to be picked up by some approaching fish-hucksters, from whose cart, into which he is tossed, he robs the choicest herrings and eels. While roasting these at home, Reynard is visited by Ysengrin (the wolf), who craves admittance, but is refused on the ground that one must be either monk or hermit to be granted such a privilege. Ysengrin accordingly consents to receive the tonsure, which Reynard bestows by pouring boiling water on his head; further imposing a vigil at the neighboring fish-pond, where the peasants had cut a hole in the ice to water their cattle. Reynard fastens to Ysengrin's tail a bucket which they find there, and persuades him to suspend it in the water, with the hope of making a catch of fish. The gathering ice soon imprisons Ysengrin, and in the morning he is assailed by a passing huntsman, whose misdirected blow, as it happens, severs his tail, and so he makes good his escape. Such is the outline of episodes which in Méon's edition constitute three distinct branches (II, III, IV), but which M. Martin, the latest editor, has united into a single branch (the third in his edition). The object of this paper is to trace the origin and ramifications of these three episodes in various ancient and modern literatures, and to test the reasons which have led Martin to such a combination of them. Neither of the three exploits—the theft from the fisherman's cart, the fishing device, nor, naturally, the ordination of the wolf—appears to have its counterpart in the commonly accepted sources of the Roman de Renart, that is to say, in Æsop, Phaedrus, Peter Alfonsus, or the "Physiologus." Yet, in the latter, and in the Bestiaries founded on it, the fox feigns himself dead to attract the birds; and in the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa various animals adopt the same ruse to deceive their enemies—involving an observation, indeed, true to nature. The episode of the wolf fishing with his tail seems likewise to have no well defined literary

antecedent, but may probably be referred to a tale of North European origin which undertakes to account for the short tail of the bear by attributing it to a similar mishap, the incident being later clumsily misapplied to the wolf. A Scotch version of the fable preserves a trace of the earlier "motif," by concluding with the words: "That's why the wolf is *stumpy-tailed to this day*, though the fox has a long brush." The appearance of the wolf in the rôle of hypocritical monk is common to several of the Latin poems of the Middle Ages; in the Roman de Renart, however, Ysengrin is presented rather as a dupe than as a hypocrite. In conclusion, the author establishes that in the Roman de Renart, the first episode to figure was that of the fishing, borrowed probably from an oral tradition in which it was separately related; later was prefixed to it the story of the wolf's ordination; and still later that of the fisherman's cart.

J. Bédier. La composition de la chanson de Fierabras. (Quels sont, dans le Fierabras, les souvenirs d'une forme originaire de la chanson, et quelle est la part des inventions postérieures?) A paper read by one of the pupils of Prof. G. Paris at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. The author shows that the poem is composed essentially of two parts, of which the first, comprising some 1500 verses, is founded on an older poem—the same as that known to Philippe Mousket; while the second, of later invention, is a patchwork of episodes derived from numerous contemporary *chansons de geste*. The author was doubtless a jongleur, whose purpose it was to celebrate, for the benefit of the pilgrims and populace who thronged to the *foire de l'Endit* at St. Denis, the notable relics of the Passion—fragments of the crown of thorns, a nail of the cross, the arm on which Simeon bore the infant Jesus—preserved at the famous cathedral. The poem analysed in the thirteenth century by Philippe Mousket was even at this time (about 1170) antiquated and partly forgotten, yet certain of its episodes were still well remembered, and offered to the jongleur of St. Denis the desired framework for his composite structure. The original Fierabras was an heroic epic, doubtless of the beginning of the eleventh century, the subject of which was the capture of Rome by the pagan Fierabras, and Charlemagne's expedition to Italy to avenge this defeat. The later redaction turns this situation to account to explain the recapture of the sacred relics from Fierabras and their presentation to the monks of St. Denis by Charlemagne.

E. G. Parodi. Saggio di etimologie spagnuole e catalane. A scholarly list of fifty new Spanish and Catalan etymologies—most of them acceptable—with interesting comparisons of related words.

A. Thomas. Les papiers de Rochemure à Albi. The name of Rochemure is known to Romance scholars as that of the author of the "Parnasse occitanien" and the "Glossaire occitanien," published at Toulouse in 1819, but it has never found its way into the biographical dictionaries. Henri de Rochemure was born at Albi (Tarn) in 1741. He was a naval captain at the outbreak of the Revolution, was elected a member of the National Convention, and appointed Rear-Admiral. Retiring in the year IX, he withdrew to private life and devoted himself to studies in Old French and Provençal literature. He died at Albi at the age of ninety-two years, bequeathing his

estate and valuable library to his native town, subject to a life tenure which delayed the transfer until the year 1884. In his favorite field of study, Rochegude fills a respectable place between La Curne de Sainte-Palaye and Raynouard. The catalogue here presented of his papers, which, for the most part, were copied with infinite patience from the MSS of the great Paris libraries, indicates more extensive and thorough researches than his published works had given reason to suppose.

Mélanges. I. K. Brekke. *L'é* (= *ē*, *i* latin) en ancien français et en mayorquin. In Old French, as proved by the assonance, there were three distinct *e*-sounds, and much study has been given to the question of the precise nature of their difference. Brekke supports Ulbrich's hypothesis (*Zeitschrift*, III 522) that OF. *e* from Latin *ē*, *i* *entrauvé* had the mixed sound of *ō*, by showing from an extended list of words that the Majorcan dialect presents this development in similar cases (as well as in words containing Latin *i* *libre*).—II. A. Thomas. *Anceis*. In Romania, XIV 574, Thomas derived OF. *anceis* from a Latin form **antius*, accented on the *i*. In the *Zeitschrift*, XI 250, W. Meyer opposes this view, and refers the form *anceis* to the influence of *sordeis* (= *sordidius*). In the present article Thomas returns to the defence of his position. In *Zeitschrift*, XII 560, W. Meyer again replies, but without meeting all of Thomas's objections.—III. G. Paris. *Empreu*. The OF. word *empreu* occurs often at the head of a series continuing *et deus et trois et quatre*, etc. Various etymologies have been proposed, that here offered explaining the word as standing for *en preu* (**prode*), and corresponding to the *feüciter* used at the outset of enumerations to counteract the bad luck superstitiously associated with counting.—IV. A. Delboulle. *Peautre*. To this old word Littré attributes the meaning of *boat*. It is here shown by various citations to mean *rudder*. G. Paris, in a foot-note, suggests as etymology Lat. *pella*, with a change of meaning.—V. G. Paris. *Un ancien catalogue de manuscrits français*—contained on the fly-leaf of the MS Bibl. nat. fr. 12,569.

Corrections. G. Paris. *Un second manuscrit de la rédaction rimée (M) de la Vie de saint Alexis*. A MS recently discovered at Carlisle contains the text of the Vie rimée de saint Alexis, published in 1872 by G. Paris in his edition of the St. Alexis. The variants of this text will be serviceable in the preparation of a new edition.

Comptes-rendus. S. Berger. *La Bible française au Moyen-Age*.—J. Bonnard. *Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen-Age*. (Paul Meyer.) These two works are the result of a competition opened in 1879 by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the object of which was to make known the Old French versions (complete or partial) of the Bible anterior to the death of Charles V (1380). The prize was awarded in 1882 to the work of M. S. Berger. The Latin Vulgate was naturally the original of the Old French versions. M. Berger's work is divided into five parts and a conclusion. The first part, entitled *le Psautier normand*, is devoted to the two ancient versions of the Psalter, published in 1860 by Fr. Michel. Part second is entitled *Fragments anciens*, and treats (1) *Les livres des Vandois*, (2) *Les quatre livres des rois*, (3) *Psautiers glosés*, (4) *L'Apocalypse*, (5) *Essai de Bible abrégée*. Especially interesting is the third part, *la Bible du XIII^e siècle*, a version

prepared during the reign of St. Louis. Part fourth is devoted to *La Bible historique*, and in particular to the work of Guyart Des Moulins. The fifth part is given up to the *Versions du XIV^e siècle*, while the conclusion furnishes an account of the copyists and illuminators of Bible manuscripts, of the owners of Bibles, and of the influence of the Middle Age versions on the modern translations of the Bible. An appendix describes minutely all the MSS of which the author has made use for his study.—The second of the above-mentioned works (that of M. Bonnard) is characterized as wholly unsatisfactory.

Périodiques.—Chronique.—Livres annoncés sommairement.

Avril.

P. Rajna. Contributi alla storia dell' epopea e del romanzo medievale. V. Gli eroi bretoni nell' onomastica italiana del secolo XII. Fontanini and Zeno in the last century, Fauriel in the present, occupied themselves to a certain extent with the influence on the naming of persons in Italy exerted by the early introduction into that country of the French romances of the Round Table. The same subject was later touched upon by Graf. It is here developed with great thoroughness and wealth of illustration by Rajna. From his researches in contemporary documents it is shown that as early as the beginning of the twelfth century the name of Arthur appears in North Italy, soon followed by Galvan, and later by numerous other names of the Breton cycle, the occurrence of which indicates a very early penetration of the romances of the Round Table into Italy.

A. Pagès. Documents inédits relatifs à la vie d'Auzias March. Despite his numerous biographers, the life of Auzias March, no less than his peculiar Christian name, has always remained obscure. Some have made him out to be a predecessor, others an imitator, of Petrarch. Valencia, Aragon, Catalonia, and even Provence disputed the honor of having given birth to the most distinguished of Catalan poets. Some years ago, however, documents were discovered in a notary's office at Valencia, proving that city to have been his birth-place. These papers, which had remained inedited, are here published. They are five in number, and consist of March's will (Oct. 1458), a codicil, inventory, etc. To these are added two letters from Queen Maria, dated 1422. Certain details of the poet's life are also given, and the name Auzias is derived, on sufficient evidence, from the Biblical Eleazar.

E. Picot. Le Monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français (*suite et fin.*) An article of some seventy pages, concluded from Vol. XVI. X. *Monologues de villageois*, treated under six heads (75–80). XI. *Monologues historiques* (81–90). XII. *Monologues moraux* (91–95). Followed by a detailed index to the three articles.

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. La chanson de la Vengeance de Rioul ou de la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Epée. Treats of the lost *chanson de geste* which Wace represents himself as having heard in his boyhood, and of which a summary (lacking, however, some of the features mentioned by Wace) is given by the English historian, William of Malmesbury. Interesting conclusions are drawn from a comparison of the scanty details presented by the two authors.—II. A. Thomas, Sur la date de Gui de Bourgogne, concludes from

internal evidence that the poem is less ancient than heretofore supposed, being certainly of a later date than 1218.—III. P. Meyer. Note sur Robert de Blois. Postscript to Vol. XVI 25.—IV. A. van Hamel. Le poème latin de Matheolus. The lost Latin original (some 5000 hexameters) of Jean Le Fèvre's *Livre de Matheolus* has been discovered by Professor van Hamel in the library of the University of Utrecht, and will be published by him in connection with the French poem.—V. A. Delboulle. Brandelle, Brande. Words incompletely treated by Godefroy. Both mean primarily "swing." *Brandiloire* is cited with the same signification. *En brande* = *en balance, en inquiétude*.—VI. N. du Puitspelu. Vadou en lyonnais. G. Paris had proposed as etymology of Fr. *fade*, Lat. *vapidus*, instead of the generally accepted *fatuus*. His view is here supported by the dialect form *vadou* = *vapidosus*. The initial *f* is doubtless due to the influence of *fatuus*.

Comptes-rendus. E. Mackel. Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache (M. Goldschmidt). Dr. Mackel is the first to carry out a methodical study in this field, although the subject has been several times treated, notably by F. Neumann, in his doctor's dissertation (1876) bearing the same title. The book is commended.—E. Martin. Le Roman de Renart (L. Sudre). The completion of this new edition (three volumes with supplement) puts us at length in possession of a trustworthy text, together with an all but complete collection of the variants of this immense compilation. "L'œuvre de M. M. est une œuvre maîtresse; elle sera la pierre d'assise de tous les travaux postérieurs sur le *Roman de Renart*."—F. Wulff. Le lai du Cor (G. Paris). The *Lai du Cor* is an older variation of the *Mantel maulaillé*, of which Dr. Wulff gave an excellent edition in the Romania a few years since. The text is here subjected to a critical restitution, having also received the benefit of revisal by M. Paris. The poem was composed in England, probably as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and is founded on a tale current in that country, perhaps connected with an ivory horn really preserved at Cirencester.—C. de Lollis. Il canzoniere provenzale Codice Vaticano 3208 O (P. Meyer). Well edited, but not an especially important collection.—In "Observations sur le compte-rendu de l'édition du Poème moral par M. M. Wilmotte" (Romania, XVI, pp. 118-128), Mr. G. Cloetta replies at length to Mr. Wilmotte's criticism of his edition. Mr. W. appends a rejoinder.

Périodiques. A detailed summary is given (among others) of Modern Language Notes, Vol. II (1887). Apropos of the MS of the *Roman de la Rose*, the presence of which in a private library in Boston was signalized by Prof. Alphonse van Daell (Mod. Lang. Notes, II, col. 40), M. Paul Meyer remarks: "Ce ms. m'est bien connu. Je l'ai tenu dans mes mains, à Londres, chez Sotheby, en août 1865. Il a été vendu à cette époque en vente publique pour le prix bien exagéré de 231 guinées (plus de six mille francs). Il n'est pas de l'écriture de Flamel. J'ai cru, moi aussi, qu'il avait appartenu à Charles IX à cause du sonnet de Baif, que j'ai même imprimé à cette occasion dans la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 6^e série, I 598. Mais ce sonnet, écrit sur un feuillet ajouté, ne suffit pas à prouver que le ms. ait appartenu à Charles IX."

Chronique. Calls attention to the most important to Romance philology of the 166 "articles" stolen from various public institutions in France (cf. A. J. P. IX 119), and now restored to the Bibliothèque Nationale through the successful negotiations of M. L. Delisle.

Livres annoncés sommairement. F. H. Stoddard. References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries (University of California, Library Bulletin, No. 8). "Cette publication est une nouvelle preuve du zèle avec lequel les Américains se mettent à l'étude de notre langue et de notre littérature."

Juillet.

Ch. Joret. Les incantations botaniques des manuscrits F. 277 de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier et F. 19 de la Bibliothèque académique de Breslau. Republication, with extended comment, (1) of a *Precatio terræ quam antiqui pagani observabant volentes colligere herbas*, and (2) of a *Precatio omnium herbarum*, which are found incorporated in the *Herbarium* of the Pseudo-Apuleius. Among all Indo-European nations abundant traces are found of the cult of plants. These particular incantations "ne sont pas des formules accompagnées de pratiques superstitieuses destinées à en assurer l'efficacité . . . ce sont des prières aussi simples que sincères, adressées par un rhizotome à la plante qu'il va cueillir et à la divinité qui y préside." They are believed to be of pagan origin, and to date from a period anterior to the establishment of Christianity.

Pio Rajna. Ancora gli eroi bretoni nell'onomastica italiana del secolo XII. Postscript of eleven pages, supplying omissions from Paduan documents.

P. Meyer. Notice sur le manuscrit 307 de la bibliothèque d'Arras. Recueil de vies de saints en prose et en vers. An interesting MS, containing a number of pieces not found elsewhere and others not before studied, but unfortunately lacking many leaves. M. Meyer gives short extracts from twenty-nine "lives," with indication of the Latin sources and other details.

A. Thomas. Les manuscrits provençaux et français de Marc-Antoine Dominicy. *L'Histoire du pays de Quercy* is the title of a manuscript work of the jurist Dominicy of Cahors (middle of seventeenth century), preserved in the library of Toulouse. The present article publishes and comments some dozen passages contained in it bearing on the Troubadours.

Mélanges. I. H. Schuchardt. Andare, etc. Assumes two etyma, *ambulare* and **ambitare*, bearing to each other the same relation as *misculare* (French *mêler*) and *miscitare* (Raetian *masdar*). **Ambitare* gave *andare*. *Ambulare*, through *ammulare*, *amlare*, gave Raetian *aminar*, Prov. *anar*. In the constantly recurring imperative **amlemus*, dissimilation gave *alems*, whence French *aller*. —II. P. Meyer. Trebalh. Rejects the accepted etymology *trabaculum* (or a verb *trabaculare*), on account of the *b* and the *e*, and sets up *trepalium* (given by Du Cange) from *tripalis*. The word means originally an instrument of torture, "peut-être une sorte de chevalet composé de trois pièces de bois de longueur inégale, la plus longue reposant d'un bout à terre, et étant à l'autre bout soutenue par les deux pièces plus courtes." The further meanings are easily derived. —III. G. Paris. Elme, Osberc. Helmets and coat-armor are historically proven to have been imported into North France from the South in

the Middle Ages, a fact which must account for the existence in Old French of the Southern forms *elme*, *osberc*, by the side of the regular *helme*, *halberc*, Germanic initial *h* having disappeared in Provençal, but survived in French. *Osberc* has the further peculiarity of presenting a vocalized *l* (i. e. *ausberc* for *halsberc*) long before the regular occurrence of that phenomenon in North France.—IV. P. Meyer. Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci. It was the custom, in the Middle Ages, as well as later, to adapt sacred words to current popular airs, a procedure which involved the adoption of the rhythm of the secular verses. M. Meyer points out a number of the love poems thus serving as types for the religious songs of Gautier de Coinci.—V. N. du Puitspelu. Lyonnais *carabeau*. From *cartabeau* (cartabellum) by assimilation, according to a tendency (in the Dauphinois and Lyonnais) here formulated as follows: "Lorsque, dans un mot roman, il se trouve une gutturale dure et une dentale dans deux syllabes contiguës, il y a tendance à assimiler la dentale à la gutturale."

Corrections. A. Mussafia. Appunti sul Roman de Galerent. Fourteen pages of corrections to the edition published by A. Boucherie for the Société pour l'étude des langues romanes.

Comptes-rendus. J.-B. cardinalis Pitra. *Analecta novissima*, t. II (P. Meyer). A selection from the works of four bishops of Frascati, Odon d'Ourscamps, Jacques de Vitry, Odon de Châteauroux, and Bertrand de la Tour. "La publication du cardinal Pitra est peu soignée (c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire), et l'érudition en est très peu sûre."—M. De Vries. Van den Borchgrave van Couchi (G. Paris). Three fragments of a Netherlandish "Châtelain de Couci." M. Paris thinks they must have belonged to an extensive composition, the substance of which was derived by oral transmission from the French poem of Jakemon Sakesep. "Il faut savoir gré aux deux Néerlandais à qui nous devons de connaître cet ouvrage complètement oublié chez nous, à celui du XIV^e siècle qui l'a traduit non sans talent, et à celui du XIX^e siècle qui a recueilli et publié avec soin les fragments subsistants de l'œuvre de son compatriote."—A. Pakscher. Die chronologie der Gedichte Petrarca's (C. de Lollis). An extended review, making a number of rectifications.

Chronique. Karl Bartsch, Professor of Germanic and Romance Philology at the University of Heidelberg, and director of the *Germania*, died at Heidelberg, Feb. 19, 1888. He was born in 1832. The list of Prof. Bartsch's works in the domain of Romance philology alone is too long to be cited here. One of his special distinctions, which placed him almost if not quite alone among his contemporaries, was his extensive command of both the Germanic and Romance fields, coupled with a remarkable fondness for studies of a comparative nature. The work of Bartsch is here sympathetically and justly characterized.

Livres annoncés sommairement.

Octobre.

G. Maspero. Le vocabulaire français d'un Copte du XIII^e siècle. The Coptic MS No. 43 (ancien fonds) of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a

vocabulary of some 225 French words with Coptic and Arabic equivalents. It was incompletely and imperfectly published in 1829 by Champollion-Figeac, in one of his *Mémoires*. M. Maspero, the well-known Egyptologist, here gives a complete edition of this trilingual glossary, transliterating the French portion, and accompanying the whole with a commentary. The list begins with a collection of religious terms, names of saints, etc., and continues with a sort of guide to every-day conversation, containing the numerals, names of days of the week, common objects, etc. The words offer various dialect peculiarities, representing, as the commentator believes, such a mixed patois as would naturally spring up among people of humble extraction from all parts of France, gathered in the coast towns of Syria. The list was probably drawn up in the last years of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem.

G. Paris. *La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. Paul Meyer published in 1884, in the *Archives de l'Orient latin*, a Provençal fragment of 707 verses, preserved in a MS at Madrid, describing the battle fought by the Christians against the Saracens before Antioch in the year 1098. G. Paris has discovered that a portion of the great Spanish compilation entitled *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, which is founded on Guillaume de Tyr, is translated almost literally from the Provençal poem of which this fragment formed a part. The correspondences are here exhibited in parallel columns, and the manner of compilation of the *Gran Conquista* studied as the basis for a further comparison seeking to throw light on the subject of the missing portions of the Provençal original. To be continued.

M. Wilmotte. *Etudes de dialectologie wallonne*. I. *Le dialecte de Liège au XIII^e siècle*. A study of fifty pages. M. Wilmotte's general purpose is less to present simply the forms of the ancient dialect than to aid in the correct localization of the most interesting dialect texts, in regard to which he insists on the necessity of greater circumspection than has hitherto been shown. In the present paper the author gives, in systematic order, the leading characteristics of the dialect of Liège, and publishes twenty-four charters of the thirteenth century.

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. *La comtesse Elisabeth de Flandres et les Troubadours*. Supports the conjecture of M. Trojel, in his work on the *Cours d'Amour* (Middelalderens Elskovshoffer), that Elisabeth de Vermandois was the Countess of Flanders mentioned by three of the Troubadours in connection with the cruel death of a knight, inflicted at the bidding of the Count.—II. P. Guilhiermoz. *Représentation d'un Jeu de Guillaume Cretin en 1506*. Gives an extract from the diary of Germain Chastelier, conseiller au Parlement de Paris, showing that "les clercs du Chastelet avoient joué en la salle du Louvre des jeux publiquement, en parlant deshonnestement d'aucuns de la court de parlement," and that "Cretin . . . estoit facteur dudict jeu." This is the poet characterized by Marot as "le bon Cretin au vers equivoqué"; it was not before known that he had composed *jeux*.—III. A. Delboulle. *Bouquetin*. The word means "wild goat," and according to Littré, "parait un diminutif de bouc." It is really for *bouc estain*, from German *Steinbock*. Godefroy misunderstands the word *estain*, taking it for an adjective meaning "intègre," i. e. *non castratus*. P. Meyer adds in a foot-note that he has met with the word in

a document of the beginning of the fifteenth century. It also occurs in the form *bouc d'estain*.—IV. L. Shaineanu. Les sens du mot "philosophe" dans la langue roumaine. The word *filosof* was introduced into Roumanian, with other learned words, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, in the sense of "physiognomist"; among the common people to-day it is commonly understood to mean "l'interrogateur des constellations," but has also a wider application approaching the scientific sense. Inasmuch, however, as the *savant* is looked upon as in a sense "mad," the word *filosof* has been differentiated in the mouths of the people to *firoscos*, i. e. *scos din fire*, "devoid of sense, demented," still applied to the *savant* and to the man of superior parts in general. The author finds a trace of this logical transition in Molière (*Médecin malgré lui*, I 5), where Valère remarks: "C'est une chose admirable que tous les grands hommes ont toujours du caprice, quelque petit grain de *folie* mêlé à leur *science*."

Comptes-rendus. W. Golther. Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde (E. Muret). Until recently, the Celtic origin of the legends of Arthur and the Round Table has scarcely been called in question. But in 1887 the view previously held was vigorously assailed by Wendelin Foerster, in the introduction to his edition of the *Chevalier au Lion*; and the present work takes the position that most of the adventures of which this epopœia is composed are not characteristic of any particular nationality, but recur in the literature and popular traditions of numerous countries. The reviewer argues persuasively against this view.—R. Zenker. Die provenzalische Tenzzone, eine literar-historische Abhandlung (S. de Grave). "Ce travail intéressant, qui fait preuve d'une méthode rigoureuse et d'une connaissance approfondie du sujet, se distingue par un désir de dire des choses nouvelles qui a parfois entraîné l'auteur trop loin; mais on doit reconnaître qu'il a vraiment rectifié et précisé sur plusieurs points les notions reçues avant lui."—W. Soderhjelm. De Saint Laurent, poème anglo-normand du XII^e siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris (G. Paris). "La publication de M. Soderhjelm mérite tous les éloges, et nous sommes heureux de voir nos études cultivées avec autant de soin jusqu'en Finlande."—G. Salvo Cozzo. Il Contrasto di Cielo d'Alcamo (F. d'Ovidio). A review of six pages, showing that neither the constitution nor the interpretation of the text marks any advance on the work of predecessors.—V. Turri. Poemetto allegorico-amoroso del secolo XIV (N. Zingarelli). An intelligent and accurate edition is still a desideratum.

Périodiques. Worthy of mention are G. Paris's remarks apropos of Schwan's assault (Zur Lehre von den französischen Satz Doppelformen, Zeitschrift XI 4) on Neumann's theory of "sentence-doublers": "M. Schw. me paraît avoir très souvent raison, bien qu'il tombe parfois dans des erreurs de détail . . . En somme, l'étude de M. Schwan est vigoureuse, et dans ses résultats principaux elle est concluante."

Chronique. The publication of the Romania has passed from the hands of A. Franck into those of E. Bouillon and E. Vieweg, successors (son-in-law and son) to the late F. Vieweg.—Henri Bordier, former President of the Société de l'Histoire de France, original member of the Société des anciens textes français, and honorary librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, died Sept. 2, 1888, at the age of seventy-one years.

H. A. TODD.

BRIEF MENTION.

Professor JEBB has done excellent service to young scholars in making his *Selections from the Attic Orators* (London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1888) more easily obtainable in price and more convenient in some respects to use. The critical notes have been put below the text instead of being printed after it—a decided improvement. As the book has abundantly proved its usefulness, it is not needful to commend it further. Like all Professor Jebb's work, it shows on every page exquisite literary taste and admirable faculty of expression. The merely grammatical soul, however, might say here and there that Professor Jebb's felicity of phrase is a snare to him, that he renders imaginary distinctions so aptly that no one can conceive how points that are so well put should be other than real. The same narrow spirit might also think it strange that the work that has been done in the syntax of the orators since the appearance of the first edition either has not attracted Professor Jebb's attention or has been steadfastly ignored. But the cordial welcome that this Journal has always given Professor Jebb's work is in no wise chilled by these considerations, and the following more or less trifling objections now to be recorded must be set down to the interest with which the book has been reread in its present form.

P. 7, §86, τῶντας is a form one would not have expected from Professor Jebb. P. 12, §14, and 188, §9, the distinction made between οὐ and μή in an alternative question is an old favorite of Professor Jebb's, as may be seen by consulting his *Ajax* (1869), v. 7. In —ἢ μή we have an 'abstract speculation'; in —ἢ οὐ we are called on to make a 'practical conclusion.' Oddly enough, in the very passage he cites to prove this, *Dem.* 20, 83, the abstract speculation is put in the form ἢ οὐ, the real issue is ἢ μή. As to the passage of *Isaios*, even Professor Jebb's ingenuity cannot make the difference a valid one. —ἢ οὐ is simply 'no or yes?' —ἢ μή 'yes or no?' according to the familiar rule for οὐ and μή in questions. The all too reserved note on the *Ἐρμῆ* (p. 31, §34) leaves the student in the dark wherein the mutilation consisted. The history of δτι, redundant before the direct quotation, has been traced by Dr. Spieker in this Journal (V 221), and it is a matter of some interest that the passage of *Andokides* commented on (p. 36, §48) is one of the earliest examples. εἰ λέξου (p. 38, §53) must be a misprint for εἰ λέξαι (λέξεε). There cannot be any considerable loss of vividness in using the fut. opt. for the fut. ind. On the same page the aor. part. (with *περιορῶν*) is said to be stronger than the present part. 'just as to see them *murdered*' is stronger than 'to see them being murdered'; 'the aor. pictures the deed as *accomplished* while he looks on.' We will not quarrel with the expression 'strong,' though it might be said that the pres. is stronger from one point of view, the aor. from another. The point is that Professor Jebb seems to

fancy that the aor. part. is a common construction after verbs of seeing (p. 160, §23), whereas it is very rare in prose after verbs of actual perception (see my Justin Mart. Apol. I 3, 3, and Pindar Introd. Ess. cx). The chief exceptions are *περιπαρῶν*, in which the negative notion may have its effect on the tense (see my note in Morris's Thuk. I, 24), and *ἐφορῶν*, where the wish for or against may be taken into consideration. It is a pity that Professor Jebb should have lent his high authority to the loose statement that *δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς* may be = *δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν* (p. 43, §28). A sharp distinction between *στερεῖσθαι* (*στέρεσθαι*) and *ἐστερῆσθαι* (p. 51, §6) is not tenable. See Classen on Thukyd. I, 70, and my note on Pind. Pyth. 6, 22. The stereotype objection to *φῆσας* (p. 91, §22) seems to be idle (see A. J. P. IX 100). *ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι* is not parallel to the anomalous neg. in Soph. El. 780. It is simply the regular *oratio obliqua* form (see A. J. P. VII 174), where the passage is cited among many others. The ellipsis in *εἰ μὴ διὰ Κῦρον* is not *ἐσφάλησαν*, but simply the negative of the leading verb (hence here *οὐκ ἐκράτησαν*). Goodwin, to whom J. refers, is not sufficiently explicit. On p. 178, §5, we read, "*εἰ . . . ἡμφισβήτει . . . ἂν προσήκοι*, 'If he were claiming my property [which he is doing], this would [on that supposition] be fitting,' etc.; but *ἂν προσήκεν*, 'this would be (as it is *not*) fitting.' Cf. Dem. *De Cor.* §206, *εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχειροῦν λέγειν . . . οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι.*" To be sure, in 18, 206 we are tempted to read with Dion. Hal. and many MSS *ἐπετίμησε*, but we can make sense of the passage as a logical condition 'If I *was*,' not 'if I *were* undertaking'; and in any case the passage is not in point, for here the antithesis is not to *ἡμφισβήτει*, but to the circumstance that precedes. The whole protasis reads: *εἰ δ' ἦν ἅπαις ἐγὼ τετελευτηκὼς καὶ ἡμφισβήτει*, and the antithesis is given in *ζῶ γάρ*. Hence we must have *ἂν προσήκεν*, and not *ἂν προσήκοι*. The rare shift from the unreal protasis to the ideal apodosis is either merely apparent (the true condition being involved) or a real anakoluth. The difference between *οἶος* and *οἶός τε* might have been better put by the accomplished editor of Theophrastos (see A. J. P. VII 165). *οἶος* 'kind of' is all right, but I question 'capable' for *οἶός τε*. Elmsley's explanation of *οὐ μὴ εἰσεί*; would require *οὐκ οὐκ εἰσεί*; (A. J. P. III 205), and is not worthy of serious refutation by examples (p. 193, §24).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

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I.—SPEECH MIXTURE IN FRENCH CANADA.

B.—ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

I.

In volume VIII, p. 133 et seq. of this Journal, I attempted to sketch the relation of the Indian and French languages in Canada. It was there shown that the material of the savage idiom, transferred to the French, is confined to so limited a range of ideas, and is so insignificant in amount, that it has failed to exert any perceptible influence on either the morphology or the syntax of the Gallic tongue; that the native speech-elements embodied in the French consist exclusively of names for concrete objects that were unknown to the Europeans and, consequently, for which they had no appropriate or adequate designations in their language; that these linguistic entities were mostly adopted without change of form except when their phonetic combinations rendered the borrowed products unwieldy or unmanageable servants of French tongues. If we now turn to that other form of language, the English, with which the French was associated in Canada, it is evident on the most cursory glance that the disturbing, reciprocal effects of the meeting of these two languages have been much more serious than is the case for that of the French with the indigenous speech of the country; that the results are out of all proportion when regarded indifferently from one and the other linguistic point of view: from the French in its influence on the English, and from the English in its bearing on the French. That the latter effect, that of English on the French, has been immeasurably stronger than the former, of French on the English, and

that the wide-reaching impulse in this direction should have been the natural resultant of political, social, and psychological forces abundantly operative in the history of the French Canadian folk, will be strikingly manifest in the course of the present investigation. By way of general prefatory remark, it should be observed that the Indo-European idioms, in virtue of their homogeneity, and through the absence in them of those intrinsic barriers to amalgamation attaching to the allophyllian, holophrastic character of the Indian, represent fundamental conditions of language that are *a priori* favorable to speech mixture. Whether the union of any two speech currents in this group be effected by anastomotic juncture or by surface distribution, the process of infiltration will always take place according to the familiar doctrine of *similia similibus*. And, in public usage, we shall necessarily have resultant composite products that receive varying favor according as the one or the other of any two given speech-forms shall be accounted the alloy affecting the original purity of that language which, for the time being, is in the ascendancy, whether from political or social causes, or from both combined. That the predominant element in this linguistic domain should have been the English was natural immediately after the Conquest; and, for the subject-matter now in hand, it is to be expected that we may find represented all the various phases of mingling of the two languages, from the simple adoption of the idiom of the conquerors, with its characteristic traits of sound-development, of word-formation, and syntactical arrangement, down through the divers stages of substitution of the special grammatical elements of the one for those of the other, such as that of suffixes, of the numberless transformations of sense, the peculiar coloring of the borrowed element with Gallic thought, and, for the phonetics in particular, the "watering" of English voiceless consonantal combinations with voice; the supplanting, in accordance with the law of *vis minima*, of certain phonological products of peculiar Anglo-Saxon growth by others of characteristic Romance evolution, etc. In this inquiry, however, we shall find that the bulk of the imported material consists either of vocables wholly unknown to French in its traditional usage, or of proper French words that have been so modified through influences of foreign growth as to be unrecognizable when admitted beside the circuit of ideal content which has always been covered by these forms. Before we enter, therefore, upon the inquiry as to what proportion of foreign, especially

English, words introduced into the French of Canada constitute legitimate additions to the language, it is fitting that we call to mind a few general principles according to which neologisms are developed in human speech.

There exists in all spoken language a two-fold tendency, a conservative and a revolutionary, and it is the combined action of these two forces, operating within definite linguistic domains, and for a certain more or less well-defined time, which determines the result of any given speech-form. The evil consequences of a disproportionate preponderance of the first mentioned drift (*vis inertiae*) of language are tersely characterized in a recent work on the psychological aspects of speech:¹ "Les langues doivent se renouveler périodiquement, non seulement pour servir au progrès de la science, mais dans l'intérêt même de la conservation des découvertes du passé: le sens commun se perdrait s'il parlait toujours la langue de nos ancêtres. Les langues vraiment vivantes, qui admettent le néologisme dans leur loi constitutive, font ou supposent des esprits vivants, toujours en travail, tandis que les langues fixées, comme le français, où l'on ne peut innover que dans les alliances des mots, entretiennent chez ceux qui les parlent une certaine paresse intellectuelle." And the same author would urge the necessity of neologism less for the purpose of restoring antiquated or worn-out speech, than for the awakening of mental action, for the development of ideas, and for a new classification of our elementary conceptions. In this enlargement of the circle of graphic expression to meet the needs of a constantly widening range of thought, the action of the individual is the genetic element that forms the point of departure, as in all other initial processes of linguistic development. The late lamented member of the Faculté des lettres de Paris² had this in mind when he entered upon a discussion of the psychological phenomena touching the obscure and difficult problems of *la sémantique*: "En effet, de quelque ordre qu'ils soient, de phonétique, de morphologie, de syntaxe, de lexique, tous les changements linguistiques ont pour origine première une action personnelle, et par suite, ce semble, arbitraire. Ils sont l'œuvre d'une volonté . . ." But in order that this voluntary product of the individual should

¹ Egger, Victor: La parole intérieure. Essai de psychologie descriptive. Paris, 1881, pp. 295-6.

² Darmesteter, Arsène: La vie des mots étudiée dans leurs significations. Deuxième édition, Paris, 1887, p. 89.

not vanish immediately without leaving perceptible traces of its existence in the language, it is indispensable that the psychological character of its inventor should accord with that of the people for whom it is promulgated. Neologism thus becomes an apagynous plant of necessarily short life, unless the circumstances of its origin be favorable; "pour vivre, il doit pousser ses racines dans le plus grand nombre possible d'esprits."¹ This holds true, of course, for the popular neologism, which, "tossed about in the wars of words," must depend on itself and live or die according to the inviolable law of survival of the fittest; but, for the writer's neologism, it is a conscious literary creation having an aesthetic tendency, and is dependent for its acceptance or rejection on the canons of literary criticism. "Celui qui l'essaye doit pouvoir justifier la liberté qu'il a prise avec la langue. Autrement dit, il faut que le mot soit nécessaire dans la circonstance donnée, qu'il soit l'expression la plus nette ou la plus forte de l'idée à représenter. A cette condition, il sera pardonné; bien plus il méritera de durer et durera: c'est par des audaces de ce genre que nos écrivains ont enrichi la langue."²

For the former of these groups, that is, the popular creations, there must naturally be as many centres of general development as there are multitudinous aggregations of human society, social, civil, political. Moreover, all of these spheres of growth, or of adaptation of foreign products, will not be equally widened by the new material. According to the circumstances of each special case, a certain set of new words will be crowded into the vocabulary, particularly when conquest or external pressure is brought to affect the recipient elements. Here, in the field under consideration, it will be noted further on that the political word-supply has been greatly varied and augmented for reasons that will be made manifest; and, again, in civil life, it is that branch of business, seafaring occupation, which formed the more important factor in the daily routine of the early Canadians, which has impressed itself upon the present vocabulary in its abundance and variety, not only for its expressions drawn from maritime life, but also in their transfer to the rôle of designations for acts and things that have not the slightest connection with shipping interests.

These phenomena, like most other manifestations of speech-life,

¹ Cf. Darmesteter, *op. cit.* p. 115.

² Darmesteter, Arsène: *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française.* Paris, Vieweg, 1877, p. 33.

may be examined subjectively or objectively ; with reference to the causes that produce them, or with regard to their formation. Considered from the genetic point of view, the investigation falls more especially within the domain of the psychologist,¹ while the scrutiny of form and the processes by which it is produced belong strictly to the philologist. It is to the latter, then, that attention is chiefly called in the present paper, although both the psychological and historical phases of the subject must receive consideration when that part of it is presented which bears upon the development and shaping of the semasiologic functions of any given word. In truth, for the external borrowing from another language such as the present instance with which we have to do, the question of transformation of meaning often plays the principal rôle and assumes an importance not secondary to that of creations out of the original material of the language. According to general principles, the new formations referred to above may arise, in the special case here under treatment, in three different ways: 1. We may have French element plus French element ; that is, union of root and flexion according to the laws that determine the growth of the French language. 2. An English root provided with French flexion. 3. Importation of loan-words, of which there are the general varieties: (*a*) English vocables that have undergone some morphological or phonetic modification to adapt them to French usage; (*b*) English words taken up bodily, without any external change whatever, but to whose signification a French coloring is given; (*c*) A foreign word in the English dress and signification is naturalized and often supplants, for special reasons and in well-defined circumstances, the native product that bears precisely the same meaning. It is evident in the nature of things that comparatively few examples will be found of the first class ; the productive suffixes are so few in number for the modern French, and the range of independent growth so limited, that we shall not be surprised if we find only meager traces of original creation in the otherwise rich development of the language on American soil. This limitation of creative force is not, therefore, in any way connected with the isolated position as regards home influence, of the Canadian French, but rather to the inherent nature of the French language as such, in its general linguistic status as a member of the Romance language group. Here external language growth has been reduced to a minimum degree

¹ Darmesteter, Arsène, *op. cit.* p. 37.

of activity, and, on the part of French, has had a marked influence upon our English tongue. "The inaptness for external development, the aptness to borrow, which distinguish our language from others of Germanic origin, are both mainly traceable to the Norman invasion."¹ It is to classes 2, 3, and 4, then, that we have to look for the wholesale changes of form and ideal content that have taken place in the Canadian French of to-day as contrasted with the Continental mother-tongue, and we shall see that the present drift of the former (Canadian French) is but a repetition of conditions that have existed at various periods in the history of the language in France itself. "Le français a subi plusieurs fois l'action des langues étrangères. Dès l'origine, il reçut une forte empreinte germanique qui laissa dans son vocabulaire plusieurs centaines de mots allemands. Au seizième siècle et dans la première moitié du dix-septième, il fut envahi par l'italien et l'espagnol. A la cour de Catherine de Médicis, les seigneurs parlaient un jargon où le français et l'italien se mêlaient en égales proportions. Des écrivains patriotes, Henri Estienne entre autres, poussèrent un cri d'alarme. Mais il n'y avait pas à s'effrayer de cette invasion qui ne pouvait porter à la langue aucune atteinte sérieuse."²

And it may be doubted whether here in Canada, too, the present strong amalgamation of English with French is likely in the long run to affect materially the latter language. Many monographs and books have been produced on this subject of late years, and continuous discussion is kept up as to the danger, under English influence, of a final and complete annihilation of Gallic speech in this part of the American continent. One zealous writer declares: "Il est possible, si nous n'y prenons garde, qu'avec le temps la langue de la province de Québec devienne un véritable patois qui n'aurait de français que le nom, un jargon qu'il vaudrait mieux abandonner dans l'impossibilité où l'on serait de le réformer," but immediately his better judgment asserts itself and he adds: "Nous sommes loin, il est vrai, d'un aussi déplorable état de choses . . . Mais bien aveugle est celui qui ne voit pas que l'éclat de la langue se ternit chez nous, que nous parlons et écrivons moins bien qu'autre fois."³ And again: "Cette habitude, que nous

¹ Whitney, W. D.: *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 147.

² Darmesteter, Arsène: *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française*, p. 252.

³ Tardivel, J. P.: *L'Anglicisme: voilà l'ennemi*, p. 5.

avons graduellement contractée, de parler anglais avec des mots français, est d'autant plus dangereuse qu'elle est généralement ignorée. C'est un mal caché qui nous ronge sans même que nous nous en doutions. Du moment que tous les mots qu'on emploie sont français, on s'imagine parler français."¹

Another author, who is a purist, and who has devoted much time to a study of the purification of the Canadian French, takes a gloomy view of the present condition of his idiom: "Nous n'avons qu'à jeter un coup d'œil sur notre pays pour comprendre que nous sommes toujours menacés, comme aux jours mêmes de la conquête. Hélas! disons-le, bien qu'en rougissant; notre douce et belle langue française menace de tomber et de disparaître . . . Nous sommes entrés dans le mouvement du commerce, des sciences, des arts, de l'industrie, et il s'est trouvé que la langue de nos aïeux ne répondait plus aux besoins nouveaux. Dès lors, chaque année, nous avons laissé les mots anglais entrer par centaine dans notre langage . . ." En écoutant cet informe mélange de français et d'anglais que parlent aujourd'hui nos ouvriers, nos travailleurs de toute sorte, nous nous demandons avec anxiété quelle langue la grande majorité du peuple canadien parlera dans dix ans . . . Nous laisser angliciser maintenant que nous comptons un million et demi de Canadien-français, c'est une honte que nous ne devons pas être décidés à porter. Nous ne sommes pas assez dégénérés pour cela." The worthy abbé then proceeds to give us fifty octavo pages of words that are appropriately proscribed and anathematized in the name of that august body, the French Academy, for whose prerogatives he affects a becoming filial concern, and then he protests his regard for other authorities also in the following terms: "J'ai feuilleté pour vous (mes compatriotes) les quatre grands dictionnaires qui font autorité en France, j'en ai extrait, avec leur définition les mots dont la connaissance vous est nécessaire."

The serious apprehensions expressed by these two authors as to the immediate welfare of their mother-tongue are but a repetition of what one frequently finds written in Canada on this subject at the beginning of this century. Almost three generations have come and gone since the alarm was vigorously sounded against further corruption of the language, and the fear expressed

¹ Ibidem, pp. 6, 7.

² Caron, M. L'Abbé N.: *Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadien-Français*, contenant les mots dont il faut répandre l'usage et signalant les barbarismes qu'il faut éviter, pour bien parler notre langue. Trois Rivières, 1880, pp. 3, 4.

that "soon" there would be no more French spoken on the St. Lawrence. In 1817, a "Québécois" (probably M. Berthelot *filis*) penned the following sentences that are of deep significance for us of to-day, considering the marked progress toward uniformity and purity made by Canadian speech since that time: "Nous comptons sûrement parmi nous un grand nombre de personnes qui parlent bien leur langue et qui pourraient la bien écrire; mais il y en a d'autres que vous prendriez plutôt pour des Allemands ou des Hurons qui commencent à bégayer le français, que pour des Canadiens qui ont reçu une certaine éducation. Les anglicismes, surtout, et les barbarismes, sont déjà si fréquents, qu'en vérité, je crains fort que, bientôt, nous ne parlions plus la langue française, mais un jargon semblable à celui des isles de Jersey et de Guernsey."¹

This feeling of anxiety and fervent solicitude for the welfare, in the immediate future, of the French language in Canada, does not, fortunately, characterize all the little treatises that have been written for the amelioration of Gallic speech on the St. Lawrence. In a work published the same year as that of the Abbé Caron, the author declares that the influence of English has been much less than is generally supposed: "Il est bien étonnant que dans un pays, non pas seulement séparé, mais oublié de la France depuis plus d'un siècle, la langue française soit restée la langue du peuple; il serait plus étonnant encore que, dans notre isolement, et subissent le contact journalier de la population anglaise, nous eussions échappé au barbarisme. Au Canada, l'industrie, le commerce, les métiers sont en grande partie du moins, dirigés par des hommes qui ne connaissent pas le français et pourtant, il faut se comprendre de négociants à commis, de patrons à ouvriers. Etant données ces conditions sociales, on peut admettre à priori que le français Canadien est entaché d'anglicisme... On dirait que nous avons peur d'être expressifs et voilà la plus déplorable *anglicisation* que nous ayons subie. Quant à nos anglicismes véritables, on en exagère le nombre; on met au compte de l'Anglais bien des mots, bien des locutions qui nous sont venus directement de Bretagne et de Normandie, ou qui appartiennent au vieux langage."²

Warning after warning to this effect has been launched by

¹ Quoted by Bibaud: *Le memorial des vicissitudes et des progrès de la langue française en Canada*, p. 30.

² Dunn, Oscar: *Glossaire Franco-Canadien*, Préface, pp. xiii-xiv.

patriotic and over-enthusiastic purists, but the French language continues steadily to gain ground, contrary to all such idle apprehensions, and to-day it is as firmly established on the banks of the St. Lawrence as in the home of its birth. The time was when fears might have been legitimately entertained as to the possible suppression of the French tongue through the stringent governmental measures and preponderating influence of the English just after the Conquest; but a strong personality, rich mental gifts, a tenacious adherence to their religion and their language, have long since placed the Canadian French people upon an independent footing with reference to their competitors, and to-day, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ we have here the anomalous state of things according to which the solidarity of the Latin stock is so extraordinary that the Anglo-Saxon invariably has to yield whenever a face-to-face struggle ensues as to the maintenance of the old Gallic race traditions, or to the conquest of broader domains for the exercise of new powers of industry and intellectual life. In such circumstances, it seems, therefore, but a gross misapprehension of the true nature of the case, dictated by overweening zeal and patriotism, when writers insist upon the probability that in a few decades the French language in this part of the world may be absorbed by its rival, the English.

Considering this exceptional, or even extraordinary, relation of the Teutonic to the Romance idiom of the present day, it may not be out of place to enter here upon a short digression touching the speech influences that have prevailed at other periods in the history of the two languages, in order to bring out more prominently the notable stages of deviation on the line that separates the welded material from the simple products. The most marked deflexion of the curve of mixture will naturally be found at that point in time and place where the chromatic aberrations of the dialect colors are greatest; in other words, where the speech elements are the most complicated and the position of the observer with reference to them is changed by circumstances of a non-linguistic character, such as conquest, governmental regulation, etc. Looking, then, at the material from an earlier point of view, historically, I find in the position of the French language in Canada, and its behavior to the English at the time of the conquest on American soil, an interesting parallel in many respects with the

Cf. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VI, pp. 131-150; VII, pp. 141-160; VIII, pp. 133-157.

linguistic relation of these two idioms at the time of the Norman conquest, save that the conditions are reversed. Here it was the Neo-Latin tongue that was forced upon the Teutonic by a conquering race, the impingement of a semi-synthetic stage of speech upon a more highly synthetic development. In Canada, on the other hand, it is the Teutonic, in its already purely analytic stage, with a host of characteristics drawn from the Norman French on English soil, and its more or less intimate sympathy for Romance phonetics, word-form, and sentence taxis, which, by *force majeure*, is thrust into the mouths of a Romance folk that was just reaching the limit of a transition period of spontaneous language-growth in the direction of a free and full analytic state. Now it is evident that while the general linguistic operations are the same in both cases, the point of view is reversed in the one case as regards that in the other, and the presumable *a priori* effects of contact will vary in much greater ratio according to the composite character of the language; and this is actually found to be the case. The catalytic force exercised by the Franco-Norman on the early English has been manifestly much more serious than that of the later Teutonic idiom, modern English, on the mixed Romance forms of the St. Lawrence valley. Though the changes in the latter case were wide-reaching, they have not fundamentally affected the language as they did in England. "Rarely has any cultivated tongue, during a like period of its history, given up more of its ancient material than did the English during the few centuries which succeeded the Norman invasion; a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary was abandoned; but this was only the natural effect of the intrusion of so many Norman-French words, an enrichment beyond all due measure, rendering necessary the relinquishment of some part of resources which exceeded the wants of the community."¹

The almost total lack of development in the Romance languages (French especially) of the single principle of word composition by means of the genitive—a favorite process in the Teutonic idioms—must have tended powerfully to affect the constitution of a form of speech such as that of the Anglo-Saxon, upon which the Gallic idiom was imposed by official edict, aristocratic favor and patronage. The same writer whom I have just mentioned in connection with this subject, refers to the constitutional change wrought in our language by its first amalgamation with the French: "The

¹ Whitney, W. D.: *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 99-100.

Norman invasion, leading to a long antagonism and final fusion of a French-speaking with a Saxon-speaking race, brought in by violence, as it were, a great store of French words, of Latin origin, and thus made it comparatively easy to bring in without violence a great many more. And the deadening of the native processes of composition and derivation and inflection, caused in part by the same great historical event, made the language more incapable of meeting out of its own resources any great call for new expressions.”¹

On this side of the Atlantic, the return wave of English speech that later swept over the Gallic domain has had no influence so fundamental as to touch the organic mould of the latter language; the consequences of the linguistic fusion have been less serious for the morphological categories of the Romance tongue than were those of the Romance for the early English, but in the realm of semasiological fecundation the Teutonic sister is not a whit behind her former Neo-Latin rival; in fact, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the whole circuit of ideal content of the latter has been widened and deepened wherever the two linguistic forces have come together. The range of adaptation of foreign elements is not confined here, however, by any means to swelling the pregnancy in signification of a numerous set of words. While change of meaning is a more essential part of linguistic growth than change of form, “that would be but an imperfect and awkward language, all whose expansion of significant content was made without aid from the processes which generate new words and forms; and the highest value of external change lies in its facilitation of internal, in its office of providing signs for new ideas, of expanding a new vocabulary and grammatical system into a more complete adaptedness to their required uses.”² We shall see further on that the French has made use of all the productive means—suffixes, prefixes—at its disposal, to incorporate the English vocables in its word-supply, which is the richest branch of its loan material, and to adapt them by a skilful use of its inflectional apparatus to all the requirements of a rigid grammatical system. It is not the place here to discuss the point as to whether this enlargement of conceptional representation is always an advantage in view of the polyonomous character of

¹ Whitney, W. D.: *The Life and Growth of Language*. New York, Appleton & Co., p. 118.

² Whitney, W. D.: *Language and Study of Language*, p. 101.

many of the objects which have gone through a two-fold period, so to speak, of name gestation; or, on the other hand, of sundry terms whose characteristic evolution in each language has received its appropriate label, and afterward, when collected in this dual household, the fact is overlooked that they are homonymous, or real namesakes, in the fullest sense. In all of the borrowing by the French from the English, the degree and kind vary according to the circle of ideas that are represented. While the names and epithets of things are most easily drawn from the stores of the foreign idiom, certain classes of concepts have here received much greater prominence than others; witness, for example, the extraordinary number of words representing governmental acts and the official language generally, to which I shall call your special attention further on.

Of the various means used to enrich, or renew, the material of language, it may be inferred from what has been said that the circle of action and relative force of laws which govern the processes of organic growth are narrow and restricted in the Neo-Latin idioms: in Canadian French they exist in full force, it is true, for a certain variety of morphological phenomena, but these are of limited range, and their functions are strongly curtailed, as compared with the extensive and plastic growth by importation from sources outside of Canada. The subject of original word creation on American soil, in accordance with principles peculiar to the French and operating in certain definite lines, will be discussed in another place; here I have to do immediately with the second division of the subject as mentioned above; namely, with that which treats of imported speech material. This importation may, of course, cover all the linguistic traits and products of the foreign idiom, from the simplest phonetic, morphological, syntactical and prosodial elements, to the most complex combinations of sound, sense, and modes of expression of which English is capable; nay, more, the new-comers, whatever grade and degree of language development they may represent, render the genetic conditions of the problem incomparably more difficult to solve because of the crossings, the substitutions, the adaptations, the interchanges of form and content, and *vice versa*; in fine, by a mingling of all those processes of physiological, psychological, acoustic, and mixed linguistic import that constitute the body and ever-varying complexion of living speech. Here I must pass over, for the time being, any consideration of the phonetics except in so far as the

principles involved bear directly upon the form of word importations.¹ It is true that the sounds themselves of the language have in many cases a certain foreign coloring which must have its full consideration when we attempt to account for the present characteristic and often strange pronunciation heard on the banks of the St. Lawrence ; but these alien articulations, however, do not represent, in any sense, the salient feature of the mixture ; the Teutonic flavor is most strongly felt in the word-supply ; it is along this line that the fight is thickest on the part of the purists, of whom there are some so zealous in their attempts to break through the deep-rooted custom of using foreign instead of native vocables, that they reject many good old French words which migrated to England with the Franco-Normans, and which have only just now come back, through English mouths, to be rashly impugned, or disowned, by their native sponsors. In nearly all of the various word-lists compiled (many of them with laudable, painstaking industry) for the purification of the Canadian French language, are to be found numerous examples of this over-confident, heedless ardor on the part of the authors ; and some of the substitutions that are suggested to replace the venerable heirlooms of their ancestors are too arbitrary and far-fetched to merit even a passing notice. Such ill-advised repudiation of home-bred products is a linguistic catharsis of the most objectionable kind, and must inevitably lead to bad results. The supporters of this doctrine of verbal chauvinism, while they think to condemn everything that is English, simply because it is English, frequently miss their mark and overstep the bounds of moderation by inveighing against the use not only of Anglo-Saxon words that are universally current in France, but also of dialectic and archaic vocables, which give to their speech much more graphic and expressive import than that conveyed by the non-picturesque, often lifeless terminology of the Continental language. Furthermore, they not unfrequently commit the error of violating the tenets of their creed by unconsciously rejecting speech-coin to which the Forty Immortals have affixed their stamp. But while great diversity of custom thus prevails among authors as to the kind and number of individual words that should be discarded, on one point they are generally united, namely, that foreign locutions should be rigorously prohibited, and even in some cases

¹ A special treatment of the phonetics is reserved for a separate place in this series of papers on the Canadian French language.

vigorous measures have been suggested for placing them under ban. An author, to whom I have already referred, remarks on this subject: "Puis il y a deux sortes d'anglicismes, soit qu'on emprunte à l'anglais des tournures de phrase, ou qu'on en adopte certains mots. Quant aux tournures, elles sont, ce semble, toujours condamnables et ne peuvent qu'enlever à la langue une partie de sa distinction, de son originalité . . ." And again: "Pour ce qui est des tournures, . . . c'est là que nous péchons mortellement tous les jours, en paroles et en écrits."¹ And another writer says: "A mes yeux les barbarismes, les néologismes, les pléonasmes, les fautes de syntaxe et d'orthographe sont des péca-dilles en comparaison des anglicismes qui sont pour ainsi dire des péchés contre nature."² Again: ". . . hors des cas extrêmes, l'emploi de mots et de constructions anglaises est un véritable fléau pour la langue. Déjà cet abus a envahi la portion instruite de notre société et y fait des progrès alarmans; et pour comble de malheur, on porte quelquefois cette licence dans des écrits que d'ailleurs, le génie ne désavouerait pas."³

That branch, then, of imported material which particularly concerns us here—after having excluded a special treatment of phonetics and the phenomena, more essentially psychological in their nature, of prosody—falls naturally into two chief groups: 1. Single words; 2. Modes of expression. I will first take the most important of these subjects, word importation, and endeavor to trace the leading principles that have governed the introduction of the new elements into the language under consideration. Here again differentiation becomes necessary from the outset. We may have foreign vocables brought in without any change whatever; that is, (*a*) either of form or content; (*b*) of form, but plus modified content; (*c*) of content, but plus modified form.

Under (*a*) we have a large class of words whose number and kind depend upon varying circumstances, both subjective and objective, of the individual, and of the community to which the individual belongs. The nearer he approaches to the bilingual condition, that is, to the point of speech consciousness where his thoughts may be clothed indifferently in the prescribed forms of the one idiom or of the other, with so much the more facility will he interchange the thought labels, intact, of the two languages, lessening or enlarging the mosaic character of his vocabulary

¹ Dunn, *op. cit.* p. xxi, Préface.

² Tardivel, J. P., *op. cit.* p. 7.

³ L'Abbé Maguire, as quoted by Bibaud in *op. cit.* p. 53.

according to the fluctuating demands of his subject or of his hearer. If the former falls within the circle of his special acquirements and of the routine of his daily life, the subjective impulse to a mingling of class names that represent concepts common to both the French and English spheres of speech will be most marked. "Die meiste veranlassung zur mischung ist gegeben, wo es individuen giebt, die doppelsprachig sind, mehrere sprachen neben einander sprechen oder mindestens eine andere neben ihrer mutersprache verstehen. Ein gewisses minimum von verständniss einer fremden sprache ist unter allen umständen erforderlich."¹ If his hearer, too, is bilingual, the bilingualism being Franco-English, this circumstance will naturally supplement the favorable conditions just noted, and we shall have a constant drifting into speech mixture even where the vocables used interchangeably may not cover exactly the same thought content in the two languages. Then, again, a particular calling or profession may exercise a powerful determining influence on the choice of words drawn from the one rather than from the other idiom, if, by some external event, such as a political crisis or a social upheaval, the predominance of foreign forms is saddled upon the people *nolens volens*. "Wo durcheinanderwürfelung zweier nationen in ausgedehntem masse stattgefunden hat, da wird auch die doppelsprachigkeit sehr allgemein, und mit ihr die wechselseitige beeinflussung. Hat dabei die eine nation ein entschiedenes übergewicht über die andere, sei es durch ihre masse oder durch politische und wirtschaftliche macht oder durch geistige überlegenheit, so wird sich auch die anwendung ihrer sprache immer mehr auf kosten der andern ausdehnen; man wird von der zweisprachigkeit wieder zur einsprachigkeit gelangen."² This was particularly the case in Canada as regards judicial language. The government officials of the new *régime* not understanding the French law terms, and having plenary power concerning the form in which all judicial action should be presented, instituted for the conquered race their own tribunals, and required that before them not only the special terminology of the English courts should be used, but also that the set phrases and turns of expression familiar to the judiciary on Anglo-Saxon soil, and especially peculiar to the English executive, administrative, and municipal proceedings, should be the only channels through which the Gaul might sue

¹ Paul, Hermann: *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, 2te Aufl. p. 338.

² Paul, *op. cit.* p. 338.

for justice. "Mais ce qui peut causer surprise, malgré l'excuse alléguée, c'est comment la langue se serait corrompue de prime abord après la conquête: je me flatte presque d'avoir la perception des causes qui nuisirent si subitement au bon langage de notre population: depuis 1763, et pendant un certain temps, les Canadiens se virent exclus de toutes les charges publiques et n'eurent pas même d'avocats de leur origine pour plaider leurs différends, eux si enclins à s'intenter des procès mutuellement, parce qu'ils sont, pour la plupart, descendants des Normands, qu'on répute grands chicaniers. Les hommes de loi anglais de bas étage qui s'étaient abattus sur le pays avec avidité, comme nous l'apprend notre compatriote Ducalvet, ignoraient la langue de ses habitants: les explications qui avaient lieu entre ces piètres archipéracites et leurs malheureux clients ne devaient-elles point dégénérer en un jargon étrange, chacun usant pour l'instant des mots français ou anglais qu'il pouvait s'approprier? . . . Sous l'empire d'un pareil état de choses, quel est le peuple qui aurait mieux sauvegardé sa langue . . . ? Quand, en Canada, on eût ainsi laissé frelater l'essence même de notre langue au contact des conquérants, il paraît qu'on ne regarde plus à aucune pureté de langage."¹ The natural consequence of this arbitrary procedure was that a flood of foreign vocables, drawn from the technical nomenclature of English jurisprudence, was poured into the French, and after a time these words became so deeply rooted in public practice that, though courts were subsequently established in which the native idiom was allowed, these terms have stuck almost as an integral part of this branch of the language down to the present day. Many words have become so thoroughly incorporated in the speech consciousness of the folk as to be considered pure French; in truth, I venture to state that a large proportion of those who employ the more common of these terms would resent with surprise and indignation any suggestion to the effect that they are using aught but the most immaculate vocabulary of their native idiom. I shall note here only a few examples that come from this source; a more extended list, with a differentiation of the varying usage, will be found further on. Such cases are: warrant, voteur ('voter' subst.), true bill, shire, township, record (mettre de record, 'put on record'), poll (maison de poll), patronage, no bill, caucus, applicant, appropriation, husting, speaker, constituants, platform (élec-

¹ Cf. Bibaud, *op. cit.* pp. 10, 11, 14.

torale), coxer, writ (d'élection), message (President's), politician, evidence, motion (arguer sa—), addresses, affidavit.

Again, in important branches of industry, such as commercial intercourse, have the inoculating effects of the foreign idiom on the French been much stronger than those from the governmental side. For Canada there was assured an extension of official influence far wider and more lasting than that generally found in the relation of conqueror to conquered, owing to the polemic, litigious spirit of the Normans (a race characteristic to which I have already referred) which brought them incessantly into contact with the civil law; but, at the same time, a three-fold reason existed—one inherent in the French language itself, the others external to it; one foreign, the others domestic—for an extraordinary infusion of Teutonic modes of thought and ideal expression into the plastic mass, at this time, of Gallic speech on the St. Lawrence. The original cause favoring such a procedure had its origin in the process of welding together so many divergent dialects of varying phonetic and polymorphous condition, into a consistent, well-regulated system of speech such as exists at present throughout the Dominion; the external causes, dependent on race traits of both the French peasant and English trader, are manifest in the excessive love of gain, the penetrating shrewdness and business acumen of the Norman; in the bold, enterprising and commercial spirit of the Englishman, coupled with the indispensable individual qualification of a rigid conservatism that still clings to him in all matters touching the use of his mother-tongue, and the further important advantage of belonging to a ruling race which totally ignored in the beginning the necessity, or desirability even, of learning a foreign idiom that was generally regarded as a worthless jargon which could add nothing, directly, to his stores of fur and other stock in trade. In reference to these matters the Gaul showed himself, at this time, superior in intelligence to the Teuton, by his appreciation of the situation and his keen foresight regarding the mercantile benefits to be derived from it: he seized upon the trading vocabulary of his political enemy and commercial rival, with an eagerness characteristic of his race whenever the money-bag is at stake, and the consequence is that a rich harvest of commercial terms, which he garnered in self-interest, was added to the language of Canada and still forms an important part of it. So extensive, in truth, has been the importation of the English trade-speech that an enthusiastic purist declares for the

French : " Nous ne connaissons guère le nom français des outils et des machines que l'on voit dans nos ateliers, ni des étoffes qui s'étaient dans nos magasins."¹ The writer here, in his fervid declamation against all borrowings from the Teutonic rival, has doubtless fallen into exaggeration, but at the same time there is a superabundance of the foreign linguistic coin passing currently everywhere, which shows what a hold the Anglo Saxon has had in the past on the mercantile life of the Canadian French people. For the present he is fast losing his grip, owing to the development by the French of a powerful national sentiment in favor of a maintenance of the language and traditions of their race. The following words will serve to illustrate a few of the more familiar substitutions of English for French names in the every-day industries : accountant, allspice, baking powder, bargain, bill, bill of lading, boss, bow-saw, brakesman, broker, cambric, change, crackers, dipper, discount, draft, dull (season), file, flash, foreman, gaiters, gin, instalment, job, kid, label, ladies' fingers, long-stick, mahogany, mangle (subst.), money order, net, pamphlet, parcel post, peg-awl, pickles, pigeon-hole, planer, plaster, play, pole, policeman, postage, post-office, pumps, punch, putty, raftman, reel, rug, run over (vb.), safe, sauce-pan, set (of furniture), settler, shaft, sheering, sherry, shooting-stick, side-board, sink, sky-light, slab, sleeper, sleigh, slip, slipper, slur (to), snack, sofa, span, stand, stock, strap, stuff, stakes, steamer, spring (voitures à spring), stamp, state-rooms, steam-shovel, step, stew-pan, steward, sulky, switch, tea-pot, team (pron. tim), tea-bord (thébord), ticket, ties, timetable, tow-line, track, truck, wagine, winch, wrench, yeast, zink.

A mere glance at this list will show that these verbal accessions are added by an external accretion which is purely artificial ; that they have nothing inherently to do with the organic growth of speech ; that they have developed in circumstances for the most part fortuitous, it is true, but fraught at the same time with the tenor of those " principles of cogent expediency " which may constitute a foreign language, wherever found and whatever its source, the desirable and faithful handmaid of thought. This is the same idea which dictated to the celebrated scholar, mentioned above, the following sentence, so appropriate to my present purpose : " It is by no process of organic growth, assuredly, that we put a certain title upon a certain thing because some far-off community, of which we know little, and for which we care less, gave

¹ Tardivel, J. P., op. cit. pp. 7, 8.

it that title; yet this makes, when once in use, just as good English as the words that belong to the very oldest Saxon families, or that came in with the Conqueror."¹

Under the heading (c) we have an important branch of the subject of speech mixture in this domain. It is here that becomes manifest at every step something of the power of adaptation and assimilation which belongs to language in its earliest generative periods; linguistic elements that were strangers to laws of Romance growth are here brought under their influence as thoroughly as if they had always been a component part of the Neo-Latin system; certain grammatical categories are built up out of Teutonic material with as much ease and expediency as if the formative principles were operative on Anglo-Saxon soil; and with this fitting to the new mould by a modification of external form, or by a full transference of the thought ingredients to new speech matrixes, so to speak, the compass of expression is widened while the framework of the language remains the same, the foreign matter being made to conform to it with a suppleness that characterizes original creations. And here again it becomes necessary to divide the freshly acquired material into two distinct classes, to discriminate, as far as form is concerned, between the Gallicized English product on the one hand, and the primary French fabric with modified thought coloring on the other. In the former there often comes to light a sharp action and reaction of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of language, and we have mixed morphological results according as the one or the other principle predominates; wherever the conservative tendency asserts itself positively, the phonetic equivalent conforms in a greater or less degree to the sound-products of the new surroundings; but wherever we have the circle of Neo-Latin sound conception disturbed by a strong dualistic consciousness, English and French, the form sticks more closely to its native Anglo-Saxon setting, and between the two extreme points—simple monolingualism and complete bilingualism—do we find the various shiftings of phonetic and formal relation that exists in the present speech of Canada. Some of these sound variations from the Teutonic type are of the simplest kind, and serve to prevent ambiguity of meaning by likeness of pronunciation, or are mere imitations of the English sounds. Such, for example, are the following: *dame* (Eng. 'dam,' Fr. *digue*), which is, of course, easily differentiated from Fr. *dame*, 'lady,' by the

¹ Whitney, W. D.: *The Life and Growth of Language*, pp. 115-116.

subject-matter in hand and, by its pronunciation, from *dam*, 'damage, cost.'—*Campe* (la), Eng. camp, differentiated by its gender and pronunciation from Fr. *camp*. The word has preserved in Canadian French its restricted English meaning, and it is curious, therefore, that Dunn¹ should regard it as an original creation with the Canadians. He defines it thus: "Petite cabane au milieu des bois, ou au centre d'un chantier dans la forêt. La France ne pouvant nous donner ce mot, nous l'avons créé à propos." The first signification given in Webster's English dictionary (s. v.) agrees so closely with that in which it is here used that there can be no doubt, I think, as to its origin: "The ground or spot on which tents, huts, etc., are erected for shelter, as of an army of lumbermen," etc.—*Baute*, Eng. 'boat,' distinguished in pronunciation from *beau*. It may be, too, that an element of associative influence enters into the formation, as far as gender is concerned, built up by an analogy with *barque*; but it is more probable, I think, that it represents graphically a simple attempt to reproduce the sounds of the English word. The diphthong *au* carries with it a distinct reminiscence of the original orthography. Long *o* is otherwise represented by *ô*; cf. *bôlt*.—*Cabousse* (la). Is this merely a graphic variation of the Eng. word 'caboose'? It would seem so, yet the termination *-ousse* serves to represent Eng. 'house' (*lilousse*, 'lighthouse'; *rondousse*, 'round-house,' etc.) It may be that we have to deal here with an associative influence.—*Pine* (la), Eng. 'pin' (wooden). Feminine gender by analogy with *cheville*; it is thus clearly separated from Fr. *pin*, in pronunciation.—*Saife*, Eng. 'safe'; cf. also *shaipe*, where the English flexion is preserved and *a*, of the stem syllable, is represented by the questionable digraph *ai*.—*Strappe* and *swampe*. Simple English words in French form to meet the requirements of pronunciation.—*Tobacconiste*; cf. under heading of "Contamination" further on.—*Waguine*, Eng. 'wagon.' Probably formed on analogy of the flexional ending in *machine*, to which also must be added the determining impulse of a slurred Eng. pronunciation with syllabic *n* (wagon: wagn), where the voiced glide in the combination *gn* has been developed to a regular vowel.

In *indictement* and *instalement* we have the intercalation of the common union vowel *e* by which, in French, the termination *-ment* is added to the verb root.² There are, of course, associative forms

¹ Op. cit. s. v.

² Diez, *Grammatik*⁴, p. 682.

that have developed under the influence of this large *-mentum* class.—The termination *-er* in English representing *nomina agentis*. Wherever change takes place in this set of nouns they invariably pass into the corresponding *-eur* types of the French, representing the same generic idea: *jobbeur* (pron. *ǰǻbbǻr*), Eng. 'jobber'; *switcheur*, 'switcher'; *shaveur* (pron. *ʃevǻr*), 'shaver'; *secondeur*, 'seconder'; *ronneur*, 'runner' (Fr. *pisteur*); *proposeur*, 'proposer'; *peddleur*, 'peddler'; *manufactureur*, 'manufacturer'; *lofeur*, 'loafer' (cf. different graphic signs for the *o*-sound in *baute*, 'boat'); *lecteur*, 'lecturer'; *groceur*, 'grocer'; *informeur*, 'informer.' This set of words has drawn after them *tombleur*, 'tumbler,' and a few others. As a rule, for simple names of things the pronunciation of this *-er* termination represents the English equivalent much more faithfully than the *-eur* of the *nomen agentis*. Such are the forms *coppe*, 'copper'; *hawse*, 'hawser,' where the *r* has been neglected in English fashion; or *robre*, 'rubber,' where the vocalic *r* of American English is represented. In *youque*, English 'yoke,' we have an interesting crossing between French *joug* and English 'yoke'; so with *necqu'iouque*, 'neck-yoke,' where the palatal element, under dialectic influence, has been made to conform to the Quebec graphic representation in *fatigue* for *fatigue*.¹ The same is seen in *couque*, 'cook,' and *couquerie*, 'cookery.' Since the modern French has no guttural nasal consonant (*ng*), it becomes a matter of interest to note how this characteristic phonetic trait of the English is to be replaced in the mouths of a French-speaking people. The difficulty is compassed in Canada in two ways: by substitution for it of the simple dental nasal plus a necessary, epithetical *e* by which the dental character of the intervocalic *n* is preserved; as, for example, in the word *cheurtine*, or *chatine*, English 'shirting'; *poutine*, 'pudding'; or by the introduction of the palatal ("mittelgaumiger") nasal *gn*; as in *sligne*, Eng. 'sling.'—The English flexional *-y* finds its natural representative in the corresponding *-ie*: *grocerie*, *jacasserie* ("Littre, néologisme"), etc. Where the language has a *verbum simplex* on which a *compositum* is built up by associative influence of the foreign vocable, the original form of the *simplex* is maintained: *formalité*: *informalité*, by analogy with Eng. 'informality.'—A series of words change the quality of the

¹An explanation of the cross influences that have given these sound-products will be attempted in a subsequent chapter on the phonetics of Canadian French. It is enough for our purpose here simply to note them.

English *e* (particularly *é*) in assuming their imperfect French dress: *editorial*, 'editorial,' under the influence of antepenult *é* in *éditeur*; *référence*, 'reference,' according to the penult and antepenult *é* in *référer*.

The most prolific source of mixture is, perhaps, that which represents the expansion of the ideal content of French words, well known in the specific sense which has been assigned to them by historic association in their restricted use, to designate objects and acts peculiar to French life and thought. But this "bedeutungswandel" is, of course, not confined here to French products that have felt the fructifying influences of the English; in fact, nowhere else, perhaps, in the Romance field are stronger, or more frequent, evidences at hand to show the quantitative differences between older and younger strata of the language; yet while these variations are numerous, owing to the preservation of many vocables in their early significations, or in dialect form with slightly modified content, the most marked differences are qualitative, and are due to the associative influence of foreign thought designations that vary materially, for their inclusive worth, from the Gallic mould. Some of these conceptual modifications bear so marked a contrast to the original meaning of the words which represent them that they might almost be classed among the divers species of the *τρόπος*, of which the more frequently recurring example, synecdoche, would play the principal role in the generation of the hybrid semasiological products; and sufficient has been said already to indicate what branch of synecdoche would be best illustrated in the loan material, namely, the expansion of the original signification. Contraction of meaning is rarely found in this neoteric lexicological fabric, from the fact that it is so generally the result of simple cumulative increment without any regard to significant range of the native word on to which the new idea is grafted. This part of the subject, it will be observed, differs essentially from that which treats of neologism, or the introduction of new forms as well as new concepts, into the French of Canada; the verbal material is old here, while the thought-boundary only has undergone a "verschiebung"; in other words, the mixture is psychological, not formal, lexicographical.

If we regard the material at hand from a flexional point of view, we shall find that the noun and verb categories stand in pretty just proportion to each other in their share of the burden of augmented signification. The relation here varies in inverse ratio

to that which we shall discover in connection with new form-creations; the facility of verb growth by means of the suffixes, still productive, of the first conjugation and of the inchoative type, has given us a number of new verbs, derived directly from Anglo-Saxon speech matter, that greatly outweigh the corresponding products in noun flexion.

If we operate from another point of view and differentiate our word material according to the origin of the classes of ideas which it represents, it becomes manifest immediately that the same two divisions strongly predominate here which were the most numerous for the products borrowed in full from the English, namely, those for the judicial and commercial language. Belonging to the former we have the following verbs whose meaning has been widened so as to cover the characteristic signification which they bear in English: *appeler* (une assemblée), 'to call a meeting'; *appointer* ("un tel est appointé secrétaire"). This verb is also used in common social life with the general meaning of "to name, to fix" in reference to time, *appointer* une heure, un jour, etc.; and, again, from the general notion of 'fixing, setting' it has drawn another verb (*pointer*) with it in gunnery practice: *appointer* une fusil, instead of the simple *pointer*, 'to point.'—*Approprier* ("une somme a été appropriée à des travaux"). The past participle of this verb is also used in the sense of the verbal adjective 'appropriate' in English ("une somme appropriée aux besoins").—*Avocasser* (une cause), 'to advocate' a cause—used in French proper simply to indicate the following of a barrister's profession in a pejorative sense.—*Charger* (le jury), 'to charge' the jury. This word belongs also to the commercial language in the English sense of 'to charge' so much for a thing ("on charge tant pour cette marchandise").—*Introduire* (un projet de loi), 'to introduce' a measure. Following this idea, another English signification has been added to the use of this verb in social life: *introduire* une personne à une autre. Here it is probable that we have a syntactical crossing of the French *introduire* auprès d'un personnage, and *présenter* une personne à une autre, under influence of the English construction.—*Législater*. "Ne se trouve nulle part," remarks Dunn, but cf. *Bescherelle* s. v. The English correspondent, 'to legislate,' has given the restricted meaning to it which it generally has in Canada, otherwise it is equivalent to "faire le législateur." According to Tardivel (p. 12), *légisférer* is rarely employed.—*Notifier* ("moi pour un (!) je les notifie d'une

chose, c'est," etc.) This is a case of plain syntactical substitution under influence of the foreign idiom: "notifier quelqu'un *de* quelque chose" (English construction) for "notifier quelque chose *à* quelqu'un."—*Objecter* ("j'objecte à ce qu'on législate," etc.), which draws after it a crossing with *s'opposer* in the interesting form *s'objecter* (à une chose) in its new subjective signification, 'to object to.'—*Opposer*¹ ("je ne puis pas supporter cette mesure, je l'*opposerai* de toutes mes forces," etc.)—*Passer* ("le parlement a passé une loi," "cette mesure ne doit pas *passer*").—*Pourvoir* ("on accuse le gouvernement . . . de n'avoir pas *pourvu* à la complétion des chemins de fer"; "il est *pourvu* par la loi"). Of the two verbs *prévoir* and *pourvoir*, the latter is in much more frequent use in French than the former, and is, moreover, supported by English usage. This usage, therefore, was easily transferred to the Neo-Latin idiom, to the exclusion of the legitimate construction with *prévoir*.—*Prononcer* ("tel que prononcé par la loi"). Here, by association with the English expression, the technical locution, le *prononcé* d'une sentence, and *ordonné* par la loi, have mixed and given us a formula that is traced close to the foreign model.—*Qualifier*, in a technical, judicial signification, for which we have the circumlocution, "donner le cens d'éligibilité," is built up directly on the English verb 'to qualify,' in a legal sense. Furthermore, in the transferred sense of 'capable'; as, "de les (travaux) avoir donnés à ces contracteurs qui n'étaient pas qualifiés."—*Seconder* (une motion). *Seconder* les entreprises, l'industrie, une personne, etc., was not long in becoming generalized, under the influence of English parliamentary usage, so as to cover "une motion," and finally to drive out *appuyer* altogether in this connection.—*Servir* (un jugement) commended itself for adoption in the general use of the technical legal language because of the inexpressive and cumbersome locution, "notifier par voie de justice."—*Sommer* ("M. un tel a été *sommé* au Senat"). Dunn characterizes this use of the word as "loc. barbarissime," but, I think, considering that French usage covers the signification 'to summon'; for example, "sommer quelqu'un de faire une chose," the extension of meaning here is easy and natural. The enlargement only of significant content is due to English, not the word itself, as would seem to be implied by Dunn, s. v. "De l'angl.

¹ The opportunity will be taken to classify all phenomena of this kind (omission of the reflexive pronoun, etc.) in a separate article on the morphology and syntax of the Canadian French.

To summon." The Old French has the form; cf. Bartsch's 'Chrestomathy,' s. v., to which he only gives, however, the meaning of *summieren*.

If we now pass to the verbs used in commercial pursuits, we shall find that the same general principle holds good here as with those just considered, namely, the word is familiar to French ears in a given sense only, to which sense a further signification is added, so that it may cover the meaning also of the corresponding English word with which it has come in contact. Such examples are the following: *Charger* ("Je ne vous *chargerai* rien pour ce travail"), Eng. 'to charge,' which was noticed under the preceding heading, where I cited the formula "*charger le jury*."—*Assumer* ("ils ont *assumé* la dette") is legitimately construed with the abstract idea, "*assumer la responsabilité d'une chose*," but here we have a case of simple brachylogy where the concrete, modifying notion has taken the place of the abstract, under the influence of the English taxis.—*Arranger* (un habit) represents simply an extension of the regular French usage, "*arranger des livres, une chambre*," etc.—*Cuisiner* (des comptes) is a neuter verb in French, with meaning restricted to a practice of the culinary art, but under influence of colloquial English it has become active and assumed the additional signification of 'to tamper with or alter.'—*Décharger*. This word has passed out of its predominant concrete use and is employed figuratively under influence of English 'to discharge,' in the triple signification of *congédier* (un domestique), *libérer* (un accusé), and *revoquer* (un fonctionnaire).—*Défrayer* has suffered a verschiebung from its use with the person ("*defrayer des amis*") to the thing signified by the verb-stem, Eng. 'to defray the cost, expense.'—*Enregistrer* (une lettre). But who will deny that the locution is not more logical than the elliptical expression, *charger une lettre* (sur le registre)? "*Enregistrer un acte de vente*" is admissible.—*Forger*. From the figurative and familiar use of this word in "*forger un mensonge, des nouvelles, un fable*," etc., it was an easy step to "*forger l'écriture, la signature de quelqu'un*," etc., where we find represented the established usage in English.—*Incorporer* has assumed a new factitive, technical meaning, 'to make (legally) into a body'—"incorporer une compagnie"—which signification might naturally be expected to develop from the parasynthetic nature of the French compound that has received here a transfer of content from the English participial formation, to 'incorporate.'—*Ordonner* (un habit, le diner). In a neuter

sense the use of this verb was legitimate in French to express an order given to do something, and in the present case we have the same sentence elements with a simple *auslassung*¹ or suppression of the general verb concept, 'to make, to prepare,' a procedure that is eminently characteristic of English speech. Moreover, according to the general tendency in all this significant transfer from the English to the Canadian French, we have here a progression in the thought-series from the less to the more comprehensive expression, from the term of less to that of greater ideal content, from *commander* to *ordonner*.—*Promouvoir* (les intérêts). This use of the verb *promouvoir* is condemned in Canada; cf. Tardivel (p. 12, "*promouvoir* des intérêts sectionnels . . . Voilà deux anglicismes très en vogue. *Promouvoir* veut dire simplement: avancer d'un grade à un autre et non *favoriser*"); and Dunn, s. v., would regard it as a translation of the English 'to promote,' but he has an inkling of the correct point of view from which the word should be regarded, in citing a like use of it by Bossuet: "*promouvoir* de toute leur force la victoire dont leur mort devait être le fruit."—*Rectifier* ("rétablir la vérité des faits").—*Rencontrer* (les dépenses). This word has assumed a number of special significations which it does not bear in French, and has become, under English influence, a general term for the designation of both abstract and concrete notions for the expression of which the mother language possesses a series of clearly differentiated forms or locutions: "faire face à ses engagements; *obtenir* l'approbation; *justifier* les prévisions; *répondre* aux desirs" (cf. Dunn, s. v.), all of which represent various shadings of meaning of the English verb 'to meet.'

A. M. ELLIOTT.

¹ Gröber, G.: *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, Bd. I, p. 650.

II.—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGE, FROM OXFORD MSS.

Auct. Rawl. 99, besides other pieces, of which I will only mention the *Heroides* of Ovid, contains in a handwriting of the thirteenth century three Latin treatises, all of them of some interest, not only for the study of the Middle Age and the history of Middle Age Latin, but as showing what Roman writers were most familiar at that time to the learned. All three treatises have been published, the second of them no less than three times, and each time without any knowledge of previous editors.

The first is Alexander Neckam's *de nominibus utensilium*. The second is the '*Phale tolum*' of Adam Balsamiensis. The third is the *Dictionarius* of John de Garlande. Of this last I shall say nothing, as its interest is purely medieval and linguistic. It is printed, from a MS in the British Museum, in Thomas Wright's '*A Volume of Vocabularies*,' I, p. 121 sqq.

Neckam's treatise is occupied with an account of the various implements used in the occupations of every-day life, indoors and out, including even the names of fishes, birds, and other animals used for cooking or other purposes. It has been edited by Wright, *Vocabularies*, I, pp. 96 to 119, from a Cottonian MS in the British Museum, Titus D. XX, with excerpts from Paris MSS supplied by M. Delisle; also by Scheler, from a Brussels MS, in his *Lexicographie Latine du XII et XIII siècle*, 1867.¹ There is another but imperfect thirteenth century copy of it in a MS in the library of S. John's College, Oxford, numbered 178 in Coxe's Catalogue. Neckam lived, according to Wright, 1157–1217.

The substratum of the *de nominibus utensilium* is Isidorus' *Origines*, a manual of universal knowledge compiled in the seventh century, and which still waits to be edited adequately; for the numerous quotations from Latin poets which it contains, no less than the correct spelling of the vast number of out-of-the-way words explained, demand a more exact collation of early MSS

¹ Republished from *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Vols. VI, VII, VIII.

(which exist in plenty) than has yet been given to the world. Besides Isidorus, Neckam quotes Horace,¹ Lucan,² and Juvenal;³ he has also unmistakable references to the *Moretum* and the *Ciris*.

I proceed to give these in the order of the Bodleian MS, adding the variants from Wright's MS (W), S. John's 178 (J), and Scheler's Brussels codex (S).

P. 2, in a list of delicate meats :

turtur allecia gamarus dimidio ouo confrictus.

Confrictus, also W. Constrictus, Paris 7679, S.

The passage is Juv. 5, 84, 85 :

Sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ouo
Ponitur, exigua feralis cena patella.

The variant *confrictus* is interesting. No such word is given by Forcellini; but *confrixari* seems to have been used in the sense of 'frying with' by Theodorus Priscianus, a medical writer of the fourth century. The word is glossed in the MSS by *frië*.

P. 4, in a list of birds of prey :

nisus alietus cirri prepeti infestus.

Circi perpeti, W and S.

Here the superiority of the Bodl. MS is very perceptible. Alexander refers to the end of the Pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*, 527 sqq.

Illi pro pietate sua . . .
Reddidit optatam mutato corpore uitam
Fecitque in terris *haliaetos* ales ut esset:
Huic uero miserae, quoniam damnata deorum
Iudicio patriaeque et coniugis ante fuisset,
Infesti apposuit odium crudele parentis . . .
Sic inter sese tristes *haliaetos* iras
Et *ciris* memori seruant ad saecula fato.

P. 5, in a list of clothes to be worn by the dairy-woman (*androchia*):

cuius indumenta in festiuis diebus sint matronales serapeline (-pelline, W).

This is the *xerampelinas ueteres* of Juv. 6, 519. The Bodl. MS

¹Amite leui, Epod. 2, 33. Non ego uentosae plebis suffragia uenor, Ep. I 19, 37.

²I 503: Naufragium sibi quisque facit.

³Probably *nichiteria* in the following passage (p. 104 in Wright's edition) Assint etiam stratilates quibus decertantibus statelum maneat inconcussum quibus uictoriam et belli finem consequentibus uictoriarum scripta utpote *nichiteria* punctis publicis non inlaudabiliter committantur, is from Juv. 3, 68.

has an explanation in the margin, serapeline, i. e. seron siccum quia in tempore sicco uestis illa apta est.

P. 14, bottom :

Habeat etiam bostar rusticus noster et presepe hoc equis illud bobus aptandum et si aliquantulum arideat prosperitas fortune blandientis. H(rubricated)abeat etiam agazonem et mulionem et in equitio equum admissarium.

Admissarium, S. Emissarium, W, J.

Elsewhere¹ I have suggested that *bostar* should be restored to Catull. CXV 1 for *instar* of MSS. The MSS of Neckam gloss the word *bouerie* (Bodl.), *buverie* (W). In the list of farm stock which immediately follows, the word which W and S give from their MSS as *cicuros* (S), *ciciros* (W), is correctly written in the Bodl. codex *tituros*, with the gloss *ex ariete et capra*. I should not have thought this worth mentioning had not Scheler ridiculously conjectured *cicures*. Noticeable as a word which in classical Latin is only poetical (Terentianus Maurus 1958 quotes as by Livius *Dirige odorisecos ad certa cubilia canes*) is the word *odorinsecus*, glossed in the Bodl. MS *brache*, in S *brachet*, in W *brazche*. All the MSS give the *n*.

P. 16:

Postmodum a mola granum constringi et dissolui et sinceratum foraminibus cribri eliquari.

Conpingi, SWJ. Et dissolui *om.* J. Scinceratum, SW. Eliquare, SWJ.

A very interesting reference to Moret. 40-42:

Transfert inde manu fessas in *cribra* farinas
Et quatit : at remanent summo purgamina dorso.
Subsidit *sincera foraminibusque liquatur*
Emundata Ceres.

P. 20, top :

Et notandum quod porticulus dicitur malleolus quo nauta dat signum sociis suis unde plautus in suo carmine dicit ad loquendum et ad tacendum habeatis porticulum.

Nota quod J. Malleus, S. Suis *om.* S. In suo carmine *om.* SJ. Ad loquendum sume porticulum, S. In W the extract is abridged to Vel porticulum habe. J has unde planctus ad tacendum et ad loquendum porticulum habeat.

The passage is Asin. 111, 1, 15, where the MSS of Plautus give :

Ad loquendum atque ad tacendum tute habeas portisculum.

Neckam, however, here draws from Isid. XIX 2, 13, where MSS

¹ In *Hermathena* for 1886.

generally (including one of the eleventh century in my own College Library) give *Ad loquendum atque tacendum* (-tum, *Trin.*) *tute habes porticulum.*

It seems worth while to add here, though it has no connexion with Latin literature, what Wright states to be the earliest allusion to the mariner's compass.

P. 18 in the Bodleian MS :

Habeat etiam acum iaculo suppositam rotabitur et circumuoluetur donec cuspis acus orientem respiciat, et sic comprehendunt naute quo tendere habeant (the other MSS debeant) cum cinossura latet in aeris turbatione quamuis stella illa ad oceanum numquam tendat propter circuli sui breuitatem.

I come to the second of the treatises contained in our MS. It has been three times published, as I learn from Hertz's *Praefatio* to his edition of A. Gellius, pp. xxxiv-v; by Haupt, from a Leipzig MS, in *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft* for 1849, p. 276 sqq.; by Hoffmann Fallersleben (Neuwied and Köln, 1853), from a Köln MS; lastly, by Scheler in the work mentioned above, from a MS at Bruges.

Between the end of Neckam's treatise and the beginning of this second, which, for convenience of reference, I shall call the '*Phale tolum*,' from the two first words, is written in a small hand, which Mr. Marray assigns to the later thirteenth century, a short account of its aim. *Phale tolum &c. In principio huius libelli potest queri que sit materia. que causa suscepti operis. quis titulus, et que utilitas. materia est talis sunt mea materies omnes (? omnis) conspectus in agris. ac inuenta domi mea sunt pharrago libelli. Causa suscepti operis est petitio magistri anselmi qui multociens pro epistolarum suarum leuitate multum redarguit. titulus talis est. Hic incipit oratio magistri ade paruipontani. Utilitas est ut perfectio libro et intellecto diuersarum rerum uocabula extranea cognoscamus.*

The writer calls himself, in the course of the treatise (p. 279 Haupt, p. 5 Fallersleben) *Adam Balsamiensem* in the accusative, and more exactly describes himself (p. 283 H., p. 9 F.) as *natione anglicus, patria balsamiensis, genere beluacensis, mansione iam diutiore quam uoluisssem parisiensis*. The natural meaning of this is that his ancestors came from Beauvais and settled in England, perhaps at Balsham¹ in Cambridgeshire, as Haupt suggests. He

¹ Or was he called before his sojourn in France *Adam de Baume*? In one passage (p. 4) he states that on his return from Paris one of his female relatives was censured by the rest quod me ut in puericia mea consueuerat adam balsameensem conpellerat (a mistake for conpellarat) nec magisterii nomen adiecerat. In the Bodl. MS balsameensem is superglossed i. dulcem.

studied in Paris' twelve years (p. 279 H., 4 F.), and then returned to England. It is the reception he met with on his return which he ingeniously works up into a narrative containing all the more out-of-the-way words for utensils, processes, and objects of every kind which his reading suggested to him. Like Neckam he draws chiefly from Isidorus; but occasional references may be found to Paulus Diaconus, Gellius, Nonius, and Priscian, from whom he seems to have got the word *conquexerat* (Haupt, p. 276). The Bodleian MS, as compared with either Haupt's or Fallersleben's, is sufficiently good to repay a careful study; but here I shall content myself with citing side by side the variants of these MSS, and a fourth, used by Scheler, in two passages where Adam has quoted Gellius.

Bodl. p. 5 (fol. 152 of the collective MS).

Post cenam artem lircines et tūbīcines audire iocundabamur. deerant autem lircines quos lituo cantare dixit iudex tesselinus in lectionum antiquarum commentariis. sed etiam scitīcines deerant quos apud sitos .i. sepultos canere dicit acteus capito in coniectaneis.

Iudex, Bodl. FHS; tessellius, S; cesellius, F; cerellius, H; iudex or index cesellius, MSS of Gellius; sitientes, H; citos, S; sytos, F; canere solitos, F; ateus, F; ateius, H; hactenus, S. The passage is from Gell. XX 2, where see the app. crit. of Hertz's new edition.

Bodl. p. 6:

Deerant tela iacula gladii quorum nomina in historiis ueteribus reperiuntur. hec sunt soliferrea gesa (gesea, FH; jesa, S) sparri (so S; spari, FH) rumpni (rumi, FH; ruini, S) rumpie (gestri, FHS) mensacule (so S; mesancule, FH) rumpie simbones (sinbones, S; sibones, FH) uerutenses clunacula (dunacula, F; climacula uel clunacula, S) ligule (lingule, FH; lingula, S) dominacula (om. FHS). de quo genere nenius (meuius, H; neuius, FS) in tragedia hesonia (? hesoma, as S; hesiona, FH) dixit (om. FH; ait, S) si nemini (si memini, H; om. S) morem gerere (gerere morem, FH; ingerere moram ut S) uidear hii me ligulauerunt ligula (uidear lingulauerunt me ligula, S; uidear lingua uerum lingula, FH).

This passage is from Gell. X 25. The line of Naevius is strangely corrupted in Bodl. and S; probably from *m* of *uerum* looking like *nt* and then being joined to *ligula*. The MSS of Gellius agree with F and H in giving *lingua uerum lingula*. Hertz prints it thus, after Klussmann:

[A.] Sine mi gerere morem uidear lingua. [B.] uerum lingua.

¹ Whence he was called Adam Parvipontanus (Adam du petit pont), if the identification found in the introduction above quoted and generally admitted is correct.

And this is certainly what the MSS most naturally suggest. But a negative seems imperatively demanded, as Ribbeck, following Sverdsioe, gives

Ne mihi gerere morem uidear lingua, uerum lingua,

or perhaps

Sine mihi morem gerere uidear ligula, uerum haud lingua,

'let me follow my will not with words, but with the sword.'

The verse is alluded to by Varro also, L. L. VII 107: *Multa apud poetas reliqua esse uerba, quorum origines possint dici, non dubilo, ut apud Naeuum in Hesiona enimuero* (so K. O. Müller¹) *gladii lingula*. This suggests another possibility:

A. Sine mihi morem gerere uidear lingua—B. enimuero lingua,

'with my tongue—nay rather, with my sword.' In any case (1) I prefer to keep Klussmann's *sine mihi*, (2) to place *morem* after *mihi* (so the Bodleian codex of the Phale tolum), on the alliterative principle by which the early poets were so greatly dominated.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

¹ The oldest and best MS of the de l. latina is Laurentianus 51, 10, of which 51, 5 is probably a copy. Both give, as Dr. Anziani specially informs me, *ut apud neuum. In esionam uero gladii lingula a lingua*. K. O. Müller thought that *m* of *esionam* was an error for *n*, the abbreviation of *enim*. There is, however, much ingenuity in Groth's conj. in Hesiona, *mucro gladii lingula a lingua*; *mucro* having been corrupted into *m uero*.

III.—THE ĀSURI-KALPA; A WITCHCRAFT PRACTICE OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

The ritual literature of the Atharva-Veda, like that of the other Vedas, has attached to itself certain *pariṣiṣṭas*, or supplements. Of these, the thirty-fifth, according to the best accessible MS, is the Āsuri-Kalpa, an *abhicāra*, or witchcraft practice, containing rites to be used in connection with the āsuri-plant. The question as to what this plant was will be discussed below. The use of the word *kalpa* for such a text is explained by a passage in the Atharvaṇīya-Paddhati, which states, on the authority of Uparvaṣa,¹ that in addition to the five AV. *kalpas*—Kāuṣika, Vāitāna, Nakṣatra, Çānti, and Aṅgīrasa—which are called *çruti* 'inspired,' there are certain other kalpas which are to be considered as *smṛti* 'handed down by tradition.'

Three MSS have been consulted in preparing this paper. Two of them are copies of the *pariṣiṣṭas* of the AV.; the third is a commentary to the Āsuri-Kalpa. All three are loans to Dr. Bloomfield from the British Government in India. Just here I may say that I am greatly indebted to Dr. Bloomfield for the use of these MSS, for the encouragement and assistance which he has given me, and for his kindness in looking over my work. The MSS are as follows:

A, large sheets of light yellow paper, bound in book form, written lengthwise in a large clear hand and with considerable care. It is a modern copy.

B, narrow sheets of light blue paper, bound in book form, written lengthwise, text fuller in places than the preceding, but in a poor hand and with numerous errors. It must be a very recent copy. Both of these MSS are numbered 23.

S (Scholiast), much older than either of the preceding, single sheets of light brown paper grown dark at the edges, written lengthwise as the other MSS, but in a very poor, though large,

¹A *mīmāṃsā* (pūrva-) teacher. See *Life and Essays* of H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. II, pp. 319-49.

²Cf. J. A. O. S. XI 377, Bloomfield, *On the Position of the Vāitāna-Sūtra in the Literature of the Atharva-Veda*.

hand. It contains three sections or chapters. *Part first* (folios 1b-6a') contains all the practices in brief form, and occupies about one-fourth of the MS. *Part second* (folios 6a'-7b') treats only of the externals of the principal rite, and occupies scarcely one-tenth of the MS. *Part third* is an elaborate commentary on what has preceded; but in its present condition deals with only about two-thirds of the practices, since the MS lacks some folios at the close.¹ This MS is numbered 120; but is also marked *p* (*patrāṇi*) 18; *saṁ.* (*saṁvat*) 1880-81; and, on the last folio, written across the end on the margin, 347. From the appearance of the MS it might be as old as one hundred and fifty years; and since *saṁ.* 1880-81 probably has reference to Kielhorn's Report,² the MS may be as old as it looks. It contains about 200 *çloka*s.

At the beginning of *part third* it names Mahādeva as the speaker,³ who introduces his commentary (see p. 175, note 19) by saying: 'It [the mantra] is not to be uttered (performed) without teachers; by the precept of a teacher this magic power (success) [comes into being]. Accordingly in a single final commentary the Āsurī-[rite] should succeed,'—

vinā gurūn akartavyaṁ guruvākyena siddhidam * (cod. *sidhi*),
ekāntimaṭīkāmadhye (cod. *ekānte*-) *sādhayeta tad āsurī.* 2.

Mahādeva⁴ is spoken of as the seer of the divine āsurī-text,⁵ and as becomes a ṛṣi he speaks of the Gāyatrī, Trīṣṭubh, and Anuṣṭubh metres (*gāyatrītrīṣṭubhanuṣṭupchandaḥ*), after which he proceeds to give full instructions concerning the rites.

¹*Part first* seems to be in fact a version of the *pariṣiṣṭa*, fuller than the text and differing from it in some passages, but still essentially the same. The chief points of difference have been noted as readings of *S*. They have been put into *çloka* form where the MS seemed to warrant it. Readings from *parts second* and *third* are so marked.

²See p. 169, foot-note 1. The MS is catalogued on p. 58.

³The *pariṣiṣṭas* as a whole are in the form of dialogues. Cf. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 153.

⁴The conjectural reading *siddhidam* requires a regular fem. noun to be regarded as neu.; but for this text it may be allowable, since the MS departs widely in places from all rules of grammar, and also treats *siddhi* as a neu. in other passages.

The comma and period (, and .) have been used in all Sanskrit passages as the simplest means of transliterating the two Sanskrit marks of punctuation (| and ||).

⁵An epithet of Rudra or Çiva, also of Viṣṇu and the name of various persons. It is an appropriate title, "Great-Lord," for the teacher of such a text.

* *arya çryāsurimantrasya* (cod. *çriasu*-) *mahādeva ṛṣiḥ*.

Apart from its subject-matter *S* possesses no little interest, because it contains abundant evidence of the character of the people having to do with its rites. It is exceedingly corrupt, as a few examples may suffice to show. The common writing for *sapta* is *satpa*; for *āsuri*, *asuri*; for *sūkṣma*, *sukṣma*; for *cūrṇa*, *curṇa*, etc.: *juhiyat* and *jūhiyāta* are used for *juhuyāt*; *mṛyate* for *mriyate*, etc.: *ṛdayaṁ* is found for *hṛdayaṁ*; *bhimantritena* for *abhi-* (beginning of a sentence); *karaye* for *-yet*; *titha* for *tithir*, etc.: little or no attention is paid to *saṁdhi*: the confusion of sibilants,¹ *s* for *ṣ* and vice versa, is exceedingly common: and other curious freaks in spelling occur, notably the use of *cy* for *c* (*cyurṇa* for *cūrṇa*, and *muñcyati* for *muñcati*), which is of some interest from a phonetic standpoint, and the writing of the word *vaçikartukāma* in eight different ways, while using it but twelve times, with a mistake of some kind in every single instance.² The errors are doubtless due in part to later copyists; but, from the present state of corruption, it may be safe to infer that the original MS was bad at the start; for it seems hardly possible that the scribes should be guilty of all the errors which it contains, even if the present MS is the result of several successive transcriptions. The nature of the mistakes stamps the writer at once as an ignorant and perhaps degraded person. It is about such a document as might be expected to be written in English by some Voodoo doctor among the blacks of the South. Numerous repetitions serve to light up otherwise hopeless passages, and when the brief outlines of the *pariṣiṣṭa* are combined with the commentary the whole practice becomes clear. No two of the MSS exactly agree in the order in which the different forms of the rite are treated, and *B* has a passage not found in either *A* or *S*. Fortunately the *pariṣiṣṭa* is mostly written in *çloka*s, which is of great service in determining the true reading.³ In style the *pariṣiṣṭa* is somewhat like the *sūtras*, being terse and technical in its forms of expression, and consisting mostly of what may

¹ Cf. PROC. A. O. S., May, 1886. Introduction to the Study of the Old-Indian Sibilants; by Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. Edward H. Spieker.

² It may be said in addition that there is hardly a sentence in the entire MS in which there are not mistakes in the case-forms, the most common being the use of a stem-form for an acc.

³ In the text, where a MS reading is of no importance, it has been thought best to omit it; so, in the quotations from *S* the MS reading has been omitted where the emendation is obvious, where the same mistake is repeated several times, and, in a few instances, where MS evidence warrants the change; on the other hand, where it has been thought best to do so, the passage has been quoted *verbatim*.

be called rules ; the commentary is, of course, more like an ordinary text.

In this paper the attempt has been made not only to present a correct version of the *pariṣiṣṭa*, so far as the material at hand would allow, but also to reproduce to some extent the scholiast by citing, mostly from the first division, such passages, with the text, as bear on the same part of the rite, and by incorporating into the commentary accompanying the translation such other passages as throw light upon those already cited, or give an idea of additional matters not treated of in the text at all. In this way most of the salient points of *Ś* have been preserved without, at the same time, copying its tiresome minuteness of detail and unending repetitions—not that the commentary is of so much importance in itself, for, as has been shown, it represents the work of a person of little intelligence apparently, certainly of small acquirements ; but that the picture of the whole might be as complete as possible. The practice of witchcraft forms a dark chapter in the history of mankind, and anything that throws light upon the attitude of mind in which its devotees have practiced their curious rites is not to be despised. The “meditations” of *Ś* may not be without their suggestions to those who care to read between the lines, and the whole practice is a curious bit of evidence of the power of superstition over the human mind.

While the *Āsuri-Kalpa* has proved a rich field for emendation, and has afforded some opportunity for conjecture, it has not been altogether unfruitful in new material, as the following list will show.

SIMPLE STEMS.

Denominative Verb: *piṣṭaya*, to grind up, make into meal.

Nouns (members of compounds): *naṣṭika* [*naṣṭi*], destruction. *ravi*,¹ a tree or plant of some kind. *ṣaḍi* (not in a comp.), a collection of six. *sruca* (?) [*sruc*], sacrifice-ladle.

Adjectives: *pretaka* [*preta*], belonging to a dead [man]. Possibly (?) *jigāiṣa*, desiring to conquer.

Particles: *klīn*, *kṣān*, and *grīn*.²

Analogical Vocative: *duhite* [*duhitar*], O daughter.

New Meanings or Uses: *sureṣvari* (compound stem), *āsuri* (plant and probably also goddess). So *lakṣmī*, apparently and possibly *grī*. *caturtham* (?), fourthly (as adverb).

¹ See page 189, foot-note 4.

² Evidently from *grī* ‘beauty, welfare.’ These words are used as part of a muttered spell, and have, therefore, no particular meaning.

COMPOUND STEMS.

Nouns: *aprajatva*, childlessness. *ulkaṛaṇa*, overcoming (?).

Adjectives: *dakṣiṇakarnika*, having its point (ear) to the south. *devija*, goddess-born. *raktavāsasa*, having a reddish garment. *vaçyaga*, subdued. Possibly *pratyāmukha*, facing.

Neuters as Adverbs: *dinatrayam*, at the three parts of the day (A. M., M., and P. M.) *dināṣṭakam*, at the eight parts (watches) of the day. Possibly (?) *saptāhanam*, at the seventh dawn.

COMPOUNDS OF A MORE GENERAL CHARACTER.

aparājaya, invincibleness. *karmakārikā* (fem. of adj. *-raka*), deed-performer. *nāgendra*, a plant, probably Betel. *vaçikartukāma*, the desire to render submissive. Possibly also *surati*, a plant of some kind.

A few words have as yet baffled all attempts at a solution. They will be mentioned as they occur.

That the Āsurī-Kalpa must at one time have occupied a position of some importance appears from the fact that it is mentioned, according to Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII 415, under the name Āsurīyaḥ Kalpaḥ in the Mahābhāṣya IV 1, 19, Vārttikam f. 19b. In this connection it may be added that the conjecture offered by Professor Bloomfield (J. A. O. S. XI 378): "*pañcakalpaḥ* is probably not to be understood (with Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII 455) as one studying five different *kalpas*, i. e. *grānta-sūtras*, but means an Atharvavedin who is familiar with these five *kalpas*," i. e. the five belonging to the AV., has recently been confirmed by the discovery, made by the same scholar, of the word *pañcakalpī* (stem *-in*) used in the colophon of a Kāuṣ. MS¹ to mean the writer of a Kāuṣ. MS. In connection with *pañcakalpaḥ*, says Weber (loc. cit.), the Mahābhāṣya (Vartt. 3f. 67a) mentions the words *kālpasūtraḥ*, *pārāçarakālpikāḥ*, and *māṭṛkalpikāḥ*. This last word Weber does not attempt to define, but says of it: "Letzteres Wort ist in der vorliegenden Beziehung unklar." In the Kāuṣika-Sūtra, 8, 24, is mentioned a gaṇa of hymns (AV. II 2, VI 111, and VIII 6) under the title *māṭṛnāmāni*, the object of which is the preventing or removing of evil; and Atharva-Pariçiṣṭa² 34, 4, mentions the same gaṇa with the

¹ No. 86. Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency, 1880-81, by F. Kielhorn.

² A No. 32, B No. 34. The latter numbering makes the Āsurī-Kalpa No. 37; for each MS gives between it and the Gaṇamālā two other pariçiṣṭas—

addition of AV. IV 20, under the same name.¹ It also adds, *iti mātṛgaṇaḥ*.² As *kālpasūtraḥ* means one familiar with the Kalpa-Sūtras, and *pārāçarakalpikaḥ* seems to have been used of a person who had studied the Parāçara-Kalpa,³ it is safe to infer that the word *mātṛkalpikaḥ* meant one who was familiar with or made use of the Mātṛ-Kalpa, and such a text may yet be found. If it ever appears, Professor Bloomfield conjectures that it will prove to be a ritual for the use of a priest in connection with this Mātṛgaṇa. The presence of these words in the Mahābhāṣya, which contains many Atharvanic words not found elsewhere, cited as they are without explanation, goes to show that they were all well understood by the people of Patañjali's time, and therefore referred to rites and practices so familiar to the Hindoos that the mere name was sufficient to make the reader understand the author's meaning. As they are all Atharvanic, and the word *Āsurī-Kalpaḥ* is also Atharvanic, there can be no doubt that the *Āsurī-Kalpaḥ* and the *Āsurīyaḥ Kalpaḥ* are essentially the same, though the text may have suffered some changes at the hands of later authorities on the uses of *āsuri*, and it is evident that the *pariçiṣṭa* must have had considerable currency among those who made use of Atharvan rites. Additional evidence of the familiarity of the Hindoos with such practices is to be found in the Laws of Manu (XI 63), where the practice of witchcraft (*abhicāra*) and of magic with roots (*mūlakarman*) is mentioned in a list of secondary crimes (*upapātaka*). This reference also makes clear the fact that such practices are old; for they must have been well established when the Mānava-Dharmaçāstra took its present shape, and go back, therefore, in all probability, some hundreds of years before our era. On the other hand, it must be said that the MSS bear marks of a late origin. *S* mentions the Hindoo trinity (*brahma-viṣṇuhara*), contains the Buddhistical word *hevara*, uses the gen. for the loc. and ins., etc.; and all the MSS contain forms (transfers to the *a*-declension, etc.) due to analogy and not cited in any of the dictionaries, besides exhibiting in the subject-matter certain

the Mahābhīṣeka and the Anuloma-Kalpa. *B* does not number the latter or the *Āsurī-Kalpa*, but has after the Mahābhīṣeka what is evidently a corruption for 35. The PETERS. LEX., with *A*, makes the Anuloma-Kalpa No. 34. The numbering of *B* has been taken to correspond to Dr. Bloomfield's edition of the Kāuç.

¹ Cf. Weber, *Omina et Portenta*, pp. 350-53.

² Not in *A* or *B*; but see Bloomfield, Kāuç. 8, 24, note 5.

³ Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII 445.

tendencies which are recognized as modern. They are mentioned below.

The word *āsuri* is the fem. of an adj. from *asura* "spirit, demon," and therefore means primarily, "belonging to, or having to do with, spirits or demons." Under the form *āsuri*, the PETERS. LEX. gives the meaning, schwarzer Senf, Sinapis ramosa Roxb.¹ From the evidence of the MSS, *āsuri* must be a plant with a pungent leaf, and must bear fruit (*phala*) and flowers; moreover, a religious meditation (*dhyāna*) of *Ś*, which can hardly refer to anything else, speaks of the "bright four-sided granter of wishes"; then of the same as "reddish," "blue-colored," "having a sword in the hand," "having a hook in the hand," "having a 'red-stone' in the hand," etc. All these expressions are based upon characteristics of the plant, as will appear below. In describing the oblation the *pariṣiṣṭa* says: 'The wise man should make meal of *rājikā*' (*rājikāṁ piṣṭayed budhaḥ*), while *Ś* in the same passage speaks of *āsuri* as made into meal. The word *rājikā*, in fact, occurs in *Ś* only in *part third*, never in connection with *āsuri*, and always where the latter might be expected. The same is true of the word *rājasarṣapa*, for example,—

*vidhāne pūrvavat karmapratimāṁ rājasarṣapāḥ,
pūrvavat kārayen nyāsaṁ, chedayet pūrvavad api.*

'In [his] preparation, as before, [one should cause] an image for the rite [to be made] with black mustard seeds. As in the former case, he should cause the [limb]-placing ceremony to be performed; he should cause [the image] to be chopped also as before.' The word *rājikā*, which was left untranslated above, is the common name for the Black Mustard of India. This plant has bright yellow flowers, and bears small dark seeds contained in a pod which is tipped by a long, straight, flattened, and seedless beak.² In all members of the Mustard Family, the pungency pervades the entire plant.³ There can be no doubt that this was the plant actually used, and it is plain that the ignorant and superstitious devotee saw a goddess in the plant itself,⁴ and found,

¹ Wm. Roxburg, *Flora Indica*, Semapore, 1832.

² Hooker, *Flora of British India*, I 157. The Black Mustard of Europe, which is closely related, is described as having smooth erect pods which are somewhat four-sided and tipped with a sword-shaped style. They contain small dark brown or nearly black seeds. The Black Mustard of the U. S. is similar.

³ Gray, *Introduction to Structural and Systematic Botany, and Vegetable Physiology*, 1873, p. 389 f.

⁴ Cf. the frequent similar personifications of the AV.

perhaps, in the effect of the seeds upon his palate an evidence of her supernatural power.¹ The "red-stone" (*rudhira*) mentioned above, and defined by the dictionaries as a certain red stone, not a ruby, here plainly means the seeds in the pod of the *āsuri*-plant, while the pod itself is probably the "sword," and possibly also the "hook."

The chief object to be attained was the subduing of another to one's will, or the destruction of an enemy. The use of the hymns of the AV. for the latter purpose is sanctioned by the Laws of Manu (XI 33): 'With the thought 'one should utter (perform) the hymns of the Atharva-Veda,' [let him be] without hesitation; the 'word' is the Brahman's weapon, you know, with it the twice-born should smite [his] enemies,'—

*ṣrutir atharvāṅgirasīḥ kuryād ity avicārayan,
vāk ṣastram vāi brāhmaṇasya tena hanyād arin dvijaḥ.* 33.

The other practice, as has been stated, is pronounced criminal by the same authority. The rite itself is briefly as follows: after certain introductory ceremonies, the person grinds up mustard into meal, with which he makes an image representing the person whom he desires to overcome or destroy. Having muttered certain spells to give efficiency to the rite, he chops up the image, anoints it with ghee (melted butter), curds, or some similar substance, and finally burns it in a "sacred-fire-pot." The idea that an image thus destroyed accomplishes the destruction of the person represented, or at least does him serious harm, still survives in India, and it can be duplicated in almost any country in which witchcraft has been practiced. The *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa* contains a similar practice, in which an image of dough is roasted so as to cause the moisture to exude, and it is then cut to pieces and eaten by the sorcerer. An image of wax has been largely used in various countries, the life of the enemy represented having been supposed to waste away as the wax gradually melted over a slow fire. This process was known to the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Germans, and even to the Chaldeans.² A vari-

¹ This may also account for the name, since at the time when these practices originated the Hindoos were both very superstitious and extremely unscientific in all matters pertaining to natural phenomena, and they would, therefore, quite naturally assign the pungency of the plant to some spirit or demon.

² Cf. Theocr. Idyll II 28, Hor. Epod. XVII 76; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1047 ff.; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 5, foot-note 1, and p. 63; Burnell, *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. I, Introd. p. xxv, and see p. 190, foot-note 1, end.

ation of the same performance is to fill the image with pins, attach a hated name to it, and set it away to melt or dry up according to the material used. This is said to be still practiced in some parts of America, England and the Continent.¹ It is reported that a practice of this kind, i. e. the making of an effigy to be used for his destruction by means of sorcery, was tried on Henry VI of England; and early in the present century a similar trick was used against the Nizām of the Deccan.² Among the Indians of our own country, the Ojibway sorcerers were supposed to be able to transfer a disease from one person to another by a somewhat similar process. They were accustomed to make, for the patient who paid them, a small wooden image representing his enemy; then, piercing the heart of this image, they put in small powders, and pretended by this means, with the help of certain incantations, to accomplish the desired end.³ The fact that an image has been so universally used in witchcraft practices is no more remarkable than the fact that all nations have made use of images to represent their gods in religious worship, and the two things may both be referred to some law of the human mind by which similar conditions produce similar results. There is no discoverable connection between the Ojibway's wooden image and the Hindoo's effigy of dough other than the mere fact that each is the outcome of a desire to injure, and nature teaches them both to think of what is practically the same expedient.

The minor practices of the Āsurī-Kalpa, which are designed either to work harm to an enemy or good to the practitioner, will be found in their turn below. They seem to indicate a desire on the part of the author to furnish a short cut to power and to some of the more important blessings which were supposed to be gained by the sacrifices prescribed by the Brāhmaṇas; indeed, the practices of the Āsurī-Kalpa, as a whole, seem to show a disposition to supplant certain religious forms by simpler magical rites, while endeavoring at the same time to obtain powers for harm which religious practices either left in the hands of the educated Brahmans or did not bestow at all. It must be added, however, that the belief in the efficacy of repetition, so conspicuous in the modern "prayer-mills" of Thibet, is here plainly to be seen. In the Āsurī-Kalpa, as in all other Indian witchcraft practices, there is, of course, an underlying stratum of skepticism; but the

¹ Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I, p. 272.

² Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, p. 88.

³ Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, p. 361.

great power of the priests is tacitly recognized by the care enjoined upon one who undertakes to subdue a Brahman. The practices for obtaining blessings are confined to the latter part of the *pariṣiṣṭa*,¹ and, from their general character, seem like an extension of the original practices, perhaps for the purpose of giving additional currency or respectability to the whole; they may possibly be regarded as a further indication that the *Āsurī-Kalpa*, however ancient its main practices may be, is, in its present shape, comparatively modern.

At the present time in America, the interest felt in witchcraft is shown by our surprisingly large and growing literature on the subject.² In India the interest felt is of a different nature, but it is none the less strong. To the Hindoo the subject is a living one, and while the native literature referring to magic and superstition has always been great, at present, especially in the vernacular dialects, it is enormous, and forms the favorite reading of the people.³ So great is its hold upon the natives that Lyall says of it: "It is probable that in no other time or country has witchcraft ever been so comfortably practiced as it is now in India under British rule";⁴ again, "in India everyone believes in witchcraft as a fact"; and just below, "In every village of Central India they keep a hereditary servant whose profession it is to ward off impending hailstorms by incantations, by consulting the motion of water in certain pots, and by dancing about with a sword." Beside this may be placed the statement of Conway,⁵ that there are 84,000 charms to produce evil made use of in Ceylon at the present time. In so far as it throws light on the past history of such practices, the work on the *Āsurī-Kalpa* may not have been in vain.

¹ Both MSS recognize a division of the practices into groups—*A* into two, as shown by the figures (1 and 2), and *B* apparently into three; for it has a two (2) where *A* has one (1), and what may be a one (1) in the passage which it alone contains. It lacks the number at the end. The divisions of *A* have been marked in Roman numerals, since it has been thought best to number the *śloka*s, although the MSS do not do so. The practices of the second division are all of the same general nature.

² See Poole's Index, third edition, 1882, under the headings Witchcraft, Demonology, Magic, etc.

³ Burnell, *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa*, I, p. xxv.

⁴ Asiatic Studies, 1882, p. 96.

⁵ "Of course the witch is punished when he takes to poisoning or pure swindling" (loc. cit.)

⁶ Demonology and Devil-Lore, I 274.

II.—TEXT, CRITICAL NOTES, AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SCHOLIAST.

*om namo rudrāya*¹, *om kaṭuke kaṭukapattre*² *subhaga āsuri rakte*³ *raktavāsase*⁴, *atharvaṇasya duhile*⁵ *'ghore 'ghorakarmakā-rike*⁶, *amukaṁ hana*⁷ *hana daha daha paca paca mantha*⁸ *mantha tāvad daha tāvat paca yāvan me vaṇam ānayaḥ*⁹ *svāhā*¹⁰. *ṣayyā-vasthīlāyās*¹¹ *tāvaj*¹² *japed yāvat svapiti, prasthīlāyā*¹³ *gatiṁ daha daha svāhā svāha, upaviṣṭāyā bhagaṁ*¹⁴ *daha daha svāhā svāhā, suptāyā*¹⁵ *mano daha daha svāhā svāhā svāhā svāhā, prabuddhāyā hṛdayaṁ daha daha svāhā svāhā svāhā svāhā svāhā*¹⁶.

*athāta āsurikalpam*¹⁷ *upadekṣyāmo*¹⁸ *'tharvaṇaḥ, nāsyās tithir*¹⁹ *na nakṣatraṁ nopavāso vidhiyate*. 1.

*ghṛtādisarvadrayeṣu*²⁰ *āsuri*²¹ *ṣatajāpitā*,

1. *A* and *S* omit these three words. *S* begins *ṣṛiganeṣāya namaḥ*.—2. MSS (all three) regularly *patra*.—3. *B* and *S* omit.—4. So MSS (all three), fem. from transition stem in *-a*.—5. So MSS (all three), analog. voc., as if from stem in *-ā*. In all cases where an *a-* is elided it is written in the MSS.—6. *B -karike*, *S -kārake*; but in one passage (p. 187) *-kārīṇi*.—7. *B hana*, *A hana* 2.—8. *A* omits.—9. MSS *-naya*.—10. *S amukasya matiṁ daha daha, upaviṣṭasya subhagaṁ* (cod. *ṣu-*) *daha daha, suptasya mano daha daha, prabuddhasya hṛdayaṁ daha daha hana hana paca paca* (cod. *pra-*) *matha matha tāvad daha daha yāvan me vaṇam āyāti hrīṇ huṁ phaṭ svāhā, iti mūlamantraḥ*. *S* also calls it *atharvaṇamantraḥ*.—11. *A ṣiṣyā*.—12. *B -tāyāḥ etāv-*.—13. *B prachīlāyāpagatiṁ*.—14. *B magaṁ*.—15. *B* omits, *A svaplāya*.—16. *S part third devadattasya* ['Of a certain one,' technical use] *matiṁ daha daha, upaviṣṭāyā bhagaṁ daha daha, suptāyā mano* (cod. *marā*) *daha daha, prabuddhāyā hṛdayaṁ* (cod. *ṛda-*) *daha daha paca hana matha* (cod. *ra atha*) *tāvad daha yāvan me* (cod. *-vakte*) *vaṇam ānayo* (cod. *-ya*) *huṁ phaṭ svāhā*.—17. *B āsurīm*.—18. *B -deṣād atharvaṇaḥ, S vyākṣyāmaḥ*.—19. *B na tasyās tithi nītraṁ*. *S part third*

ṣṛīmāhāde (-mahādeva) uvāca,
ṣṛṇu vatsa mahāmantram āsurividhiṁ uttamam,
na ca titha (-thir) na [ca] nakṣatraṁ na māsānuyāva (!) (māsāny eva ?) vāsare,
na sthānaṁ nakta (-te ?) tu kāpi na veṣṭa (!) (veṣṭa ?) ca vidhiyate. 1.

- 20. *A ghṛtādidrayasarveṣu*.—21. The man tra nāsyās, etc. ?

pattrādyavayavaç' cāsyā jigīṣā^a cānupāyini,
hantukāmo hi *çatruñç* ca *vaçikartuñ'* ca *bhūpatin*. 2.

āsuriçlakṣnapīṣṭājyañ' juhuyād ākṛtiñ budhaḥ,
arkāidhasāgnin' prajvālya ciltvāstrenākṛtiñ tu^a lām. 3.

pādāgrato 'ṣṭasahasrañ juhuyād yasya vaçy' asāu,
ghṛtāktayā stri vaçini^a pālāçagnāu dvijottamaḥ^a. 4.

*guḍāktayā kṣatriyās*¹⁰ tu vāçyās tu dadhimiçrayā¹¹,
çūdrās tu lavaṇamiçrāi¹² rājikāñ piṣṭayed budhaḥ. 5.

*ā saptaḥat*¹³ sarva eta āsurihomato vaçāḥ,
kaṭulāilena trisaṁdhyāñ kulocchedaṁ karoti hi. 6.

*çunām*¹⁴ tu lomabhiḥ¹⁵ sārddham apasmārī tribhir dināih,

1. *A* yatrā-, *B* patrā-.—2. *A* jikāiṣā, *B* jigāiṣāgamitugāmini.
 - 3. *A* -kurvañç ca. *S* atha rājā, vacikartukāmāḥ; but elsewhere rājavaçikartukāmāḥ. Cf. *part third*, rāmavaçikaraṇakāmāḥ and çatruḡhātana-kāmāḥ.—4. *B* āsurin. *S* āsuryā supīṣṭayā (cod. surgiṣṭa-) pratikṛtiñ kṛtvārkasamidbhir agniñ (cod. -iddhiñ agni) prajvālya dakṣiṇapadārabhya [or -pādenā-] (cod. -pādā-) çastreṇa ciltvā (cod. always cilitvā) ghṛtāktāñ juhuyāt 108 aṣṭottaraçāta homena vaçī (cod. vaçī varçī). [*Sc.* rājā bhavati.]
 - 5. *A* arkedhanā-, *B* arke-.—6. *A* nu.—7. *A* vatyaṣāu.—8. *S* āsurisupīṣṭaprakṛtiñ kṛtvā vāmapādenākramya çastreṇa ciltvā ghṛtāktāñ juhuyāt 108 saptaḥe siddhiḥ (cod. sidhi).—9. *S* pālāçasamidbhir agniñ (cod. -idhiñ agni; similarly below) prajvālyāsuriñ (cod. -ri; so regularly) ghṛtāktāñ madha (!) (madhu-sahitāñ ?) juhuyāt 108 homena çatyahevārā (-varo ?) vaçam ānayaati.—10. *S* khadirasamidbhir agniñ prajvālyāsuriñ madhu-sahitāñ (cod. madha-) 108 homena saptaḥe va (!) (vaçī) bhavati.—11. *B* madhumīçrayā. *S* udumbarasamidbhir ... dadhyaktāñ (cod. dardhoktāñ).—12. *B* miçritāñ. [*Sc.* pratikāyāñ ?] *S* udumbarasamidbhir ... lavaṇamiçrāñ kṛtvā trisaṁdhyāñ (-aṁ) juhuyāt 108. For an enemy, *S* āsurin kaṭukatāilāktāñ, līm-bakāṣṭe agni (!) (nimbakāṣṭenāgnin) prajvālya homayo (-yet) 108 homena satpāḥaṇna (!) (saptaḥanañ ?) [or -āhe] mriyate rīpuḥ.—13. *B* samāḥat.—14. *S* çvetakhararomā (!) asuri (!) ekikṛtya (-romṇāsuriñ eki- or -romāsuriñ cāiki- ?) yasya nāñmāñ (!) (nāmā ?) juhuyād akasmād apasmārāu (-re ?) guḍyate (!) (guhyate ?).—15. *B* (not in *A* or *S*) çunām tu lomabhi (-bhir) atra patrañrlīpya (!) (pattrañ līpya ?) rliṅgañ (!) (līngañ ?) vā rāja-sarṣapāiḥ samālīpyātu (-ya tu ?) bhūpayet (!) (dhū- ?),
- gaureregrañ* (-rāgrañ ?) tato dadyāñ mriyate sāva (sarvaḥ ?) sañçayaḥ,
 abhakṣabhakṣoç cārogyāñ sarvarogaprayojanam.
 samjñātā (-tāḥ ?) piñḍapātāu (-pātikā ?) japāt pāpā bhavanti hi,
 ekādaçāñujaptavyāñ kulocchedakṣato (-chedaḥ kṣa- ?) bhavet. 1. (?)

nivṛtīh¹ kṣīramadhvājyāir² lavaṇena tu saṣvari.³ 7.

*arkāidhaṣsamidagnāu⁴ tu⁵ karoti⁶ sphoṭasambhavam,
teṣāṃ upaṇamaṃ⁷ vidyāt sureṣvarya⁸ gṛhṭena ca. 8.*

*arkakṣīrāktayārkagnāv akṣiṇi sphoṭayed⁹ dviṣaḥ,
gatāsumāṃsaṃ tasyāiva nirmālyaṃ citibhasma¹⁰ ca. 9.*

*eṣāṃ cūrṇena saṃsprṣṭo hāsyacilo¹¹ 'bhijāyate,
ajākṣīrāktayā homāt¹² tasya mokṣo¹³ vidhiyate. 10.*

*tagaraṃ kuṣṭhaṃ¹⁴ māṃsī ca tasyāḥ pattrāṇi cāiva hi,
etāiḥ ṣṭakṣṇāis tu saṃsprṣṭaḥ¹⁵ prṣṭhataḥ paridhāvati. 11.*

*tasyāḥ phalāni mūlāni surabhīhastimedasā,¹⁶
sūkṣmatadravyasaṃsparṣād¹⁷ anudhāvaty acetasaḥ.¹⁸ 12.*

*vāṇyasaḍhane homyāḥ cūrṇāi (homayec chūrṇāiḥ?) suratibhiḥ (?)
kṛtām,*

catuṣpathe tu cūdrasya padmīnyotkarāṇe yatu (yā-?).

*likhitvā nāma saṃgrhya karāgrāṅguḷiṣḍitam (-pīḍi-?),
ṣṭaṣṭipīḍāvaraḥ cūlāṃ vimatiḥ svastyasaṃgatīḥ [svastyasaṃgatīḥ.]
valpādyā (kal-?) vā prayoktavyā vrāhmaṇādicatuṣṭaye (brā-),
evaṃ saṃpaty abhicāraḥ [ca] caturṇām api darṣitaḥ.*

1. MSS *nivṛtīh*. *S* juhuyāt pramānāyane (!) (*pratyānāyane?*)
kṣīrāktāṃ kṛtvā homa (-mam?) 108 *tataḥ sthito bhavati*.—2. *B*
ṣīranaghājyāir.—3. *S* āsurīm lavaṇamiṣṛāṃ juhuyāt 108 *saptāhe*
jvareṇa prathānāyane (!) (*pratyā-*) *kṣīrāktāṃ juhuyāt* 108 *para-*
svastho bhavati.—4. *B* *arghedhāsa*, *A* *arkeṇḍha*. *S* āsurīm-
bapatirāṇi 108 (cod. -nīva-).—5. *B* omits.—6. *A* *karovīṣphoṭa*,
B *karute puruṣa sphoṭa*. *S* *huvā sa visphoṭakāir gṛhyate*.—7.
A *upasa*.—8. *S* *prathānāyana* (*pratyā-*) *āsurīm kṛtvā* 108 *svasto*
bhavati.—9. *B* -ṭamye. *S* āsurīm *arkakṣīrāktāṃ kṛtvā* . . . *homayed*
yad asya nānmāṃ (!) (*nāmnā?*) *gṛhṇāti tasyākṣi sphoṭayati*. For
cure, *S* āsurīm *kṣīrāktāṃ juhuyāt* 108.—10. *S* āsurīm *citābhasma*
mahāmaṃsaṃ pretakaṃ nirmālyam ekikṛtya 108.—11. *S* *mantri-*
tena camṇena (*cūrṇ-*) *yasya spūnāti* (!) (*sprṣṭati?*) *sa unmatto*
bhavati.—12. *B* *hometa*.—13. *S* āsurīm *ajākṣīrāktāṃ kṛtvā svastho*
bhavati. In *S* the order is "Eye-twitching," "Epilepsy," "Fever,"
"Loss of sense," "Boils."—14. *A* *kuṣṭa*, *B* *nagaraṃ kuṣṭha*.—
15. *S* *abhimantrītena yasya spūcati* (*spr-*) *sa prṣṭhato 'nucaro*
bhavati.—16. *A* *surarbhīr ha*.—17. *A* *sūkṣmetat dra*, *B* *sūkṭam*
tadra.—18. *S* has,—

uṣṭraṃ tagaraṃ kuṣṭhaṃ usrām othasitghāthaṃ (!) (५५५) *paṣ-*
caka (*pañcakam*),
āsurīpuṣpasamīyuktāṃ sūkṣmacūrṇāṃ tu kārāyet 108, (cod. -yet,
tenācatābhi 108)

abhimantrītena (cod. *mantrī-*) *yasya ṣṭi* (*sprṣṭati*) *ṣavaḥ* (*sa vaḥ*)
bhavati (*bhavel*). 14.

*achidrapattrāṇy asita uçirah¹ sarṣapās tathā,
 elaccūrṇāt pūrvaphalaṁ² elāiç cāivāparājayah³. 13. I.
 kusumāni manahçilā priyaṅgutagarāṇi⁴ ca,
 gajendramadasaṁyuktāṁ⁵ kiṁ kurvāṇas tv akiṁkaram⁶. 14.
 yāç ca⁷ striyo 'bhigachanti tā vaçāḥ pādalepinah⁸,
 sapuṣpāni⁹ tāṁ samādāyāñjanaṁ nāgakeçaram¹⁰. 15.
 anenāktābhyāṁ¹¹ akṣibhyāṁ yaṁ¹² paçyet sa ca kiṁkarah,
 añjanaṁ tagaraṁ kuṣṭhaṁ¹³ devijaṁ kāṣṭham eva ca. 16.
 māṁsi ca sarvabhūtānāṁ sāubhāgyasya tu kāraṇam¹⁴,
 tatsamidhāṁ lakṣahomān nidhānam paçyate mahat¹⁵. 17.
 sarpiṛ[dadhi¹⁶]madhvaktapattrāṇāṁ vṛddhaputri¹⁷ sahasrataḥ,
 rājyam tu labhate vaçyaṁ tatpatratrisahasrataḥ¹⁸. 18.*

1. *B* uçiram.—2. *B* puts çloka 13–18 directly after the passage which it alone contains.—3. *A* yuvatphala ghatē cāi-. *S* has instead,—

*āsuriṣuṣpapattrāṇi puṣpāni ca phalāni ca,
 nāgendraphalasāṁyuktāṁ sūkṣmacūrṇāṁ tu kārayet 108,
 abhimantritena yana (yasya) sprçati sa vaço bhavati (-vet). 15.*

—4. *B* mriyaṁyu ta-. *S* has,—

*manahçilā priyaṅguç ca tagaraṁ nāgakeçaram,
 āsuriphalasāṁyuktāṁ sūkṣmacūrṇāṁ tu kārayet 108 [aṣṭaçatāni],
 abhimantritena ya (yasya) sprti (sprçati) sa vaço bhavati (-vet). 16.*

—5. *B* gajeṇḍrāsa saṁ.—6. *A* akrdvaraṁ.—7. *A* yasyā.—8. *A* -lepanah, *B* pāraṣādālepalāt.—9. *B* puṁṣpānāṁsi.—10. MSS -kesaram.—11. *B* añjanetāktām.—12. *B* yaṁ yaṁ paçyet sa kiṁkarah. *S* abhimantritena cakṣuṣv añjayitvā yaṁ nirikṣayati sa vaço bhavati.—13. *B* omits, *A* kuṣṭa.—14. *S* has instead,—
*āsuryaṅgapañcakenātmanam dhūpayet,
 yasyāgagaṇḍham (!) (yo 'sya gaṇḍham?) tighrati (ji-) sa vaçyo
 bhavati. 18.*

It also reverses the order of the two following statements.—15. *S* has,—

*dadhimadhughr̥tāktām hutvāsuriṁ juhuyāt,
 mahānidhānaṁ labhate daçasahasrāṇi,
 çatāyur vāi puruṣā (-ṣaḥ). 20.*

—16. Omit on account of metre? *S* āsurim madhughr̥tāktām hutvā . . . labhate putram. 19.—17. *A* vṛdvapannim.—18. *B* tatpatratridhānaṁ . . . -trisahasrataḥ, repeating from çloka 17 last pāda to 18 end inclusive. It then has sārḍham . . . acetasaḥ (çloka 7 end of first pāda to çloka 12 end inclusive), after which it continues with çloka 19 (suvarṇa-). *S* has,—
*rājyārthaṁ madhughr̥tāktām juhuyād āsurilakṣmim,
 sa rājyaṁ labhate. 21.*

*suvarṇaśahasraprāptis' tatpattrāṇāṃ tu lakṣataḥ,
śahasrajaṇāc' ca tadvad udake kṣīrabhākṣiṇaḥ. 19.*

*vāriṇīpūrṇe 'tha kalāṇe' palāṇipallavān kṣīpet',
snānād alakṣmyā' mucyeta sāuvarṇakalāṇe' 'pi tu'. 20.*

*vināyakeḥbhyāḥ snānato dāurbhāgyāc cāiva durbhagāt',
prṣṭhataḥ cānudhāvanti saṃsprṣṭā' udakena tu. 21.*

*uḍirāṇi tagarāṇi kuṣṭhāṇi¹⁰ mustā' tatpattrasarṣapāḥ,
cūrṇenābhikilas'¹¹ tūrṇam iṣvaro 'pi vaḥo bhavet. 22.*

*tulasī bhūmadā devī cūrṇasprṣṭas'¹² tathā vaḥi,
rājabhaye'¹³ sureṣvārī mārjanād'¹⁴ dhāraṇāt tathā. 23.*

*na'¹⁵ syād asyādbhutaṇi kiṃ cin'¹⁶ na kṣudropadravas'¹⁷ tathā,
nānāiṣvaryaṇi'¹⁸ nāprajātvaṇi'¹⁹ yasya devy āsurī gr̥he. 24.*

yasya devyāsurī gr̥he'²⁰. II.

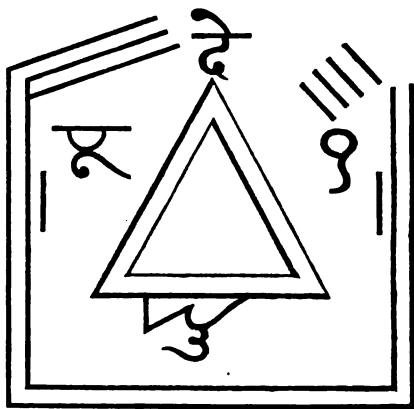
ity āsurīkalpaḥ samāptaḥ²¹.

1. *A* *suvarṇaśahasrasyāptis tu tatpūṣpāṇāṃ. S* *suvarṇātham āsurīphalāni daśasahasraṇi hutvā suvarṇaśahasraṇi labhate.*—
2. *B* *sahaja-. S* *payobhākṣy āsuryudake prakṣiṇāṃ (!) (dakṣi-?) dītyāmukho (!) (pratyā-?) bhūtvā daśasahasraṇi jāpet.*—3. *A* *-lāṇe lokeṣi.*—4. *B* *-vāṇi kṣāpet. S* *āsurīpallavāir aṣṭaṇṇatoti-māṇṭritāṃ (!) (aṣṭottaraṇatābhimantritaṇi?) saṃpūrṇaṇi kṛtvā atma (!) (kṛtvātmānaṇi?) snāpayeta (-yed?) ma (!) (ātmānaṇi?) dhūpayet.*—5. *B* *-kṣmī. S* *alakṣmīṃ muṇcyati (!) (muṇcati), vināye kopasvarga (kopasargaṇi?) muṇcati.*—6. *A* *-phalāṇe.*—7. *B* *-pi va.*—8. *A* *-gān. S* *durbhagā subhagā bhavet.*—9. *MSS* *saṃsprṣṭa.*—10. *A* *kṣṣṭāṇi, B* *kuṣṭhāṇi.*—11. *B* *mastārāsnātātpatra.*—12. *B* *-bhikilas.*—13. *B* *-ṣṭasas.*—14. *A* *-bhaya.*—15. *B* *mārjanāt, vāraṇās tathā. S* *has instead, cyartutha (!) (caturthaṇi?) jvarādibhūlān aṣṭaṇṇatāni jāpeta mārjayena (!) (-nena?) prakṣiṇa (-ṇaṇi?) mucyati (-te?).*—16. *B* *na ca tasyādbhu.*—17. *A* *-ci na.*—18. *S* *has instead, āsurīpiṣṭāṇi ṣaṭavārāṇi (!) (-raṇi?) pari-jaṣṭya (-aṣṭya) ṣirasi dhāpayeta gr̥hito mucati (-cyate?), duṣṭagr̥hī-tāṇāṃ āsurīṇi homayet 108 tālo mucyati (-te) kṣīpram.*—19. *B* *-niṣva.*—20. *B* *-pramataṇi. S* *has instead, atha mantraṇi pra-kāṣayati lokāṇāṃ hitakāmyayā, āsurīmantraḥ saṃpūrṇam (-ṇo) astu ('stu).*—21. *MSS* *gr̥he iti.*—22. *A* *-tāḥ. 35.*

III.—TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY.

Oṃ, obeisance to Rudra : oṃ, O pungent one, thou of the pungent leaf, blessed asuri, reddish one, thou of the reddish garment, O daughter of atharvan, non-terrific one, non-terrific wonder-worker (deed-performer), 'so-and-so' smite, smite, burn, burn, cook, cook, crush, crush, so long burn, so long cook, until thou hast brought [him] into my power : Svāha.¹

This is the so-called fundamental formula (*mūlamantra*). Preceding it *Ṣ* gives, somewhat at length, a preparation rite (*puraṣ-carāṇavidhī*), in which a triangular fire-pot is prescribed for use in reverencing the goddess. *Part third* gives a diagram of it which is here duplicated. It appears that the altar-mouth was so



placed that one angle pointed to the south ; for the diagram has *pū* for *pūrvā* "east," *u* for *udīci* "north," *de* probably for *dakṣiṇā* "south," and a figure one (1) which may easily be a corruption for *pr*, *praticī* "west." Cf. (*part first*) *puruṣahastapramāṇe* (cod. -*ṇaṁ*) *trikoṇakuṇḍe*² *vedīyonisahitaṁ sattvā* (cod. *sattvā*) *dakṣiṇa-*

¹ 'Good-offering, good oblation.' Used at the end of invocations very much as we use Amen.

² The equilateral triangle has been a favorite figure in mysticism as well as in magic. See description of the pentacle in *Dictionnaire Infernal*, Sixième Édition, 1863, p. 518. Cf. also Cornelius Agrippa, Vol. I, p. 196 ff., *De undenario & duodenario cum duplici duodenarii Cabalistica & Orphica*; also I 226 ff., *De Geometricis figuris atque Corporibus qua virtute in magia polleant, & quae quibus elementis convenient, atque coelio*.

karnīke devīm (cod. -vi) *pūjayet*.¹ 'Having reclined (sat down), one should worship the goddess in a three-cornered fire-pot of the size of a man's hand, with an altar-mouth having [its] point (ear) to the south.' The preparation-rite includes an oblation of ghee and sugar (*ghṛtaścarkarāhoma*), garlands of the red, sweet-smelling oleander (*raktakaravīrapuṣpamālā*), an ornament (mark) of red sandal-wood (*raktacandanatilaka*), the partaking of a brahmacya-oblation (*brahmacaryahaviṣpānam bhaktvā*, cod. *bhaktā*), and a lying on the ground (*bhūmiṣayana*).² *S, part second*, adds, *dakṣiṇābhīmukho nityam* 'facing the south constantly,' *kambalāsanam* 'sitting on a woolen blanket,'³ *raktavastraparidhānam* (cod. *traṇṇ pari-*) 'putting on a red garment,' and *raktagandhānulepanam* 'anointing with red sandal-wood powder.'⁴ *S, part third*, says also, *sarvatra prāṇāyāmādiṣu* 'in all cases in the holding of the breath in worship, etc.'

The address to the Āsurī-goddess, beginning the "fundamental formula," occurs in *S* several times, mostly in *part third*, with slight variations in form. In one instance it has as one of its introductory phrases, *netratrayāya namaḥ* "obseance to 'Three-eyes,'" and then continues, *om hrīm kaṭuke*, etc. Under the title *japamantraḥ* "whisper-spell," it appears in the form, *om kṛīm hrīm ṣrīm kṣāum kṣāum ṣrīm hrīm kṛīm om, kaṭupattre subhaga*

¹ *Part second* says of it: *trikoṇakaravuyonisahitāṁ karavukastamātrāṁ tu kuṇḍaṁ kṛyam, onisahita* (!) (*yonisahitāṁ* ? hardly *oṇi-*) *ayāta* (*athāto* ?) *brāhmaṇa-dakṣiṇāmukhavesine* (!) (*-vāsini* ?) *homa* (*-mayet* ?) *karavukuṇḍanu* (!) *agna* (!) (*-ḍe* *tv agniṁ* ?) *dakṣiṇakaravutṁ paratṁ* (*-rā* ?) *sidhi* (*siddhiḥ*). 'A fire-pot must be made having a triangular — altar-mouth of the size of a — hand moreover; thereupon (?) one should offer an oblation (?) in the — fire-pot with an altar-mouth having a situation towards the south suitable for worship (?) [having kindled] a fire moreover with a — to the south. The greatest magic (success) [results].' The word *karavu* occurs nowhere else and is not at present translatable.

² Cf. *part second* *bhojanāṁ haviṣpānam ekasuktaṁ* (!) (*-bhuktaṁ* ?) *bhūmiṣayanāṁ brahmacaryam*; also *part third* *jīlendriyāḥ* (cod. *yā*) *pūjayed āsurīm devīm* (cod. *-ri devī*).

³ For explanation see Durga Puja (*dwargapūjā*) by Pratāpachandra Ghosha (*pratāpachandra ghoṣa*), note 19, p. xxix.

⁴ It heads the preparation-rite with the words *atha paḍgātimantra* (*-aḥ*), and ends it by saying *itī dātṁkathitāṁ* (*-aḥ*) *mantram* (*-aḥ*). The first seems to mean, 'The going to the feet [of Rudra] text' (*paḍ* for *pad*). The second is a puzzle; but it probably contains some similar idea referring to the propitiation of the god.

*āsuri raktavāsase 'tharvaṇasya duhite 'ghore 'ghore svāhā, oṃ kṛñ hrīñ ṣrīñ kṣāñ kṣāñ ṣrīñ hrīñ kṛñ oṃ.'*¹

Following the mūla mantra, *S* gives a 'limb-placing ceremony' (*aṅganyāsa*), consisting of "obeisance" paid to the fingers in pairs, and to the two palms and backs of the hands. The object of such a ceremony is said to be the mental assignment of various parts of the body to certain divinities, with accompanying gestures and prayers.² In the present case, the end in view seems to have been the propitiation of Rudra.³ Next in order comes a meditation (*dhyāna*), in which the protection of Durgā is invoked, and mention is made of some of her characteristics, among them the possession of 90,000,000 bodily forms (*durgā navakoṭimūrti-sahitā*).

In the case of a woman lying on a couch, as long as she sleeps, one should mutter: 'Of her arisen the going burn, burn : svāhā, svāhā; of her seated the bhaga (puṇḍa) burn, burn : svāhā, svāhā; of her asleep the mind burn, burn : svāhā, svāhā, svāhā, svāhā; of her awake the heart burn, burn : svāhā, svāhā, svāhā, svāhā, svāhā.'⁴

1. So then we will teach the Āsuri-Kalpa of the Atharva-Veda (atharvan). For her not a 'lunar-day,' nor a 'lunar-mansion,' nor the kindling of a holy fire is decreed.⁵

2. Over all material consisting of ghee, etc., the āsuri⁶ is caused to be muttered⁷ one hundred times, And [let there be] a

¹ For other lists of particles somewhat similar in nature, cf. Durga Puja, pp. 36 end f. and 61 end. It has been thought best to keep the anusvāra throughout; the MS uses the anunāsika sign, possibly to indicate a prolongation of the vowels by nasalization.

² See Durga Puja, p. 30 ff., and note 21, p. xxxi f.

³ Cf. *part third*, *atra karāṅgulīnyāsaḥ, evaṃ rudrādi (rudrāyādāu) nyāsa evaṃ mantrāṇi (-aḥ) samāṇi (sāma?) nyāsaṇi (-aḥ) kartavyaṇi (-aḥ) sadhakottamāi (sādhakottamāiḥ)*. 'Then the finger-placing ceremony; thus to Rudra in the beginning the nyāsa, thus the mantra, the sāman; the nyāsa is to be performed with the highest magical [rites].'

⁴ *S*, *part first*, does not contain this formula.

⁵ 'The highest āsuri-ordinance.' Cf. p. 175, foot-note 19, where a fuller but not altogether clear form of the mantra is given.

⁶ Probably the mantra just given, possibly the mūla-mantra.

⁷ Cf. Laws of Manu, II 85, where the statement is made that muttering [the syllable *oṃ*, the words *bhūr*, *bhuvaḥ*, and *sva*, and the Sāvitrī ṛc (RV. III 62, 10)] is ten times better than a regular sacrifice; if they are muttered so low that they cannot be understood, they avail one hundred times more than a regular sacrifice; and, if they are recited mentally, one thousand times more. This is possibly the starting point of the notion that muttered words and par-

portion of this¹ consisting of leaves, etc. [Let there be] one, surely, who desires to smite [his] enemies and to render submissive kings.

Owing to the uncertainty of the text,² it has been thought best to omit the translation of one pāda, though a provisional reading has been adopted. *S* has nothing corresponding to it, but reads : *atha ̥rī āsurimantram (̥r̥yāsurimantram) mā atharvāṇa ṛṣiḥ (mātharvāṇarṣir) asuridevatā (āsuri-) hrīm bijam (-m) asurī-çakti (āsuri-) naṣṭikachāṇḍaḥ (-ndo) mama çatruḥṣayaṁ (-yo) mārāṇe mohane vasikarāṇe (vaçī-) stambhane (stambh-) vini-yogaḥ*, 'Then me possessing the divine āsurī-mantra [let] the seer of the Atharva-ritual, [let] the āsurī-divinity [help?] :

ticles possess a peculiar and mysterious power which even the gods cannot escape, and by which the person understanding how to use them can control divine as well as human agencies and accomplish what he wills. At the present time in India, the Brahmins consider it a sacrilege to utter the word *om* (pronounced *aūm* as representing the trinity) aloud, and they also still attach wonderful powers to it. Cf. the *om maṇi padme hūm* of the Buddhists.

S regularly gives the number of oblations as one hundred and eight, and a mantra is as regularly said to be pronounced with the oblation. One hundred images are mentioned by *S*, *part second*—*saṃpātātilahomaḥ* (cod. *paṛ-*) *pratimāçataḥ* 108—but the number 108 follows immediately, as elsewhere.

¹ The āsurī-plant.

² The reading of *A* is impossible as it stands, and that of *B* presents difficulties which can hardly be overlooked. The word *jigāṃṣa* could scarcely be anything but a secondary adjective derivative from *jigīṣa*, meaning "he who desires to conquer" (here fem.), while *gaṃtu* or *āgaṃtu* might be a 3d. sing., root-aor., inv. or the stem of the inf. used in a compound. It is difficult to see why a woman should be specified as the one desiring to conquer, and even if it were plain the rest would remain unsatisfactory. The root-aor. of the *√gam* is confined to the Vedas, Brāhmanas, and Sūtras (Whitney, Roots, Verb-Forms, etc.) and may justly be suspected here, though the MSS seem to use some Vedic words, for example, *homa* (probably for *homati*), the *√yu* (p. 98, foot-note), and *indha* (*A*, çloka 8). The infinitive stem also, as part of a compound, does not here make satisfactory sense, though the form is unobjectionable. The three lines taken together evidently serve as a sort of introduction to the practice, and taking the reading given in the text (as emended from the better MS), the whole may perhaps be rendered freely :

'The āsurī-[mantra] is caused to be muttered one hundred times over all sorts of materials, such as ghee, etc.; [There is to be] both a portion of the [āsurī] consisting of leaves, etc., and [there is to be] a desire to conquer without [ordinary?] means (by magic?); For [there is] one who both wishes to smite [his] enemies and to render submissive kings.'

While this is not altogether satisfactory from a Sanskrit standpoint, it is the best that can be done at present.

hrim. [There is] the core of the mantra (seed) possessing the might of āsurī, the desire to destroy, the destruction of my enemy; in the slaying, in the stupefying, in the making submissive, in the fixing like a post [this is] the practice.'

Following this statement *S* has a "contemplation"¹ (*dhyāna*), in which the person should meditate (*dhyāyet*) on the bright four-sided granter of wishes (*çuklāṁ caturbhujāṁ² varadām*), having a hook in the hand (*aṅkuçāhastām*), adorned with all ornaments (*sarvālaṁkārabhūṣilām*), seated in the padmāsana-position³ on a serpent (*nāgopari padmāsanopaviṣṭām*), and having a gracious countenance (*prasannavadanām*). The MS then has, *iti vaçikaraṇe*, 'Thus [readeth it] in the making submissive.' Secondly, in the fixing like a post (*stambhane*) the person is to meditate on the reddish, four-sided, fearless wish-granter (*kapilāṁ caturbhujām abhayavaradām*), with sword in hand (*khaṅgarahastām*), having as an ornament a half-moon crest(?) (*candrārdhamāulinepathyām?*⁴ cod. *caṇḍārdhamāulineprām*), etc. And thirdly, in the slaying or magical incantation for that purpose (*māraṇe*), he should meditate on the blue-colored, four-sided, fearless wish-granter (*nīla-varṇāṁ*, etc.), having a "red-stone" in the hand (*rudhira-*), seated on a dead-man (*mṛtamānuṣopaviṣṭām*), wearing a muṇḍāgarland (*muṇḍāmālādharām*), etc. The meditation contains several vocatives addressed to the goddess, for example, *kṣame*⁵ "gracious one," *nāgayajñopavitini* "thou that hast a snake for sacred cord," and so on. The corresponding reflection of *S*, *part third*, written in *çloka*s, begins: 'This is the time-triad meditation. [There is the meditation] pertaining to passion and also [that] pertaining to goodness and [that] pertaining to spiritual darkness; thereupon the highest, accompanied by all sacred rites, divine, hard to be attained accomplishment by magic [takes place],'

atha kālātrayaṁ dhyānam.

rājasam sātvikī (!) (sāttvikaṁ) cāiva tāmasam ca tataḥ param, sarvakarmasamāyuktaṁ sādhanam devadurlabham. 1.

¹For a similar *dhyāna*, see Durgā Puja, p. 34 f.

²This word is used as an epithet of Viṣṇu in the sense of having "four arms."

³A posture in religious meditation. The person sits with his thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh, the other held with the thumb upon his heart, while his eyes are directed to the tip of his nose.

⁴*Candrārdhamāuli* is an epithet of Çiva.

⁵An epithet of Durgā.

The three parts of this meditation treat mostly of the adornment and characteristics of a goddess. The first following the passage just cited begins: 'At dawn [one should meditate on the goddess'] shining with reddish apparel, adorned with guñja' and vidula (?),''—

prātā (cod. *prātarakta-*) *raktāmbarābhāsāṁ guñjāvidumabhūṣitām* (!) (*-avidula-*?).

It continues with similar expressions, and the third *ṣloka* reads: 'The one having three eyes and having four mouths, illustrious with the murmuring proceeding from the reading of the Veda, Possessed of staves and a disk,⁴ carrying a sacrifice-spoon⁵ and ladle, a beautiful one,'—

*trinetrāṁ ca caturvaktrāṁ vedadhvanivirājitām,
daṇḍekamaṇḍalāiyuktām* (!) (*daṇḍikāmaṇḍalāir yuktām*?) *ṣuvaḥ-
ṣrucadharāṁ* (!) (*sruvasruca-*?)⁶ *ṣubhām*. 3.

It ends with the words *iti rājasam*, 'Thus [readeth] the [meditation] pertaining to passion.' The second begins: 'At midday [one should meditate on] the goddess wearing white apparel, moreover always gracious, Having put on a white garment, carrying a white serpent,' Decked with garlands of *mālatī*⁷ along with white sandal-wood ointment, etc., Having an appearance like [that of] the fruit of the *ghātri*,⁸ made beautiful with a string of pearls in the nose,'—

¹ This meditation contains no verb; but from the meditation in *S, part first*, it is evident that *dhyāyet* is to be supplied. The *devīm* is expressed in the next division.

² *Abrus precatorius*.

³ *Calamus rotang* or *Calamus fasciculatus*.

⁴ The disk is mentioned again just below in another section of the meditation. There is a general tendency noticeable in both divisions of *S* to repeat certain ideas in the three parts of the meditation.

⁵ The constant use of these two implements together makes it probable that this is the meaning of the passage, which is very corrupt.

⁶ Transition stem in *-a* from *sruc*, though possibly bad writing for *sruva*. The *sruc* is a large spoon or ladle, made usually of *palāṣa-* or *khadira-*wood, and is used for pouring ghee on a sacrificial fire; the *sruva* is a small spoon used for skimming the fat from the pot into the *sruc*. The reading *ṣuvaḥsruca-* may be suspected here.

⁷ There are several plants called *kāñcukin*, and it may possibly be one of these.

⁸ *Jasminum grandiflorum*.

⁹ *Emblis myrobolan*.

çuklāmbaradharāṁ devi (!) (-vīm) *madhyāhne tu sadā çivam* (!) (-vām),

çubhravastraparidhānaṁ (-nām) *çretakaṇcukidhāriṇi* (!) (*çveta-kaṇcukidhāriṇim* ?). 5.

çubhracandanalepadyaṁ mālatimālāmaṇḍitām (-pādyamāl-?), *ghātriphalasamākārāṁ nāsāmāuktikaçobhitām*. 6.

To these expressions may be added *triçūlacandrāhidharām* (cod. -hidharā) 'bearing a trident and a white serpent,' and *çvetavṛṣa-bhaṣaṁsthitām* 'standing by a white bull.' It ends with the words: *iti tāmasam* 'Thus [readeth] the [meditation] pertaining to spiritual darkness.' The third division is substantially as follows: 'In the afternoon moreover [he should meditate on] the goddess made beautiful with a black ornament, Having put on a black garment, decorated with an ornament (mark) of *kastūrī* (musk?), Adorned with three eyes in a streak of black antimony [applied to the lashes as a collyrium], Sitting down along with a bird, made illustrious with a conch-shell and a discus,¹ Possessed of a blue lotus,² decked with garlands of holy basil,³ Thus at evening the goddess⁴ *Lakṣmī*, in a black color, obeisance! one praises' (?),—

aparāhṇe (cod. -āṇhe) *tu sā* (!) *tām* (?) *devi* (!) (-vīm) *kṛṣṇālāṁkāra-çobhitām*,

kṛṣṇapaṭaparidhānaṁ (-āṇ) *kasturitilakāṇḍitām* (!) (*kastūritilakāṇḍitām* ?).

kṛṣṇakajjalarekhāyāṁ locanatrayaabhūṣitām,⁵

vihaṅge (-haṅgena) *sahāsinaṁ* (-āsinaṁ) *çāṅkhacakravirājītām*. 1.⁶

¹ Cf. *çāṅkhacakraḡadādhara* 'holding a conch-shell, a discus, and a mace'; an epithet of Viṣṇu.

² *Nymphaea caerulea*.

³ *Ocymum sanctum*.

⁴ Possibly the reading should be *rāmāṁ devīm* 'the beautiful goddess'; but there is reason to believe that it should be *ramāṁ*. Preceding the "Time-triad meditation," there is a brief *āsurī*-meditation of a similar nature, introduced by the words *āsuridhyānam ādāu ca vāididhyānam (vedī-?)* 'The *āsurī*-meditation and in the beginning the altar-meditation,' in which *Çrī* and *Lakṣmī* are both mentioned (cod. *çrī ca te lakṣmī*), and the meditation of *S*, *part first*, referring to *Durgā* also mentions *Lakṣmī*. The tendency of the MS to repeat has been mentioned.

⁵ *trilocanī* is an epithet of *Durgā*; *trilocana*, of *Çiva*. It is probable that the *netrātṛaya* used in a form of the *mūlamantra* (p. 181) refers to the latter.

⁶ The numbering of the MS has been followed.

*nilotpalaśamāyuktāṁ tulaśimālāmaṇḍitām,
eva (-vaṁḥ ?) sāya (-yaṁḥ ?) ramā (-māṁḥ ?) devī (-vīṁḥ) kṛṣṇavarṇe
namo (-maḥ ?) stute. 2.*

The next passage is almost hopelessly corrupt. It contains enough syllables for more than three *çlokaś*, has the figure four (4) at the end, and seems to emphasize some of the items already mentioned.¹ It concludes with the words: *ity ādi (-dāv ?) āsurī-trikāladhyānam* 'Thus in the beginning [of the rite (?) readeth] the āsurī time-triad meditation.' Further references to the goddess follow, among them, *mahādevī (-devy ?) aghorakarmakāriṇī* '(-ṇī ?)' "great goddess non-terrific deed-performer." The whole ends as follows: 'And also [thou who dost grant] much compassion [and] who dost bestow many a success, The meditation of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Çiva, deliver the three worlds, O mother.' Thus precisely [readeth] the supreme meditation. O āsurī, supreme mistress, [Thou art] the giver of success to the magical [rites] producing enjoyment and deliverance. Thus in the beginning [readeth it] in the āsurī-meditation,'—

*aneka (-kaṁḥ ?) cāiva kārūṇyām (-yam ?) anekasiddhidāyini, (-īṁ
dā- ?),
brahmaviṣṇuharadhyānaṁ trāhi trāilokyam ambike. 3.*

*ity eva paramadhyānam āsurī parameçvari,
sādhakānaṁ siddhidātā bhuktimuktiphalapradā. 4.*

ity ādi (ādāv ?) āsurīdhyāne.

The significance of these references to the goddess āsurī will be discussed below. It appears from the references to the three parts of the day that the oblations were made at the periods named, and the three parts of the meditation, in the order given, were used with them, i. e. the one referring to *rajaś* was used in the morning, that referring to *tamaś* at noon, and the one refer-

¹ The passage begins with the words: *sāttvikāṁ puvāṇhe*, which should probably be emended to *iti sāttvikam. pūrvāṇhe*; for the conclusion to the third part of the meditation is lacking in the MS, and the words *madhyāṇhe* and *aparāṇhe* follow in the two succeeding lines. The reference to the *trisaṁdhyā* becomes clear only on the supposition that *sāttvikam* ends the third division, and that the rest of the passage is supplementary to the whole.

² The passage is too corrupt to determine whether the words should be voc. or acc.; but they are probably voc. Cf. the passage cited just below, also p. 175, foot-note 6.

³ Commonly used of Pārvatī, wife of Çiva, i. e. Durgā.

ring to sattva in the afternoon.¹ The number of oblations has been mentioned above, and it will be again considered below in another connection.

3. The wise man should offer as an oblation a mixture of ghee and fine *asuri*-meal [in the form of] an image, Having kindled a fire of *arka*-wood fuel, having chopped the image, moreover, with a weapon.

4. He [becomes] submissive before whose feet [a person] offers eight thousand oblations. A woman [is made] submissive by [an image of *asuri*-meal] anointed with ghee: Brahmins in a fire of *palāṣa*-wood:

5. Kṣatriyas, moreover, by [an image] anointed with sugar: but Vaiṣyas by [one] mixed with curds: Īndras, furthermore, by [those]² mixed with salt: the wise man should make meal of black mustard.

6. As a result of an oblation of *asuri* [extending] up to the seventh day,³ all these [are made] submissive.

The practice in full⁴ seems to have been as follows: The wizard first ground *asuri*⁵ into meal, with which he made an image, symbolizing the person whom he desired to overcome.⁶ He used kindlings (*samidhs*)⁷ of *arka*-wood for Rājās and

¹ It is to be observed that the corresponding meditation in *S. part first*, is also divided into three minor reflections. No time is mentioned with the divisions in that place; but it is probable that the same rule was observed as that laid down in *part third*. It also appears from the former, that each reflection was regarded as instrumental in accomplishing some particular part of the complete process of subjugation or destruction.

² The change to the plu. masc. seems at the first glance to be for the sake of the metre; but since *gūdras lavanamigrayā* makes even a better *pāda* than the one in the text, it may be inferred that a different word was purposely implied in the case of Īndras. As a matter of fact the word most appropriate to them is masc. Cf. *śloka* 5 and foot-note.

³ Cf. p. 176, notes 8, 10, and 12 end; also p. 177, note 3, and p. 191.

⁴ See *ślokas* 3, 4, and 5, and foot-notes.

⁵ Probably the leaves as well as the seeds. See translation of *śloka* 2.

⁶ Cf. *part third* (beginning of the rite used to subdue a Brahman), *pūrvabrahmatimān* (*pūrvabrahmapratimān*?) *kṛtvā* 'having made the former image of a Brahman,' i. e. as before.

⁷ The *samidhs* used in offering oblation were small sticks of wood about a span (9 in.) long and about as thick as a man's thumb. Cf. Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, VII 233. The usual number is seven; but the *Gṛhyasamgraha-Pariṣiṣṭa* of Gobhilaputra gives nine and their names (I 28 f.),—

. *ity etāḥ samidho nava,*
viśṛṇvā vidalā hrasvā vakrā stulā kṛṣṇā dvividhā, 28.
kṛmidastā ca dirghā ca varjanīyāḥ prayatnataḥ.

women, palāṣa-wood for Brahmins, khadira-wood for Kṣatriyas, udumbara-wood for Vaiṣyas and Cūdras, and nimba¹-wood for foes. Having chopped up the image with a sword, he finally offered it as an oblation, adding ghee for a king or woman, ghee [and honey²] for a Brahman, sugar for princes, curds for third caste persons, salt for fourth caste persons, and pungent mustard oil for foes.³ It is to be observed that in the case of a king the person was to advance with the right foot; in that of a woman, with the left. This is doubtless to be put with the similar Hindoo notion that the throbbing of the right eye or arm is lucky for a man and unlucky for a woman, while with the left eye or arm the case is reversed.

S, part third, while much fuller in its details than the other two sections, adds little of importance or interest. A few points in which it differs from them may be mentioned, for example, in the rite used for ensnaring a king it has *ravikāṣṭhena prajvālya* 'having kindled [a fire] with a stick of ravi⁴-wood'; it also pre-

Dr. Bloomfield, in his edition, thus translates: "dies sind die neun samidhs (Zündhölzer). Ein zerbrochenes, ein gespaltenes, eins das kürzer (als eine Spanne) ist, ein krummes, eins das dicker (als ein Daumen) ist, eins das zwei Zweige hat, ein von Würmern zerfressenes, und eins das länger (als eine Spanne) ist, sind nach Kräften zu vermeiden." The most complete description of them, however, is to be found in the gṛhya-sūtras.

¹ In the order named these trees are the *Calotropis gigantea*, the *Butea frondosa*, the *Acacia catechu*, the *Ficus glomerata*, and the *Azadirachta indica*. Some idea of the Hindoo view in regard to these woods may be obtained from the *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, II 1, The Erection of the Sacrifice-post (*yūpa*); and their appropriateness may be inferred from the *Laws of Manu*, II 45, where it is stated that the Brahman's staff should be of vilva- (*Ægle marmelos*) or palāṣa-wood; the Kṣatriya's, of vaṭa- (*Ficus indica*) or khadira-wood; and the Vaiṣya's, of pīlu- (*Careya arborea* or *Salvadora persica*) or udumbara-wood. Cūdras are not dvijas "twice-born," and so do not come under the rule. For *nimba*, *part third* uses *picumanda*, which is only another name for the same wood, and verifies the emendation (p. 176, foot-note 12 end).

² See p. 176, foot-note 9.

³ The use of an image is treated of in the Introduction above. *Kāuṣ. Sū.*, adhyāya 6, contains further material of a similar sort. See *Kāuṣ.* 35, 28; 17, 54; and 49, 22.

⁴ Böhlingk, *Lex. V*, 172, cites *ravi* as the *Calotropis gigantea* which makes it identical with *arka*. In this sense it seems to have been known heretofore to the lexicographers only.

This article was in type before I had access to the index to Böhlingk's lexicon, which also contains the word *aparājaya* and perhaps others. It has not been in my power to carefully consult that work for all the new or doubtful words in these MSS.

scribes in this connection the "whisper-spell" (p. 181 above): in that for ensnaring a woman¹ it has the heading *rāmāvaçikaraṇa-kāmaḥ* and refers to the two fundamental formulas² (*mūlaman-trāu*): under the ensnaring of a Brahman it prescribes white sandal-wood, a white wreath, and a white garment with other ornaments (*çvetacandanasaṃyuktaṃ çvetamālā- . . . çvetavastra-samanvitam*); the oblation must also be performed with especial care (*prayatnena homayet*) and in preparing it use is made of balls of Guggula³ gum (*guggulāir guṭikāḥ*—cod. *gugulāi guṭikā—kṛtvā*), black mustard seeds (*rājasarçapāḥ*), leaves of the betel-plant (*nāgavallidalāir hutāiḥ*), and other vegetable products, such as fruits and flowers;⁴ finally, under the subjugation of a Çudra, it mentions also the Cāṇḍālas. A few passages from the same division may be cited with reference to the number of oblations and the time for performing them. In the rite used against women: 'Afterward the muttering is to be performed, moreover, one hundred and eight times by (of) men,'—

paçcāḥ japam tu kartavyam aṣṭottaraçatam nṛṇām.

'Having muttered the fundamental formula in the mouth and [having performed] one hundred and eight [rites], The girl wastes away in (of) her middle [parts]; thereupon the girl is likely to become submissive,'—

*mūlaman tre (-trām) mukhe japtvāṣṭottaraçatāni ca,
dasyate madyanāṃ yoṣā tato yoṣā bhaved vaçā.*

¹ Under this heading four different uses are given with considerable minuteness of detail. The words employed to designate a woman are, *rāmā* "beautiful woman," *yoṣā* "girl, young woman," and (once only) *stri* "woman, wife." The words used to signify her subjection are, *vaçagā* "obedient" (second use), *vaçī* "submissive" (third use), and *vaçyagā* "subdued" (fourth use). (This last word is also used of a Vāiçya and of a Çudra.) In the first use where *stri* occurs, it is difficult to say what the word is. It appears that the practice was used in some instances as a philter, and there is even reason to believe that this may have been its most common use. Cf. Virg. Ec. VIII 64 ff.; Hor. Sat. I, VIII 23 ff., and Epod. V; Lucian Dial. Mer. IV 4 and 5; Ovid Met. VII 224 ff., and Heroid. VI 91; and see çloka s 14 and 15, and p. 172, foot-note 2.

² It will be remembered that two formulas were given for a woman. Under the preliminary rites in *part third* the plu. is used (*mūlaman-trāiç ca*).

³ Bdellium or the exudation of the Amyris agallochum.

⁴ From the statements here made, and another passage (p. 176, foot-note 9) which says that by oblation 'a certain high number consisting of hundreds' (*palyakevara*) leads a Brahman to one's will, it may be inferred that the eight thousand oblations of the text (p. 176) have special reference to Brahmans.

In the rite for a Vāiṣya : 'Having done this (kindled the fire and performed the other preliminary rites), at the three periods of the day, he should burn the prepared āsurī [made into an image]. With one hundred and eight [rites] so long should he perform the muttering at the three periods [morning, noon, and afternoon],'

evam dinatrayam kṛtvādhyāktām (-aktām?) āsurīm dahet, aṣṭottaraśatāis tāvat trikālāṁ japam ācaret. 3.

'One should perform with pains the muttering during one month uninterruptedly,'—

japam kuryāt prayatnena māsam ekam niranantaram.

Under this heading also (first śloka) the dark fortnight, i. e. from full to new moon (*kṛṣṇapakṣe*) is specified as a time for performing the rite. In respect to a Kṣatriya, it is said that he should be subdued in the course of twelve days (*dvādaśāir vāsarāḥ*). Finally, regarding a foe, it says : 'At the eight periods (watches) of the day having done honor with the mantra he goes against [his] foe ; On the seventh day the completion of the foe-slaying becomes fixed,'—

param pratyeti mantreṇa pūjayitvā dināṣṭakam, saptahe rūpughātasya nidhanam bhavati dhruvam (cod. dhṛvam). 3.

Most of the references agree in fixing the completion of the ensnaring on the seventh day. One hundred and eight oblations performed in six days amounts to just eighteen per day, and these performed at the trisaṁdhya would make six in the morning, six at noon, and the same in the afternoon, which was evidently the plan followed as a rule.

With pungent mustard oil [in the oblation]¹ at the three periods of the day, surely one makes a split in the family.

7. With the hairs of a dog,² moreover, [a person is] afflicted with

¹ It is probable that āsurī was to be used in this and all of the following prescriptions, though it is omitted in many of them.

² The passage which is found only in *B* at this point is very corrupt, yields no connected sense, and contains nothing of importance. It is probably an interpolation. Its general meaning seems to be about as follows :

'Having then, moreover, smeared a leaf with the hairs of a dog, or having well smeared with mustard seeds (!) he should fumigate the liṅga (perfume it with incense).

He should then give a measure (?) of white mustard drink : all doubt vanishes (dies). And there is health in eating and in fasting : [it is] the practice in all diseases.

epilepsy during three days.¹ The stopping [of this is brought about] by milk, honey, and ghee [in the oblation]. [By performing the rite] with salt, however, he [becomes] afflicted with fever.²

8. In a fire of arka³-wood samidhs, furthermore, one establishes a source of boils. Of these he should understand the cure (stopping) with the help of sureçvari and with ghee.

The word *sureçvari*, which occurs in one other passage below (p. 197), is thus defined by the PETERS. LEX.: Bez. der Durgā . . . der Lakshmī . . . der Rādhā . . . der himmlischen Gaṅgā. It here means evidently āsurī⁴ (probably both plant and divinity). The use of this word for āsurī, combined with the fact that various words found in the āsurī-meditation (p. 184 f.) are or may be used of Durgā, makes a strong presumptive argument that āsurī was regarded as a form of Durgā. *sureçvari*, however, may be used of Lakṣmī, who is spoken of in the same connection, and who appears again below. It will also be observed

Surely the well known ones who live by alms (?) [Brahmans] become bad as a result of muttering. It is to be muttered eleven times in succession. The split in the family may become destroyed (he is likely to become injured by a split in the family?)

In the subjugation of a third caste person he should offer as an oblation (?) [an image] made with powdered suratis (?) (surabhis "nutmegs"?). In the overcoming (doing up) of a Çūdra, moreover, let [the person] go (?) with a lotus-plant (*padmini*) to a place where four ways meet.

Having written the name, having seized [it] pressed by the finger (?), [there arises] headache, fever, [and] colic. Disagreement is a non-meeting with prosperity, a non-meeting with prosperity.

Or the ādyā of the kalpa (?) [is] to be used in a quaternion of Brahmans, etc.: thus in their coming together, the magic practice of the four even is made manifest.⁵

The word *ādyā* is a puzzle. It is an epithet of Durgā, but can hardly be used in that sense here. If for *ādyā* (neu.), it may possibly refer to the mūla-mantra as the beginning of the kalpa. It does not seem likely that the MS reading *valpādyā* is a new word.

The scenting the liṅga with incense may possibly be a love-charm. Cf., however, Herod. I 198, δάκις δ' ἂν μυχθῇ γυναῖκι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμῆμα καταγίζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντὸ ποιεῖ.

¹ S 'Having tied up (made one) the āsurī [in the form of an image?] with a hair from a white ass, he with whose name he may make oblation is suddenly afflicted with (hidden in ?) epilepsy.'

² āsurī and milk are used in making the one hundred and eight oblations for his restoration to health.

³ S has simply āsurī and nimba leaves.

⁴ S 'Having made āsurī, 108, he becomes well (in his own condition).' *ghṛtāktām* is probably omitted.

that a large part of the *dhyaṇas* consists of "stolen thunder,"¹ a fact not to be wondered at, since the people who used these rites were hardly capable of originating any ideas themselves, and would naturally borrow any that might seem suitable. In the same way they would refer to deities, especially evil ones, who might be regarded as likely to give success. A mixture of direct reference to *āsuri*, and allusions to these other divinities, is therefore to be expected, and clear conceptions are hardly to be looked for, since confusion of the two sets of ideas is almost inevitable with an untrained mind, and it is to be seriously doubted whether those who practiced the rites had any really definite idea as to the exact meaning of their 'prayers.' The confusion of divinities would probably only make the spell appear all the more potent because of the mystery² which it created; for the mysterious is an essential element of all magic.

9. In a fire of arka-wood, with [*āsuri*] anointed with arka-plant and milk, [a person] may cause the two eyes of [his] foe to twitch (burst).

S adds a clause which is not altogether clear. The *√grabh* regularly takes the acc., and emending to *nāma*, the meaning is, 'When he mentions his name.' If emended to the ins.,³ which seems more likely from the MS reading, the use must be a technical one in some such sense as: 'When he grasps [the image] along with the name,' i. e. having the name attached to it.⁴

¹ Cf. references to the *Durgā Puja*, foot-notes, pp. 182 and 184.

² That the capacity of the Hindoo mind for the mysterious is not small can be seen from a stanza in the RV. (X 54, 3), in which Indra appears as the begetter of his own parents:

*kd u nū te mahimnaḥ samasyāsmat pūrva ṣṣayō 'ntam āpuḥ,
ydn mādtrañ ca pīdtrañ ca sākdm djanayathās tanvāḥ svāyāh. 3.*

Grassmann thus translates: "Gab je es Sänger, welche vor uns lebten, die deiner ganzen Grösse Ziel erreichten? Der du zugleich den Vater und die Mutter aus deinem eignen Leibe dir erzeugt hast." After this, some obscurity in the thought and a slight confusion of divinities may be pardonable in such a document as the *Āsurī-Kalpa*, in which the object in view is not so much the sense as the use of potent words and particles to accomplish a result by magic.

³ Cf. p. 176, foot-note 14, which favors the emendation.

⁴ Cf. pp. 173 and 191, foot-note 2. *Part thtrā* begins the practice with the words: *atha netranāṇanam. ravikūṣṭhe kṛte home* 'Then the eye-destruction. Oblation having been made on a stick of ravi-wood.' It prescribes *āsuri*, arka-plant, and salt in the oblation, and says: 'And the seventh day having arrived (been obtained) he becomes deprived of his eye,'—

saptame vāsare prāpte cakaḥhinaḥ (!) cakḥurhi-) ca jāyate. 3.

The flesh of a dead man, his remains of course, and ashes from a funeral pile.¹

10. He who [is] touched with the meal [made] of these becomes possessed of a ridiculous character.² Deliverance from this is produced as a result of an oblation with [āsuri] anointed with goat's milk.

11. Tagara, kuṣṭha, and māṁsī³ plants and also certainly leaves of this [āsuri]: He who [is] touched with these [ground] fine, moreover, runs about behind [one's] back.⁴

12. Fruits and roots of this [āsuri] with the fragrant fat of an elephant. From contact with fine material of these⁵ [a person] runs after those devoid of sense.

It adds: 'Then the cure (causing to cease). Having made an oblation of āsuri anointed (?) with cow's milk, with fires of ra vi-wood as a result of his own oblation (*maha*) he becomes well (goes to the being in his own condition); the eye-disease should disappear (become vanished),—

atha cāntāu (-tiḥ?).

*godugdhenāsuriptuṣṭa (!) (-riṁ liptāṁ?) hutvā ravihutūṣṇāṁ,
svamahāt svasthātāṁ yāti netraruṁ mīlītā bhavet.*

Part first has 'āsuri anointed with milk.' The similarity of the means used in producing and curing the evils is noteworthy as an evidence of the popular notion in India that he who can cure disease must also be able to produce it and vice versa.

¹*S* 'Having united āsuri, ashes from a funeral pile [and] human flesh, the remains of a dead [man].' **Part third** adds fine chopped meat, the hair of a Cāṇḍāla, and some other things not yet clear (*ullakamayāḥ*),—

*āsuriṁ ca citābhasma janaḥ piṇḍatāṁ saṁyute,
cāṇḍālakeṣasamīyuktam ullakamayāḥ saha (sahitam),
mṛtanirmālyasamīyuktāṁ ṣaḍṣir (-im?) ekatra kīrayet. 2.*

(*ṣaḍi* is probably a fem. derivative from *ṣaḍ* in the sense of "sixness," a collection of six. The person unites the six items mentioned.) It puts this rite under those to be employed against an enemy, ending the whole with the words: *iti śatrukṣayavivarāṇam* 'Thus [readeth] the detailed account of the destruction of an enemy.'

²*S* 'out of his senses.' It adds that the mantra is to be pronounced over the meal.

³Tagara is Tabernaemontana caronaria, also a powder made from it; kuṣṭha is a plant used for the cure of takman (fever?), the Costos speciosus or arabicus; māṁsī may be jaṭāmāṁsī (Nardostachys jatamansi), kakkolī, or māṁsacchandā. The MSS seem to require a plant called kuṣṭhamāṁsī. No such plant is mentioned elsewhere so far as known. The omission of the anusvāra is easily explained, and it appears in śloka 22. *S* reads, *nagara kuṣṭha te upatnī māṁsī*.

⁴*S* 'becomes a servant (attendant) behind [his] back.'

⁵*S* mentions five plants besides āsuri-flowers: tagara, kuṣṭha, uṣīra (fragrant root of Andropogon muricatus), usrā (Anthericum tube-

13. Uninjured leaves [of *āsuri*] the dark *uçīra*-root, likewise mustard seeds. From the meal of these the former result¹ [is produced] and also by these invincibleness [is obtained].²

According to *A* this marks the close of the first division of the practices, all of which thus far have been for the purpose of producing ill, curing the same, or getting the mastery of some one. In all of them the materials have been ground into meal, to be used either in making an image of the intended victim or to be applied to him in person. Those that follow have already been discussed above.

14. Flowers [of *āsuri*?], realgar, and millet and *tagara* plants, With the juice from the temples of a huge rutting elephant,³
.....⁴

15. And the women who approach [become] submissive to (servants of) the one anointing their feet. Having taken this [*āsuri*] in bloom, *añjana*,⁵ [and] *nāgakeçara*-plant.

rosum), and some other plant which is not clear. The *tgā* may possibly stand for *jā* (p. 177, foot-note 18), in which case an emendation to *jhātā* (*Jasminum auriculatum*) might be suspected. A correct *pāda* can then easily be made, though there is no MS authority for it, by omitting the doubtful word *othasi*: *usrañ jhātāñ tu pañcakam*. It prescribes the *mantra*, and says, 'He whom he touches becomes submissive.'

¹ Probably the running after those devoid of sense.

² *S* says, 'He should make into fine meal, moreover, *āsuri*-flowers and leaves, and flowers and fruits, along with fruit of the *nāgendra* (betel?). He becomes submissive whom he touches with [this meal] consecrated by *mantras* muttered over it.' The use of the *mantra*, or muttered spell, seems to be an essential element in all these practices.

³ The reading *-medasa-* 'fat (of a huge elephant),' may be suspected here possibly, though the evident nature of the compound favors the MS reading.

⁴ The two MS readings of this *pāda* are neither of them entirely satisfactory. The MSS agree save in the two middle syllables of the last two feet. *S* gives no help. It reads: 'He should make into fine meal, moreover, realgar, and millet, *tagara* [and] *nāgakeçara* (*Mesua roxburghii*) plants, along with *āsuri*-fruit. [He should mutter the spell] one hundred and eight [times] (one hundred and eight [*mantras* should he mutter]?). He whom he touches with [this meal] consecrated by the *mantra* muttered over it becomes submissive.' From the connection it appears that the *pāda* must refer to or contain instructions for the person using the philter. *B*'s reading would mean then:

'[Let him be] preparing [the mixture], however, (*kim . . . tu*) without help (in the manner [of one] having no servant).'

The idea may possibly be that the power of the charm would be impaired or diverted if another had anything to do with it. The *akṛd varam* of *A* seems to mean 'not acting the suitor,' or something similar. Cf. p. 178, foot-note 6.

⁵ An eye salve or ointment made from *Amomum xanthorrhiza* or antimony, used as a cosmetic.

16. He whom¹ [a person] looks at with [his] eyes anointed with this [compound becomes his] servant. *Añjana*, *tagara*, *kuṣṭha*- and *devīja kaṣṭha*² precisely,

17. And *māṇsī* plants [are] a cause of good fortune, moreover, to all creatures. From an oblation of one hundred thousand of the *sa midhs* of this [*āsuri*] great treasure is beheld.³

18. From one thousand leaves [of *āsuri*] anointed with ghee, curds⁴ (?), and honey [in the oblation, a person becomes] possessed of grown-up sons. One obtains, moreover, a submissive kingdom from three thousand leaves of this, [*āsuri*, offered as an oblation].

S says, 'For the sake of a kingdom one should make an oblation of *āsuri*lakṣmī anointed with honey and ghee, he obtains the kingdom.' *Lakṣmī* is used as a name for several propitious plants, evidently by a sort of personification, and its use here as an extension of the name for black mustard is significant because it is also used in the *āsuri* meditations above.

19. The obtaining of one thousand gold pieces [comes] from one hundred thousand leaves⁵ of this [*āsuri*, offered as an oblation], And likewise one thousand mutterings of him who partakes of milk over water.⁶

20. Then in a vessel filled with water let him strew *palāci* twigs.⁷ He is likely to be freed from ill-luck⁸ as a result of an ablution, in a golden vessel, however.

¹*B* 'whoever he looks at,' a better reading in some respects; but *S* supports *A*. It also adds the usual muttering of spells over the salve.

² Probably *kāṣṭha-dāru* (*Pinus deodora*), called also *deva-dāru*. Here called "goddess-born." *S* has a different statement: 'He should perfume himself with the smoke of five parts of *āsuri* [flowers, leaves, etc.], he who smells the scent of it becomes submissive.'

³*S* 'Having offered an oblation of *āsuri* anointed with curds, honey, and ghee, he should make an oblation; he obtains great treasure, ten thousand [oblations should he make]. A man [will reach] the age of one hundred years you know [if he does this].'

⁴*S* and the metre both favor the omission of this word.

⁵*S* 'ten thousand *āsuri* fruits, having offered as an oblation.'

⁶*S* 'Having partaken of milk over *āsuri* and water [and] having taken a position facing the south (?), he should mutter ten thousand times.'

⁷A species of climbing plant, called *patravallī*, *parṇavallī*, and *palācikā*. *S* 'With *āsuri* twigs having made full [a vessel] consecrated by one hundred and eight spells muttered over it, he should bathe himself, he should perfume himself (?) with incense.'

⁸*S* 'He sets aside ill-luck; in good breeding he puts away the disposition to (onset of) anger.' (?) The reading *vināge kopa-* is suspiciously like *vināya-kṛbhyaḥ*; but other similar cases occur.

21. [A person is likely to be released], as a result of an ablution, from obstacles and also from unfortunate ill-luck. And touched by the water, moreover, they run about behind [them].¹

22. Uṣīra, tagara, kuṣṭha, mustā,² mustard seeds, and leaves of this [āsuri]. When quickly touched with meal [made of these] even a lord should become submissive.

23. Tulasī, bhūmadā, [and?] devī.³ Touched with the meal [made of these?] likewise [a person becomes] submissive. In case of fear of a Rāja, [let] sureṣvarī be used. From purification with it, likewise the carrying [it with one].⁴

24. No portentous occurrence is likely to be his, likewise no small misfortune. [He is] neither devoid of power nor destitute of children in whose house the divine āsuri is, in whose house the divine āsuri is.⁵

Thus endeth the Āsuri-Kalpa.

H. W. MAGOUN.

¹ S 'An ill-favored woman should become well-favored.' The ill-luck seems to be especially a husband's dislike, and the last clause may mean, therefore, that the husbands become very attentive.

² A species of grass (*Cyperus rotundus*). S omits.

³ This line is not clear: tulasī is the Holy Basil; devī may be one of several plants, *Sansevieria roxburghiana*, *Medicago esculenta*, *Trigonella corniculata*, etc.; and bhūmadā "earth giver," may be a plant or simply an epithet of one. If a plant, it is probably āsuri (cf. *varadā* used in the meditations). Two other meanings are possible: 'Holy basil, the earth-giving goddess,' and 'Holy basil [and] the earth-giving goddess [āsuri].' S has a different statement: 'Fourthly, with respect to [evils] such as (consisting of) fever, etc., one should mutter [the spell] one hundred and eight times. By means of a purification, destruction is averted.' For *prakṣiṇa*, cf. Peters. Lex., *prakṣiṇam idam devadattasya* "Dies ist der Ort wo D. umgekommen ist." It might be rendered 'Here the death (destruction) of D. [took place].'

⁴ S has, 'Having muttered [the spell] one hundred times (?) he should put āsuri-meal on his head. He who has been seized is released. For those who have been overpowered by sin (?) he should make an oblation of āsuri one hundred and eight times; thereupon [the person] is at once released.'

⁵ In place of this statement S has: 'Thereupon he causes the text to become clear by the good-will of men. Let the āsuri text be completed.' It adds the usual ending:

'The Āsuri-Kalpa [is] concluded.'

IV.—ASSOCIATION IN SUBSTITUTION AND ROTATION.

I.

The process of association between words is seen in its lowest terms in the very simple case of the repetition of a conjugation or declension: *domini* suggests *domino*; *domino*, in turn, *dominum*. So also in involuntary counting, instead of writing a given number, "fourteen," for example, we unintentionally raise it by one unit and write "fifteen." I shall not stop to apologize for the simplicity of these illustrations; they are purposely selected, in preference to anything more recondite, to bring into clearest relief the principle that nothing to be localized in the mouth or the hand is involved; the functions of the brain, and of the brain alone, are concerned.

There are, however, changes in words and in written characters that are to be attributed to local muscular resistance. In speech, to which I shall confine myself, these are manifested either in the relaxation of the closing parts, or in "reduction," as limited by Sievers, meaning the entire omission of one or more of the combined actions required to produce any given sound. Whether, however, relaxation or reduction has been the agent efficient in a change, the new sound is made in the same place, or as nearly in the same place as the resulting muscular combinations will admit. Instances are afforded by some of the spirants arising from close mutes. But where a back palatal is displaced by a close labial or front palatal, something more than mere muscular resistance is involved. To be sure, the new sound may be easier to enunciate, but so might also a new word, from an altogether different root, be easier than an older word displaced by it. Compare, for instance, ἀδελφί, with the Indogermanic **syūsōr* in the Greek mouth. The exchange of words facilitates communication, but is not due to phonetic law.

The perhaps too simple illustrations "*domini*" and "fourteen" were selected in order to present in the strongest possible light the difference between the processes carried on altogether in the nervous centres¹ and those to be attributed, in part, to the mouth.

¹ I have not undertaken to distinguish between "ganglionic" and other nervous functions.

But there are, furthermore, evidences of similar associations between single phonetic elements, or groups of phonetic elements, as such, in and by themselves, without being influenced by the remaining sounds, or the significance, of the word in which they occur.

I am not referring to "analogy"; the relation of this class of associations to analogy associations will be discussed farther on. It is necessary to proceed with extreme caution in framing any hypothesis as to the more intimate physiology of this class of associations; in fact, in the present condition of psychology and its handmaiden, cerebral physiology, it is hardly possible even to state a question in unexceptionable terms. If, however, we should suppose single brain or nerve cells, or perhaps molecules, motory and sensor, appropriated to the perception, registration and origination of each phonetic element, something after the fashion of a phonographic record, we should possess a provisional means of excluding considerations that do not belong to the study of this class of associations, and be able to reason in such a manner as to secure mutual understanding. This is all: let no one do me the injustice of attributing more than a merely illustrative or metaphorical value to the above. The hypothesis implied in it seems clearest on first inspection; the more closely it is examined, the more improbable will it appear, and the more complex will seem the anatomical conditions which it, with all its corollaries, demands.

The records of the symptoms of aphasic cases do, however, warrant the assumption of some such specialization in function, if not of specialized cells. In the first place, the whole group of faculties relating to spoken and written language has been, and with fair probability, referred to a particular convolution. Pathologists describe also separate affections of the faculty of comprehending the meaning of words heard (although the sound may seem as "loud" as before), that of reading visible word symbols, of writing, and of uttering significant speech, all without any local affection, such as deafness in the ear or paralysis in the mouth or arm.

The pathological analysis goes farther. An aphasic person may associate the notion of articulate speech merely with one word or phrase repeated to express every idea; he may associate the word "yes" with positive (not merely affirmative) ideas, "no" with negative ideas, and "yes-no" with doubtful ideas; he may connect the conception of any number with one single numeral, such

as "*trois*."¹ All of these cases are to our purpose, inasmuch as they show how remote may be the associations controlling the speech, and without local affections.

Of vast significance to our inquiry are those cases where one sound displaces another throughout the vocabulary. One aphasic German always substituted a *z* for an *f*; he would ask for "*Kazzee*" meaning *Kaffee*.² Such cases are comparatively rare, since the alphabet is so limited. But they prove the possibility of a substitution of one sound for another, such as can in no manner be attributed to analogy influence or to muscular resistance. Probably the same thing is seen in the aphasic substitution of spirants for close mutes ("aphasic," not "aphonic"; in aphonic conditions the effect of muscular resistance is intensified).

In the normal conditions of the brain, the plainest instance of such association of sounds, without reference to their phonetic environment, is seen in the manner in which, after learning the proper pronunciation, the habit of using a foreign sound is acquired. The process should be carefully studied in some of its apparently (but only apparently) trivial details. The beginner commonly pronounces *ü* as *ea* in "tea"; after acquiring the exact utterance, he will still pronounce *ea*, but the correct sound is present in consciousness, and is at once substituted; after a time *ea* rises before the consciousness, but, if not uttered, fades away little by little until *ü* is established. An instructive variation in the course of the process occurs when *ü* is first pronounced, but is mechanically replaced by its satellite *ea*, then again replaced by *ü*. (In aphasic cases there may or may not be consciousness of the errors made; the particular person using *trois* for "four" would correct his words by holding up four fingers.)

¹ It may be suggested to medical writers that aphasic speech symptoms should never be translated. The phonetic elements of the words used may be important.

² The organic *s*'s were, I presume, left unaltered, although none of the various reports of the case that I have seen touched this question. Medical men are, for many reasons, far better observers of aphasic symptoms than philologists or psychologists could pretend to be; no others, for example, could exclude aphonia. Yet a little assistance from specialists in the two other fields mentioned would often improve both their studies of these cases and their reports. For instance, the report on which I mainly rely for the above spelled *Kazzee* with one *e*. Had it not been for the context, one would have taken it for a simple confusion of words,

II.

Among the most remarkable phenomena in the phonetic systems of the Indogermanic languages are the cases of the convergence of different primitive sounds in one. Some of these are, in the main, accidental results of changes caused in each, independently of the other, by muscular resistance; for instance, the convergence in the Greek rough breathing of primitive $\dot{\zeta}$ - and s -, and of various aspirates in the Sanskrit h . The striving after ease in pronunciation acts independently in modifying each sound and nearly completes these reductions. The reason of the qualifications, "in the main" and "nearly," will appear farther on.

But there are cases of convergence which admit of no such explanation. Such are the falling together of primitive a , e , and o in Aryan a , of a and o in primitive Germanic a contrasted with the convergence of the same sounds in Balto-Slavic o , and of \bar{a} and \bar{o} in primitive Germanic \bar{o} ; of au and ou in primitive Germanic au , etc. These cases are quite as difficult to explain as the rotation of the mutes, and demand, just as imperatively, collective treatment. It is not improbable that whatever partial or complete solution is found for the one will give the hint leading to the proper solution of the other.

Between these cases of vowel convergence and rotations on the one hand, and changes clearly due to muscular resistance on the other, it is possible to draw a very clear line, although all are at present put together under the vague or at least the too wide term "phonetic law." In drawing this line, I believe that we shall attain to such an understanding both of the phenomena of convergence and of rotation as to reduce the difficulties attending upon them to the single, generally unanswerable question common to all historical questions, namely, the determination of the particular, in all probability very trivial starting points. No one, for example, pretends to say just why a close mute begins, at one particular period rather than another, to become a spirant; the process itself, once begun, is, however, clear enough: if the questions connected with rotation can be reduced to like simple terms, the special difficulty is conquered.

The convergence of the above-mentioned vowels is not, like the falling together in Greek of Indogermanic s - and $\dot{\zeta}$ -, the secondary result of changes naturally due to the factors involved in the pronunciation of each by itself. For if, on account of the Balto-Slavic, it is to be assumed that Indogermanic a naturally

fell in with *o*, what is to be said of primitive Germanic *a*? Or if, on account of the Aryan, it is to be assumed that primitive *o* and *e* were sounds of such quality as naturally to fall in with *a*, we may as well discard the characters *a*, *e*, and *o* altogether and substitute some new sign in its place, as—so at any rate it appears to the unregenerate mind—has come finally to be done in the case of *æ*. To be sure, something not altogether unlike this was Schleicher's system, and the proofs for primitive *o* want much of the strength of the evidence for primitive *e*, and then there may have been many indeterminate vowels in the primitive system, and then some of these vowel changes may yet come to be classed under "analogy" changes, and so forth, but all such considerations would compel the rewriting of our comparative grammars; they are not to be reconciled with prevailing canons.

I propose for this type of changes the term "substitution," a word in much more frequent use some fifteen years ago than at present, but, of necessity, without sharply defined technical limitation. I do not intend, however, to use it as a mere algebraic expression for altogether unknown conditions, but believe that the data given in the first part of this paper are sufficient to afford means of comprehending so much of the physiology of the change as will enable the working etymologist to use it with a fair degree of precision.

III.

An association is formed (see IV) between the old sounds, in and by themselves, without reference to the words in which they occur, accompanied by a tendency to reduce them to one (see IV), the process being identical, except in so far as concerns the constant presence of the element of conscious intention, with that described above in the case of *ü*. That the replacing sound, e. g. the Aryan *a*, should have precisely the same quality as any one of the older sounds, e. g. the primitive *a*, is unessential: it may be more open or more close, perhaps much more close.

This is not an analogy process. Analogy changes are due to some real or fancied bond between words or classes of words, as is most evident in its action in altering inflections and the form of the numerals.

The term "phonetic law" is used to include all changes not due to the action of analogy, and so includes "substitution" as above defined. It is said to be a "phonetic law" that *s-* should become

h- in Greek, and equally a phonetic law that *ε* should become Aryan *a*. The term is, as said above, too comprehensive, and it is, no doubt, to this defect that some part of the differences of opinion in regard to its range is due. We should at least separate changes due to muscular resistance from those comprised above under "substitution," whatever name may be preferred for the latter. Since these may displace open by closer and closer by open sounds, and since the fact that every word in the vocabulary is affected will preclude the assumption of the influence of adjacent sounds, it cannot be supposed that muscular resistance is the factor at work.

To be sure, the term "phonetic law" ought, in itself, to include everything, "analogy" comprised, since it certainly is a law affecting the phonesis that one word should influence the phonetic form of another. But an exceedingly useful though arbitrary distinction has been made, and it is this separation, as a clear and distinct working conception rather than a dim presentiment, that has marked much of the advance since Schleicher. To conjecture that there is a western continent, and to man ships to sail to its shores, are by no means the same thing. It will be an equal gain in clearness to set apart, under whatever term may seem best, the phenomena of substitution, and, instead of two factors, to reason with three.

The separation vastly simplifies the problem of the cause of the differences in the phonetic peculiarities of different tongues descending from the same mother-speech. The distinct conception, as a practicably applicable instrument in the study of etymologies, of analogy, has done much in this direction. And "substitution" has this feature in common with analogy, and in distinct opposition to muscular resistance, namely, it depends upon the previous total contents of the vocabulary, and not upon the conditions of the mouth.

Again, much light is thrown upon the equally obscure reasons for the time limitation set to the operation of certain tendencies to the mutation of sounds. If a sound was difficult at one period, why not at another? But substitution does not attribute the mutation to the quality of the single sound in itself. Sounds are liable to this form of change only when associated with others, just as epenthesis and involuntary counting can occur only when the mind anticipates the following sound or the succeeding numeral. When the process is completed, so that the contrasting

sounds have been reduced to one (or so that rotation has been perfected), the impulse to change must, of course, cease to operate. After that time the displaced sound may be reintroduced, in new derivatives or in analogy formations, and left untouched.

There is one other important particular in which substitution changes are parallel to analogy changes. A substitution may be immediate; a *b* may at once displace a back palatal; such a transfer, if explained only by muscular resistance, requires the assumption of a very insecure series of transition forms, and even then the last step is inexplicable. It would seem as if very few mutations could be attributed wholly to the mouth. The various aspirates which in Sanskrit were, under certain circumstances, reduced to *h*, had different clang-tints. There must at first have been as many forms of *h*, so that the convergence is only in part due to muscular resistance. Whether the ear, confusing these utterances, or some process of "substitution" was operative in reducing them to one, it is not easy to say.

The rotation of the mutes is the result of a very complex series of substitution processes. In rotation, the action of analogy has never been definitely suspected, since there is no reason for imputing even its inception to the possible influence of any class of words. It is decidedly not, taken as a whole, to be attributed to muscular resistance, since with the exception of the development of spirantic utterance, the scheme of sounds remains the same. That the position relative to the primitive accent (Verner's Law) was of importance does not alter the case; the exceptional treatment of sounds just after the accented vowel proves, on any basis of reasoning, some difference in quality. That certain combinations, such as *st*, exempt the mute from rotation constitutes no greater difficulty than before; there is no reason for supposing that the association of substitution is more potent in passing every limit set by the greater facility with which certain combinations can be pronounced, than the association of analogy, and the influence of muscular resistance, in altering certain single sounds, have proved themselves to be. Analogy and muscular resistance and substitution act as checks one upon the other. The process is, as already remarked, of a very complex character, but the complexity is much less evident if studied with careful reference to the chronological succession of the various changes involved.

IV.

It will be sufficient if the considerations adduced above have thrown any light upon the physiology of the various changes and conditions discussed. As already said, neither in the study of analogy operation in general, nor, and still less, in the investigation of the mutations due to phonetic law, are etymologists wont to regard it as incumbent upon them to seek for the reasons why one series of mutations is commenced in one language rather than another entered upon by some other tongue derived from the same primitive stock. In this respect all historical sciences are on the same footing.

The phonetic constitution, however, finally given to any particular tongue is one of the manifestations of the art tendencies of the people who speak it; like the special artistic treatment that the same people may give to visible forms and to color, it is a part of the national genius. Very probably this will seem to some readers like a virtual and rhetorical evasion of the question, but such is not its import. I mean that the causes leading to the artistic refinement, or to the contrary treatment, of a speech are of a kind having nothing whatever to do with anything recognizable as a part of phonetic forces, and not to be found in any of the data given by the analysis of the phonetic elements of a tongue.

The relation between phonetic science and the study of the special art tendencies of any particular people is the same as that recognized to exist between general linguistics and the psychology of a particular people. The national or popular psychology determines how the individual conceptions shall be grouped and indicated by separate words; linguistic science, while it may, as a preliminary, inspect this distribution, is distinctly unable to draw up the formulae in accordance with which the distribution has been made. With the outlines of this psychology the student of linguistics should be familiar, just as the entomologist must know the flora of the field in which he works; yet there is a clear line between entomology and botany, and the line between phonetic science and the art tendencies of a nation is quite as distinct. The mental endowments of the Greek limited its compounds, as its plastic art, within the bounds set by moderation, good taste and beauty; the Hindoo cared for none of these things; he produced in all departments a cumbrous and artistically defective style, long lumbering compounds, many legged, armed and headed statues.

The starting points must have been of such a trivial character sometimes, even the whim of an individual, the mistake of a child, or the affected manner of some social circle! We have a right to ask of the geologist that he shall detect the erosion to which some deep valley may owe its existence; we have no right to demand that he shall indicate the particular fallen tree, or even the minute quartz crystal whose resistance originally determined the precise direction of the trickling rill that began the work.

Kindred sounds, or kindred groups, *eu, ou, and au*, for instance, are associated with each other. The discriminating and refining impulses of a people which kept optatives and subjunctives apart, or perhaps first assigned to each a distinct function, and in its particles refined upon all kinds of adverbial qualifications, would seek to preserve the difference between these diphthongs, although it might relinquish the monotonous element (*u*) that they have in common. Other less gifted peoples would permit the action of assimilation, or else of substitution, to drive part or all of these diphthongs out of the tongue.

This last paragraph does not apply to rotation. In rotations, as in many other changes, such as the fluctuations in accent, and the interchanges between *ī* and *i*, and *ȳ* and *u*, in the course of Indogermanic history, Techmer's simple imputation of many mutations to the influence of "fashion" has very much to commend it. The word seems derogatory, but this depends rather upon the details to which it is applied than upon anything in the conception itself. It is a term under which we may collect the tendencies which, not merely in matters of dress, but also in painting, in architecture, in the forms chosen for literary compositions, in the figures of speech in vogue, and finally in phonesis, lead the community, in its search after variety, to adopt the variations occurring in the speech of individuals. It may not in any department lead to advance towards aesthetic perfection, there may be retrogression, and yet in language it is one of the manifestations of a disposition to take pleasure in change for the sake of change, which is certainly a part of the art tendency. We weary of the old; the cultivated intellect, using a tongue that has become subjected to fixed rule, finds relief and delight in varying the rhetorical combinations of prose or verse; the uncultivated mind, free from the restrictions set by the grammarian or lexicographer, and having no other resource, will more easily admit to general use many of the sporadic modifications in the speech of every-day life. But

such changes are not confined to uncultivated races; the fluctuations in the English vowel system during the last three centuries clearly indicate the influence of "fashion." These changes are easily understood if studied, not as belonging to the sphere of phonetic law, with its inevitable implication of mechanical causes seated in the mouth, but to the activity of association operating as above indicated.

The limits of this paper do not permit me to pursue the subject into farther detail and to examine such matters as labialism, epenthesis, true metathesis, and so forth, still less to attempt to point out the precise range of the action of each of the three factors that have been proposed. It is, however, as well to add that the above considerations do not touch upon the question of the invariability of phonetic law taken in its widest sense. If so disposed, we may still suppose that a substitution process, once begun, pursues an unswerving course until the assimilation is completed. In so far as the theory advanced finds a difference between the circumstances prevailing at the period of the modification of a sound and those prevailing later, when the same sound is reintroduced by analogy or in new derivatives, it undoubtedly strengthens the hands of those engaged in supporting the doctrine of invariable law.

MORTON W. EASTON.

NOTES.

TWO CONJECTURES ON THE DIRAE AND LYDIA.

Lyd. 39-41, Näke :

Sidera per uiridem redeunt quom pallida mundum,
Inque uicem Phoebe currens, atque aureus orbis,
Luna tuus tecum est: cur non est et mea mecum?

So Näke, closely to MSS, except that they give in 41 *tui*, not *tuus*. That *tuus*, the emendation of Scriverius, is right, seems more than probable from the obvious parallelism of the two halves of the line, *tuus tecum, mea mecum*. The alteration of *tuus* into *tui* probably arose from an abbreviation of -us being mistaken for either the *lengthened*, or, as in many forms of early writing, e. g. Merovingian and Lombard, dexteriorly *appended* i.

But in 40 the MS reading cannot be right. The meaning seems to be, 'When the stars return at evening and the golden moon takes the place of the sun in the sky, Luna is with her Endymion: why then am not I with *my* love?' When, then, is the moon's disk *golden*? I imagine it could only properly be so called when it is at the full; for only then, specially when the moon looks its largest and ruddiest at harvest-time and in autumn, would its color be well described as golden. I would read then,

Inque uicem Phoebae *coiens* atque aureus orbis,

'Phoebe's disk when its horns meet and it is golden.' Sen. Phaedr. 745: *Cum suos ignes coeunte cornu Iunxit et curru properante pernox Exserit uultus rubicunda Phoebe.*

Dir. 95, 96:

Rura ualete iterum, tuque optima Lydia salue,
Siue eris et si non mecum morieris, utrumque.

So MSS. Näke retains this, placing a full stop at *salue*, and a comma after *non* and *morieris*, with this explanation: '*siue eris, mecum eris, licet absens; siue non eris, h. e. siue mortua eris, mecum morieris: id est non eris mortua antequam ego moriar.*'

I object to this (1) that it disconnects the two vv. unnaturally, (2) that it forces the meaning of 96. The poet, I imagine, means, if

the MS reading is retained, 'Farewell, Lydia, whether you are destined to live on or to die parted from me' (*non mecum*). But if this is the sense, the rhythmical separation of *non* from *si* is harsh in the extreme; indeed almost impossible. It seems more likely that *cum* really belongs to *morieris*, and that *me* is a relic of *mea*.

Siue eris et si non mea commorieris, utrumque,

'Farewell, whether you shall live on, or whether you shall die not mine nor at my side—in either case alike.'

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Thuc. III 10, 3, *εἰδότες ὅτε φίλιαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην ὅτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο καὶ τὰλλα ὁμοίτροποι εἶεν*. The sentence is probably to be construed as if the main clause had read: *εἰδότες ὅτι ὅτε φίλοι ἰδιῶται βέβαιοι γίνονται ὅτε κοινωνοὶ πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν*. The sense would then be: "Knowing that neither individuals become secure friends nor states firm allies unless they become so (i. e. φίλοι, or φίλοι καὶ κοινωνοί) in the belief of mutual honesty of purpose, and are otherwise similar in general character."

With this view there is no need to take *γίγνοιτο* in the unusual, if not impossible, sense of *sich benehmen*, as Classen does, referring to I 37, 13. Krüger, Boehme and Stahl (Poppo) supply *φιλία καὶ κοινωνία* with *γίγνοιτο*, though understanding, of course, *ἰδιῶται καὶ πόλεις* as subj. of *εἶεν*. Goeller and Bloomfield supply φίλοι from *φιλία*.

Thuc. III 20, 19, *καὶ ἄμα οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καθορωμένους ἐς δ' ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους*: i. e. *τούτου ἐς δ' ἐβούλοντο*, on which the partitive genitive depends, "since the part of the wall whereto they designed (*das Stück der Mauer auf welches sie es abgesehen hatten*) was easily looked down on." So Poppo, Classen, Bloomfield and others understand the last clause. Jowett follows Arnold: "for the purpose that they wished." But the sense of the passage seems to be: "the part of the wall which they wished to *see* being easily looked down on." Since it is objected that *καθορᾶν ἔς τι* is without parallel, construe *ἐς δ'* with *ὁρᾶν*, to be supplied from *καθορωμένου* (cf. Eur. Peliad. frg. 7, *ὁρᾶσι δ' οἱ διδόντες εἰς τὰ χρήματα*). *καθορωμένου* is grammatically construed with *τοῦ τείχους*, though logically the subject is *ἐς δ' ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους*.

Thuc. III 30, 3 ff., *κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον εὐρήσμεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνυ, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἀνέλπιστοι*

ἐπιγενέσθαι ἂν τινα σφίσι πολέμιον καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὐσα. The last clause is usually taken to mean, "where our strength chiefly lies." Classen renders, *von uns aber eine kräftige Anstrengung am wenigsten erwartet wird*. But it seems impossible to believe, without further proof, that ἀνέλπιστος can be supplied in a *passive* sense out of the *active* ἀνέλπιστοι above, as he follows L. Herbst in explaining. On the other hand the common rendering gives no proper antithesis to the preceding clause; but in that here proposed, *where both they do not expect any enemy to attack them, and we mostly act on the defensive*, the antithesis is perfect, both in the general sense (where *they* do not expect attack from any enemy, and especially from *us* whose role on the sea is mostly the defensive) and in the particular words ἐπιγενέσθαι and ἡ ἀλκή. This meaning of ἡ ἀλκή is found in c. 108, 3 ff., οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νότου προσπίπτουσί τε καὶ τρέπουσιν, ὥστε ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομείναι (where the antithesis between ἐπιγενόμενοι and ἐς ἀλκὴν is to be noted); II 84, 24, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν μηδὲνα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς. Also in VI 34, 56 ff., καὶ παραστήναι παντὶ τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ δεικνυσθαι, it seems certainly allowable to take ἡ ἀλκή in this sense: *every one must be of this mind that contempt of invaders is displayed in an energetic defence*, i. e. the defence that takes the form of deeds. Here again we have the same antithesis: τοὺς ἐπιόντας, τῇ ἀλκῇ. For other examples of ἡ ἀλκή in this sense cf. Hdt. II 45, 7; III 78, 5; IV 125, 21; IX 102, 18.

Thuc. III 68, 4, διότι τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουεν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Πανσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς κοινούς εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνα, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθῆναι. It is impossible to get any sense out of the text as it stands. Classen, Stahl, and Boehme bracket δ and insert δ' after ὥς. Küppers (*Curæ Crit.* p. 12 s.) proposed καὶ ὥς. The simplest change would be οὐδ' ὥς for ὥς οὐκ. Cf. V 55, 11; 115, 6.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Satires and Epistles of Horace. Edited, with Notes, by J. B. GREENOUGH.
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There is certainly novelty about this edition, and it is shown in several ways. The notes are at the bottom of the page, contrary to the usual custom in England and this country. They are placed there to "facilitate reference," as the editor says. There is in general a complete absence of discussion of disputed points, very few grammatical remarks, no reference to other commentators, and no attempt to assign dates for the composition of the poems. The impression produced on one who carefully reads the notes is that of superficiality. The editor seems in a certain way to have striven for this result, that is, he has avoided any display of erudition and any thorough explanation of difficult questions. He intends "not so much to aid the student in the study of the Latin language as in the study of Horace." In very many places the notes show great excellence in suggesting the train of ideas and in stimulating the mind of the student, but on the whole they are disappointing. The reviewer has used the book with a class of average freshmen in their second term, and feels that while the general thought has been quite satisfactorily explained, details are continually passed over without comment. The instructor's time has frequently been taken up in explaining points which ought to have been treated in the notes. There are many words and usages in Horace which are enigmas to the average college student, and which he cannot be expected to ferret out himself. Now, a helpful hint or word of explanation in such places is just what notes are for, and for lack of that hint the student misses the idea of a whole sentence. The impression produced on the student's mind by this book is that there is no need of entering into details, and all he wants is a general idea of what is being talked about. The notes are simply a running commentary of what most naturally occurs to one reading for his own entertainment, very little more. The editor has made no attempt to add anything to what had previously been done by Horatian scholars, and, in fact, the notes seem to show that he has not cared to consult some of the recent commentators at all; for instance, it is hard to see how some of his statements could have been made if he had read Schütz's excellent edition. In reading over the notes on the Satires, the following places have been noted where revision is probably needed:

I 1, 15. By the editor's rendering of the words '*En*ego, dicat, iam faciam quod vultis,*' proper attention is not called to the fact that the words '*en ego*' form a separate exclamation and idea, and are not to be taken immediately with *faciam*.

I 1, 17. The note on *mutatis discedito partibus* reads as follows: "*mutatis, changing.*" The perf. part. is often best rendered by our present, which the

Latin lacks." This would seem to imply that the Latin has no pres. act. part. What the editor apparently means is that there is no proper pres. pass. part. in Latin, but *changing* being act. in English, the sense of the note is wholly obscured.

I 1, 32. In the note on *congesta cibaria*, it would be well to note the fact that *cibaria* means here the smallest possible amount on which they could live, and in this idea lies one of the principal points of the sentence.

I 1, 38. The alternative reading for *sapiens* is *patiens*. Of this the editor says: "*patiens*, which is very old, would mean *contented*, not greedy for more; cf. II 6, 91." This meaning for *patiens* may be supported by Fritzsche's "in aller Gemüthlichkeit," but is certainly wrong. Fritzsche quotes, to support his rendering, Serenus Sammonicus de medic. VI 82, but there we find *patiens laborum*. The passage referred to in this note, II 6, 91, *praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso*, gives us a case of *patiens* used in the same sense as in Ode I 7, 10 and Sat. II 5, 43, i. e. "steadfast, patient, enduring," but none of the authorities take it in the sense of "*contented*." In the present passage plainly refers to the patient endurance of the ant through the long winter.

I 1, 42. There is no hint in this note that *furtim* should be taken with *defossa* and *timidum* with *deponere*.

I 1, 50. "*Viventi*, the usual construction, is genitive, but it may be that the colloquial or popular construction was dative." There are only three cases of the gen. with *referre* in classical Latin, viz. Sall. Jug. III, *illorum retulisse*, and twice in Livy, *ipsorum referre*, 34, 27, and 40, 34. So that very likely we should hardly be justified in calling it the "usual construction." It is hard to see how any evidence that the dative was a colloquial construction can be drawn from this passage, for the dative can easily be explained on other grounds.

I 1, 71. The note on *indormis inhians* reads as follows: "*inhians*, *gloating*, i. e. with his mouth open, staring at them in admiration, as if he would like to eat them, and continuing his enjoyment of them till he falls asleep." Where is there any idea of "eating" implied? The gaping of admiration has nothing to do with the manifestation of any desire to eat. The meaning is that even in sleep the miser appears full of avarice, and the time of the action of *inhians* does not simply precede that of *indormis*, but accompanies it.

I 3, 91. *Catillum Evandri manibus tritum*. "There are two possible explanations of this name, either as a famous potter, in which case the dish is valuable for its intrinsic excellence; or as the ancient king, in which case there is a humorous indication of its age. The second seems the better." Why should the first be allowed as a possibility even? The "famous potter" of this name was brought to Rome as a prisoner some years after this satire was written. It is true that an artist by this name is mentioned twice by Cicero (ad fam. 7, 23, 1, and 2, 13, 2), but supposing that the anachronism might be disposed of in this way, it is exceedingly difficult and harsh to take *tritum* here in the sense of *tornatum*. It sometimes means "polished," but hardly "shaped." The first alternative does violence to the language and spoils the force of the passage.

I 3, 130. "*Alfenus*: no doubt a side hit at a rich usurer, probably, who had once been a cobbler said to be from Cremona, now dead." This Alfenus, who was said to have been a cobbler at Cremona, became one of the most celebrated *iuris consulti* at Rome, but there is no authority for the statement that

he was a "usurer." The adj. is regularly applied to the law and lawyers; cf. II 2, 31, *vafri inscitia iuris*. *Sutor erat* does not necessarily imply that he was dead at this time.

I 4, 22. In the notes on *delatis capsis et imagine* and *nemo*, the editor implies that his view of the passage is that the writings and bust of Fannius were presented to him by his admirers. But the weight of evidence seems to be in favor of the other view. *Utro* must refer to Fannius himself, as no one else has been spoken of in the sentence, and *delatis* here has the usual meaning of *deferre*—to carry to the shop for sale—as in Ep. II 1, 269; I 12, 23. This explains Horace's remark in v. 71, *nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos*. *Beatus* is then used in the same way as in Ep. II 2, 108.

I 4, 94. *Capitolini-Petilli*. "Petillius is so called (i. e. Capitolinus) in derision on account of his stealing gold from the statue of Jupiter on the Capitol." Now, this is no more than a supposition based probably on jokes of Plautus (Men. 941 and Trin. 83). The name Petillius Capitolinus is found on two coins, which might be brought forward as evidence to show that the name was originally given on account of some connection with the Capitol, but it certainly seems to have been a regular surname of the *gens Petillia*. This could hardly have arisen from a theft committed in the Capitol. The weight of evidence is against the statement of the notes.

I 5. In the introductory note the editor says that the satire may refer to either of Maecenas' journeys, the one in 40 B. C. or that in 37 B. C. Now, Schütz has proved conclusively that it cannot refer to that in 40 B. C., and equally conclusively, we think, that it refers to a journey taken in 38 B. C., and not in 37 B. C. To ignore this proof so completely is certainly wrong.

I 5, 46. In the note on *parochi* the editor remarks: "It may be that they were in this case bound to supply only certain articles, the travellers bringing the rest, or the words *ligna salemque* may mean entertainment generally, with a hint at its meagerness." But by the Lex Julia de Repetundis, B. C. 59, the articles furnished to state travellers were restricted to hay, salt, fire-wood, and beds.

I 5, 87. Would it not be well to mention that there is a strong probability that the town "*quod versu dicere non est*" is Herdonea, and not Equos Tuticus?

I 6, 72. The note on *magni Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti* reads thus: "*magni—magnis*, both referring to size, but perhaps with a reference to their excess of muscle over brain." This last seems far-fetched. Besides the allusion to bodily size, the evident reference is to the assumption of high rank and the arrogance of the centurions, who in a military colony would doubtless be among the "leading citizens."

I 6, 109. "*lasanum*, his kettle for cooking his meals along the road." The only other occurrence of this word in Latin is in Petronius, 41, where Trimalchio "*ad lasanum surrexit*" from the table, and where the meaning is plainly just what the Scholiast explains it to be in this passage—" *vas in quo exoneratur venter*." The Greek word *λάσανα* is used once or twice in the plural where it is explained as a "pot," but eight times at least where it means "nightstool," and *λασανόφορος*, Plut. 2, 182 c, certainly refers to this meaning. Therefore, in view of this fact and the passage quoted from Petronius, there seems to be no good reason for changing the meaning here.

I 7, 2. "*hybrida*, son of a Greek father and Roman mother." So the Scholiast, but is it not probable that the reverse is here true? The word *hybrida* is defined by Lewis as the "son of a Roman father and Greek mother." The name Persius is Latin. The probabilities of the case are in favor of the latter definition being the true one here. *Græcus* (v. 32) may easily be explained by the fact that Persius would learn the language of his mother in his Greek home, and hence the antithesis with *Italo aceto* (v. 32). At least this is just as likely as the other view, and should be stated as an alternative.

I 8, 25. "*Sagana majore*: there seems no reason why the natural meaning of the 'elder of two Saganas,' both sorceresses, should not be taken." The assumption of a younger sister is pure assumption, and is not the "natural" method of interpretation to make *maiore* refer to Canidia? There are arguments, of course, for both views, but is that of the editor the most "natural" one?

I 9, 36. *vadato*: "a plaintiff in a lawsuit." The editor evidently takes *vadato* here as a dative after *respondere*, but it seems much better to take it as an abl. abs. (cf. *testato*, *intestato*, etc.) equivalent to *vadimonio dato*, as *respondere* in its technical legal sense is never found with the dative, but is used absolutely.

I 9, 49. "*domus*: of Maecenas." This should read "*hac*: of Maecenas"; *domus* refers to any other house.

I 10, 37. "*defingit*: muddles: i. e. by describing it badly, using no doubt the epithet *luteum*.—*caput*: probably the mouth, but it may mean the source. The former seems more likely on account of *luteum*." This explanation is self-contradictory and misses the point. It is necessary to take *caput* as the source, and not the mouth, in order to carry out the idea of *defingit*, and to show the fault of applying *luteum* to the source of a river at all! That is just where the point of the line lies, and it is wholly lost by rendering *caput* mouth. The editor hints at the true meaning in his remark on *defingit*, and then contradicts it in the next clause.

I 10, 86. "*Bibule, Servi, Furni*: otherwise unknown." Now it is almost certain that Bibulus was L. Calpurnius Bibulus, third son of M. Cal. Bibulus. Caesar's colleague. His two brothers were killed in Egypt. He himself was known to Horace in Athens in 45 B. C., surrendered after Philippi, and died in Syria about the time of the battle of Actium. Also that Furnius was Caius Furnius, consul in 17 B. C., who died before his father, to whom pardon had been granted after Actium, at the request of this son; cf. Dio Cass. 52, 42; 54, 5. Also there is strong probability that Servius was the son of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul in B. C. 51, and the one who is praised by Cicero, ad fam. IV 3, 4, and 4, 5. See Schütz, note loc. cit.

I 10, 86. *Simul his*. "*his*: dative following *simul* by an imitation of the Greek *âqua* and an extension of words of nearness and likeness." *His* is abl., not dat., as Prof. Greenough himself says in his grammar, ¶ 261b; cf. Roby 2121, and Sil. 5. 417, *Avulsa est nam protinus hosti ore simul cervix*. It is an imitation of *âqua* and the dat. in Greek, but abl. in Latin.

II 1, 7. *verum nequeo dormire*. "*dormire*: this word at once indicates that it is Horace's nature to write so long as he is awake, thus making it an imperative necessity." How any one could get this idea out of the text is a mystery.

The clause means simply that when Horace has the inclination to write, he cannot sleep until he has relieved his mind. The editor's exegesis here has been aptly compared to some of Düntzer's notes on Goethe.

II 2. In the introductory note the statement is made that "the discourse is put into the mouth of a farmer, one of Horace's neighbors, named Ofellus." It is difficult to see how one can read Schütz's remarks on this point and continue to hold this old view.

II 3, 2. "*membranam poscas*: for engrossing a new finished composition." Is not the phrase *culpantur frustra calami* (v. 7), together with *raro scribis* (v. 1) and *reflexens* (v. 2), and the impression of the whole passage, some evidence that the original writing of the satires is referred to?

II 3, 4. *Nil dignum sermone canas*. "*dignum sermone*: worth talking about"; the traditional interpretation, but the use of *canas*, which is only applied elsewhere to lyrical productions, the whole tenor of Damasippus' remarks, and the disparaging allusion to *poemata* (v. 321), seem to show that there is probably the idea of "nothing worthy of satire."

II 3, 28-30. There are strong arguments in favor of attributing these lines to Horace instead of Damasippus, to our mind convincing, but they have been wholly ignored by our editor.

II 3, 57. "*amica*: with *mater*." Schütz has a long note to show that this is probably not the case, and seems to have established his position.

II 3, 72. "*malis ridentem alienis*: laughing at his creditor's expense; the allusion is to Hom. Od. XX 347, though the sense there is a forced laugh." Now the plain inference from this note is that the principal idea of the phrase is to laugh at another's expense, whereas that is the secondary meaning; *alienis ridere malis* means to laugh in an *unnatural* manner, here by restraining the natural impulse and laughing in a subdued manner. The difference then between the passage in the Odyssey and this is that in the Greek the laughter is forced, here checked; in both cases unnatural.

II 3, 98. "*hoc*: the glory of being rich." Rather his riches themselves which he hoped would be productive of glory (*speravit magnae laudi fore*), or else the engraving of their amount on his tombstone.

II 3, 181. "*intestabilis*: incapable of inheriting, with other legal disabilities." This, of course, is true, but the first and well-nigh universal use of the word is in the active sense, meaning "incapable of making a will or acting as witness," which is clearly the meaning here.

II 3, 233. "*aequus*: honest, not wishing to take without payment, nor without appreciation of their services." That this cannot be the idea at all, and that *aequus* is used *ironically*, is evident from the tone of the whole passage.

II 3, 238. "*unde*: whose, lit. from whom, equal to a *quo*, the obliging husband." The youth is talking to the *leno*, and *uxor* is not used in the sense of wife of this *leno*, but in the sense of *meretrix*, whom the youth euphemistically calls *uxor*. Hence there is no propriety in the English rendering "obliging husband."

II 4, 18. "*responset*: suit, as answering the demands of the palate." Rather "defy," as in II 7, 85 and 103, and Ep. 1, 1, 68.

II 4, 24. "*Aufidius*, an unknown epicure." But there is some considerable

probability that this was M. Aufidius Lurco (Plin. h. n. X 20, 45), who obtained great wealth from the fattening of peacocks.

II 5, 95. *multum similis metuenti*. "*multum*: apparently colloquial in this sense; cf. I, 3, 57 (*multum demissus*), where its connection with a participle is more regular." But here it is to be taken not with *metuenti*, but with *similis*; cf. v. 80, *quantum studiosa*; II 3, 147, *multum celer*; and Ep. I, 10, 3, *multum dissimiles*.

II 5, 100. *certum vigilans*. "*certum*: sharply, so as to be perfectly sure of your aim." This is rather a mixture of metaphors. *Certum vigilans* means "keeping wide awake"; the opposite idea is expressed by Ovid (Her. 10, 9) *incertum vigilans*, "in a half-asleep condition."

II 6, 2. "*jugis*: either with *aquae* or *fons*. The latter would follow the favorite interlocked order, but cf. Ep. I, 15, 16." This reference, where *iugis* must agree with *aquae*, and the proper meaning of *iugis* (from *iungo*, *iugerum*), shut out any possibility of the other construction.

II 6, 98. "*levis*: i. e. gladly." There is no need of forcing an improbable meaning on to *levis* here. If it means anything more than "nimble," it is doubtless "fickle, easily influenced," as in the parallel cases II 7, 29 and 38.

II 6, 112. "*valvarum*, etc.: i. e. when the work of the day begins." This is the explanation usually given, but Schütz pertinently remarks, "Würden dann die Hunde bellen? Es kommt ein Fremder"; and quotes the Greek, ἡνολέ τις τὴν θύραν, Aes. fab. 297; ἀνέψχε τὴν θύραν τις, Babr. 108, 21.

A few misprints in the Satires have been noted. On p. 3, the note on l. 18 is put down as on 17. In the note on II 2, 29, the reference should be Ep. I, 1, 81, not I, 1, 181. In the note on II 3, 110, "cf. I, 3, 71," should read cf. I, 1, 71. In the note on II 3, 184 read v. 165 instead of 164. Line 326 of Sat. II 3 should be attributed to Horace, not to Damasippus; also in Sat. II 8 the last half of l. 4 and l. 5 should be attributed to Horace, not to Fundanius.

In conclusion we wish to say that in spite of its faults this is the best available American edition for college work.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, von FRIEDRICH KLUGE.
4te verbesserte Auflage. Strassburg, 1889.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1883. The intervening editions, the second and third, were not mere reprints, but gave evidence of the constant care of the editor in slight additions, and especially in the prunings to which several articles were subjected. In the present edition, a few of the entries are entirely new, and a vast number of articles have been wholly or in part rewritten. The same excellences characterize this as the previous editions. Ample evidence of accuracy in phonetic deduction is forthcoming on every page. But the editor aims also at strict sequence in the development of meanings. This conservatism begets at once in the reader a feeling of confidence, which the entire absence of a direct display of learning in the explanations still further strengthens. The two-fold conscientiousness referred to above is remarkable and is continued through the whole book. Keeping

within these self-imposed limits, the editor's command of the literature on the subject and his power of combination have enabled him to produce what approximates to a model etymological work. As was the case in the first edition, space and clearness are gained by citing, not all the cognates of a stem, but only those of the word actually under treatment. Each word gains in this way a more individual complexion in Kluge's hands.

In the introduction the complaint is made that etymological studies are more neglected in Germany than in France. The neglect of them in England is still more obvious, where Professor Skeat's was the first systematic work of a large range in this field, while Grimm and Weigand already existed in Germany. Even the new Oxford Dictionary, to judge by the parts already issued, will by no means mark such an epoch in etymological study as it will in the history of English words within the language. Up to date, Kluge's book, as far as it goes, furnishes by far the best aid as a companion book to the study of the earlier periods of both German and English, and seems particularly valuable in the hands of English-speaking students. These, however, will necessarily be more or less deficient in the vocabulary of Modern German, and it is to such, therefore, a matter of the first importance that the work should have full indexes. The complete lack of a Gothic index, even in this fourth edition, has suggested the propriety of supplying one in advance of the indexes to be compiled by Herr Janssen, of Kiel. Such a list has already been prepared for the use of students in the Johns Hopkins University, and has been issued separately (Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, May, 1889). The treatment of English etymons in Kluge's work has from the first been only second in importance to that of German and Gothic forms. The English word-list in the first editions was, however, miserably insufficient. To determine the attitude of the fourth edition towards English, as compared with the earlier ones, it was necessary to examine each article in detail. The result is interesting. The following words, in regard to which etymologies were asserted or denied in the first edition, have now been silently dropped: *bleat blöken*, bunting *bunt* (cf. Wedgwood, *Contested Etymologies*, p. 45; and Skeat, *Suppl. to Etymol. Dict.* p. 789), cheek *Kuss*, child *Kind*, dark dim dun *dunkel*, drain *Thräne*, goblin *Kobold*, hire *haudern* (*Hauderer* in 4th ed.), rinse *rein*, snare *Schnur* 1, twine *Zwirn*, willow *Felber*, yawn *gähnen*. In a large number of cases statements as to English words have been modified. But the chief peculiarity as regards English is the large number of words now added. In certain cases these are simply French loan-words in English, where German also has been a borrower; but the vast majority represent material which has received actual treatment in the work, as to its etymological relations. The following is nearly a complete list of the added English words: aghast, alb, alison, awfshoots, baby, bailiff (art. *Ballei* is new), baldrick, behoof, bellwether, blunder, bourn, chastise, chick-peas, chilver, coach (art. *Kutsche* is new), comrade, cope, crisp, daft, dank, dapper, date, dean (art. *Dechant* is new), deuce, dub, ever, fairy, ferret, fey, flounder (art. *Flunder* is new), fret, gleed, gourd, greaves, griffin, grim, grit, grub, groove, grunt, haggard, horde, kidney, lair, larch, left, lewd, linchpin, luck, lunt, maund, measles, mix, mizzen, moult, murder, muster, nape, never, pail, palfrey, parish, paw, peel (art. *Pelle* is new), place, plaice, pole, porch, price, pump, quack, rhyme, sage, satchel, scrimp,

scum, sennight, sexton, shallow, sheen, sherd, shoal, shrink, silly, simper, since, singe, slag, sloat, smelt, snell (Sc.), snurls, souter, speck, speech, spook, spool, springe, stalk, stallion, stoke (art. *stocken* is new), stubble, stutter, sump, swamp, swanky, swats (Sc.), talk, threaten, tread, tub, varnish, vetch, vinegar, wallop, walnut, watch, whistle, wicker, wisdom, wisp, yard, yeast, yest.

The deficiencies of the present edition are in the main those which were perceived in the work from the first. A considerable number of small errors, which must originally have been the result of oversight, have never been detected and appear in the present edition. The editor undertakes to accent every Gothic *ai* and *au* which does not represent a diphthong, but he is very inconsistent. Where a word containing *ai* or *au* occurs more than once in an article, it appears to be his practice to accent the form only at its first occurrence; cf. *baürgs Burg*, *paürseip Durst*; but the following words are not accented at all: *alabastraün Alabaster*, *andawaürdi Antwort*, *bairgahei fairguni Berg*, *bairgan gabairgan bergen*, *bairhts -bert*, *sauljan besulbern*, *frabaühta Buch*, *baürpei Bürde*, *faürdammjan Damm*, *paürnus Dorn*, *gaþaürsnan dorren*, *paürstei Durst*, *þraihns fashuþraihns dringen*, *airþa Erde*, *saürafilli Fell*, *augadaürð Fenster*, *fairneis fern*, *fairzna Ferse*, *faürhteit faürhtjan Furcht*, *faürþis fürder*, *gabaürjaba gabaürjöpus Gebühr*, *gabaürþs Geburt*, *gabaür Gelage*, *faihu Geld*, *garafhts gerecht*, *gaürns faihugaürns gaürnjan gern*, *gaürdan Gurt*, *airzeis airzei irre*, *faürmöljan i Maul*, *maürþrjan Mord*, *maürgins undaürns i Morgen*, *naüh i noch*, *naudi-paürfts Not*, *aühsa Ochse*, *swaþhra Schwäher*, *staira Stärke*, *saühts Sucht*, *andwaürþs -wärts*, *wafhts ni-wafht Wicht*, *walla wohl*. As the unaccented form *walla* occurs already in the first edition (1883), this survival of it appears to be only accidental, and not to have reference to P. und B. Beitr. XI 553; cf. Braune, Got. Gr.³ §20, 3.

The following constructed Gothic forms are not starred: **brühts brauchen*, **wair-aldus Well*, **waürhstw forschen*. In one case an actual form *brükjan* is given **brükjan brauchen*; **basi Beere* should be *-basi*. The editor cites *hwaürni Kopf* as an actual Gothic form, following Holtzmann, Altd. Gram. p. 25, and giving his reasons for it P. und B. Beitr. VIII 522. But until this form shall be received into the text-books generally, it would not seem superfluous in a dictionary which will be used by many who are not scholars, at least to mention the received form *hwaürnei*; cf. Braune, Got. Gram.³ §113, and Faist, Grundriss der Got. Etymologie, 1888, p. 59. The editor is himself more conservative as to the form *hwaürnei* in the article *Hirn*. In a few instances, stems or parts of compound forms are cited without the hyphen; cf. *hwass-wetsen*, *-lauþs Leute*, *qiwa-keck*. In *fidwör Fehme*, and *mari-saiws Meer*, the old spelling *v* for *w* has been overlooked and left standing.

The following errors in Gothic forms are more to be deplored: *huzds Gerte Haus*; the correct form *huzd* is given under *Hort*, *lukarna* (for *lukarn*) *Kalk*, *stiurs* (for *stiuir*) *2 Kiel* (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleich. Gram. I, §660, 6), *sitl* (for *sitls*) *Nest*, *trigo* (for *trigö*) *träge*, *traust* (for *trausti*) *Tröst*.

In certain cases, owing to inadvertence or infelicity of statement, Gothic forms which the context calls for are not given: *2 bass*, Got. **batis* is given, but not *batiza*; *bitten*, **bidaqön* and **bidaqa* 'Bettler' are cited, but the actual form *bidagwa* is omitted; *Block*, the 'altgerm. st. Ztw. lukan' is cited. Although this is the actual Gothic form, it cannot be entered in the Gothic word-list

to the dictionary, for the same reason that operates in the case of English rother (cf. *Rind*). Rother was cited in the first edition as an (obsolete) English word, but is now unnecessarily relegated to Middle English, and thus excluded from the word-list, which is confined to Modern English; cf. rother-market (Halliwell's Dict.), and rother (Dict. of Sussex Dialect, 1875); *du*, Got. þu is omitted; *link*, Ohg. winistar is cited for comparison, but not Got. hleiduma; *Staden*, Got. staþ 'Ufer' is given, but staþs 'Ort' does not appear under *Stadt* or *statt*, nor indeed in this edition at all; *Stuhl*, Got. stōls is omitted, while corresponding forms in all the other Germanic languages are mentioned; *un-* Got. un- omitted; *Ungesiefer*, Got. *tibr (MS aibr) not given; *walzen* (*Walze*), Got. waltjan lacking.

A few miscellaneous items may find a place here: *Anker*, a cross reference is lacking to *Senkel*, where Ohg. senchil is explained; *Arzt*, Engl. leech is defined as 'Vieharzt,' but this meaning it never has, except when qualified by 'horse,' as 'horse-leech'; *aufwiegeln* is referred to *wiegeln* for its etymology, but the latter word is entirely lacking in all four editions; *haft* should be *-haft*; *Hirn*, O. N. hvern is cited as Gothic; *Kaiser*, A. S. cāsere for cāsere; *Sprache*, Engl. 'speach' for speech. The numbers 1 and 2 have been omitted in the following doublets: *halb*, *Heide*, *Kitze*, *schier*, *sein*, *Steuer*, *Stift*. The English word-list is far more reliable than that in the first edition, but the following inconsiderable errors have been noted: *dun dunkel* is not mentioned under the latter word, *flutter flattern* is entered twice, *chap kappen* and *couth kund* are not found (as the word-list states) under *Kappe* and *Kind*, *grove* not found under *Grube*, *slop Schleife* omitted. Printer's errors occur in the index: *amelcorn*, *chickpeas*, *defrig* (daft), *Mehltau* (mildew), *ruddock*, *scrimp*, *wirsch* (worse), *youngling*. Under 2 *Schote* the obsolete spelling sheats for sheets (sheet-lines) is given; slaughter *Schlacht* is misspelled in both text and index; the spelling *saffran* (saffron) and *rosmary* (rosemary) has run through all the editions.

The errors in detail, as above enumerated, are of comparatively slight importance, but the remarkable excellence and general accuracy of the work make it specially desirable that such petty oversights should not be suffered to interfere with its use in the widest circles. A question of more importance is whether the number of English words and forms could not be increased with advantage to the book. In the opinion of the present reviewer, and especially in view of the fact that the dictionary has already proved to be a great boon to English-speaking scholars, and is in fact at present indispensable to all Englishmen and Americans who aim at more than an empirical comparison of their native tongue with German, the question should be answered in the affirmative. It was shown above in detail that the present edition registers a great advance in the use made of English material. A minor new feature is the introduction of half-a-dozen English proper names for comparison and illustration. These could be multiplied with advantage to the book.

The following fragmentary list of what seemed appropriate general additions to the English word-stock of the dictionary has been noted down with the above considerations in view. Such a list must, of course, accommodate itself to the general plan of a dictionary which undertakes in a measure to do justice to all the chief Germanic tongues. Where a German word has

been clearly explained by the editor from purely German sources, no English cognate is here added. But where comparative etymology has been resorted to, and an important or useful English cognate form apparently overlooked, it is here appended. Scottish forms have been freely mentioned, since Scotch is expressly included in the word-list of the fourth edition. In the case of French loan-words in German, the corresponding loan-words in English have been given only where the form is interesting, or where time and use have made the word in question thoroughly English. This appears to be the editor's own practice where such forms are cited. It is needless to say that the additions lay no claim to completeness, not even within the letters from which most of the examples are drawn.

Aar. Sc. ern.—*Ahle.* Engl. awl was cited in the first ed. but is now omitted. Though the A. S. variants awul and awel (Engl. awl) have not been accounted for (cf. Oxf. Dict.), yet their connection with *Ahle* must be very close.—*ahnden.* To anord. ande 'atem, Geist' add Sc. aynd, end.

Baas. Amer. Engl. boss; cf. Bartlett, Dict. of Americanisms.—*Bälde.* A. S. byldo, M. E. belde, Sc. bield.—*Bauch.* Engl. bouk, bulk (cf. Oxf. Dict.).—3 *Bauer.* Engl. boor.—*Beige.* 'Engl. bing 'Alaunhausen.' But the meaning 'heap of alum' is secondary to that of 'heap' or 'pile' in general (cf. Oxf. Dict.).—*bleichen.* Engl. to bleach.

Diele. To A. S. pel add Engl. thill; cf. also statement under *Dricksel.—dröhnen.* M. E. drounen, Sc. drune, Engl. drone.

Giebel. Eng. gable.—*glühen.* To A. S. glōma glōmung, Engl. gloom, add Engl. and Sc. gloaming.

2 *halb.* To M. E. bi-halfe add Engl. behalf.—*Hals.* Engl. hauberk.—*Hammel.* With Mhg. hamel 'Stange' compare Sc. hemmel 'a square frame made of four posts, erected in a cattle-court or close, for the cattle to eat straw out of' (Jamieson). Sc. to hemmil 'to 'corner' an animal, might be further compared with Swab.-Bav. hemmen 'weidende Pferde anbinden' (cf. hemmen).—2 *Hand* 'Art, Sorte.' Engl. on either hand.—*hantieren.* Engl. haunt.—*Harm.* To Ohg. haramscara add A. S. hearmscearu, Engl. harumscarum.—*hauchen.* Sc. hech, Engl. huff?—*Hechse.* Engl. hough, hock.—*Hecht.* Engl. hake.—*heil.* Engl. hail.—*heissen.* Engl. hight.—*Hellebarte.* Engl. halberd.—*hemmen.* Engl. to hamstring.—*Hermelin.* Engl. ermine.—*Herold.* Engl. herald (14th cent.).—*Hof.* Engl. hovel (Sweet, Hist. Engl. Sounds², p. 332).—*Hülse.* To A. S. hulu add Sc. hüle (Engl. hull?)

Kabliau. The form cabliau, cited as English, is French. Cabljau, given in the first ed. and now rejected, still appears in the index. The English forms are cabilliau, cabelliau, kabbelow.—*kacken* 'erst früh nhd.' Grimm and Weigand give the sixteenth century as the date of the introduction of the Latin word. The Oxf. Dict. cites an example of 'to cack' in English as early as 1436; cf. A. S. cac-hūs.—*Kaldaunen.* Engl. chitterlings is an interesting parallel to Upper Germ. *Kutteln.—kalfatern* 'ein Schiff ausbessern.' Eng. calfret 'to caulk' (17th cent.).—*Kammertuch.* Engl. cambric (1530).—*Kanel* 'cinnamon.' O. E. canel (Lazamon).—*Kappsaum.* To French caveçon add Engl. cavesson.—*Karde.* Engl. card (15th cent.), to card (14th cent.).—*Katze.* To Engl. caterwaul add Sc. to cater.—*kauern.* O. N. kúr-hugr 'low spirits,' Sc. courie 'timid.' To Dutch hurken 'zusammengebückt sitzen' add M. E.

hurkelen, Sc. hurkle.—*kaufen*. To Engl. cheap, cheapen add 'to cheapen.'—*1 Kegel*. Engl. kails.—*1 kehren*. Engl. ajar. Engl. to char (and sb. char, chore) (Sweet, Hist. Engl. Sounds², p. 306).—*keuchen*. Engl. chink (sb.)? cf. Davies, Supplem. Engl. Dict. (1881) for quotations.—*Kicher* 'Kichererbse.' Engl. succory (Minsheu) and chicory (later form).—*Klaue*. To A. S. clā add Engl. claw.—*Klause*. Engl. close (sb.)—*knapp*. Engl. neap-tide.—*Kübel*. To M. E. klve add Engl. keeve.—*Kuchen*. Engl. and Sc. cookie, cooky.

Molch. Engl. mole.—*Mütze*. To French aumusse, aumuce add Engl. amice (from the 13th cent. on).

Nergeln. Sc. nyarg, nyargle.

1 Schnur. To A. S. snōd add Engl. snood.—*Senkel*. Engl. sinker.—*sprissen*. Engl. sprit-sail.—*Stärke*. 'junge Kuh, die noch nicht gekalbt hat,' A. S. styrc, Sc. stirk.—*Stauche*. It would appear that the Anglo-Saxon stocu cited by Kluge should be (hand-)stoc (pl. stocu). Hpt. Gl. 525-6 give hand-stoca 'manicas,' and hand-stocu [in the margin hand stoce] 'manicae.' Leo, A. S. Glossar 206, 5 defines the word: 'Der Ärmel, eigentlich die Handtrommete.' This would point to Scottish 'stock and horn, stock-horn.' The further definitions of *Stauche* 'Kopftuch, Schleier, Tuch, Schürze,' render it extremely probable that the word is identical with Engl. 'stock-sleeve' and 'upper-stocks.'—*stauen*. Whatever the etymology of this word, Engl. 'to stow,' with its extraordinary similarity in meaning and use, must be one of the nearest cognates.—*stechen*. M. E. steken, Sc. to steik, steke.—*stehlen*. To Got. hlifan add Engl. (Sc.) to lift (cattle), shop-lifter.—*Stift*. Engl. to stickle, stickler.—*Stimme*. Sc. steven 'voice.'—*Stute*. To M. E. stott add Engl. stoat, stot.

Taube. To A. S. culufre add Engl. culver.

Wahnwitz. Engl. wan-hope, wane.—*Weck*. Sc. wig 'a small oblong roll, baked with butter and currants' (Jamieson).—*Wette*. Engl. wedlock.—*Wiese*. Engl. ooze, oozy.

Zelter. Kluge compares A. S. tealtrian 'wanken,' but not Engl. tilt. Were there any doubts as to the identity of *Zelter* with the latter word, the following hitherto unnoticed passage in Parzival 779, 1 would seem to set them at rest: Senftecltche und doch in vollen Zelt kom si ritende über velt, 'came riding full till.'

— HENRY WOOD.

Eine Jainistische Bearbeitung der Sagara-Sage von Dr. R. FICK. Kiel, C. F. Haeseler, 1889. xxiii and 29 pages.

In 1886, Prof. Hermann Jacobi published in Leipzig a Prākṛit manual¹ which furnished Europeans their first easily accessible material for the investigation of this Indian dialect—apart from the Prākṛit portions of the dramas. One of Jacobi's pupils, Dr. R. Fick, now presents as his doctor's dissertation a Prākṛit version of the Sagara story, one ever recurring in Indian literature after it is first brought forward in the epics. This little volume is provided with an introduction which sketches the growth of the story toward its Prākṛit form, a few pages of notes, and a glossary supplemental to Jacobi's work,

¹ Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, von Hermann Jacobi. S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1886.

besides the *Devanāgarī* text of the story with German translation. It practically adds another story to Jacobi's collection.

Fick is almost certainly right in assuming that the Prākṛit and epic versions have a common origin. In all of them Sagarā's 60,000 sons offend the serpent-king and are consumed by the fire of his glance, angry that they had penetrated to his dominions without showing him honor. Sagarā's remaining descendant performs an expiation, or averts some impending calamity, by carrying the waters of the Ganges down to the ocean. In showing the changes that the Jainistic religious element required the author is ingenious, but he is not so happy in his attempts to show traces of word-remembrance from the epics, the parallels he adduces belonging to the commonplaces of Indian literary habit. In the Prākṛit version, e. g. the serpent-king is named *Jvalanaprabha* (Flame-light), and MBh. III 8877, *Jvālābhir eva pāvakaṃ* is compared; but the function of the serpent-king was in any case to destroy by his fiery glance, and therefore this parallelism has little significance.

A feature of special usefulness is the translation, which is smooth and simple. It is of small moment that it does not closely follow the construction of the original, but it is a pity to vary the order of the original when nothing is to be gained by it. A translation like the present serves as a commentary and should aim at saving the student's time, and it is therefore helpful to keep the order of the original where no violence is done to modern idiom. In translating, e. g. the compound *maṇirayaṇakaṇṇagamayam*, 2, 7, why should we have "*aus Perlen, Gold und Edelsteinen verfertigten*," instead of "out of pearls, precious stones and gold composed"?

Neither is the translation always quite accurate, for in the line just cited the compound *caṭṭvisaṇṇapaḍḍimāhiṭṭhiyaṃ* is rendered "*in den sich vierundzwanzig Jina Statuen befanden*," while it would be more accurate to translate, "in four and twenty Jina statues delighting." Many other cases of too free, not to say inaccurate, translation might be cited.

Omissions also occur now and then in the translation, e. g. *tao* 7, 6, *mahārāya* 10, 5 are not rendered; and unimportant as such omissions are *per se*, they certainly make a stylistic difference. A lack of uniformity is observable in translating the "*iti*"-clauses, some of them retaining the Or. Rec. construction, while others are woven into the structure of the translator's sentence: we may at least demand that the O. O. phrases be indicated by single inverted commas.

Neither are the notes unexceptionable. The explanatory statements of facts are helpful; the conjectures and text-criticisms are not so happy. So 5, 14 the suggestion that *aṇḍayaṃ* is a corruption of *ruṇḍayaṃ* is almost certain on the face of it, but the meaning "corpse" given to *ruṇḍaya* is hardly warranted by the citations, s. v. *ruṇḍa* of the P. W., and examples should have been adduced to support the conjecture. With the Indian belief in metempsychosis it need not seem peculiar for a Brahman to call a dead bird his son, and the Sk. paraphrase which supports Fick's conjecture, as far as meaning goes, may be a correction due to the spirit that prompted the latter.

At 4, 2 a conjecture is offered which dissents from the Sk. paraphrase. *Paṭṭitovahi*° is glossed by the Sk. *pradattāvadhī*°, but Fick explains as *pravṛtta-upadhī*, and translates this portion of the compound "*über den geschehenen Betrug*." It seems to me preferable to keep *avadhī* and resolve *paṭṭita* into

prayukta, and the phrase would be translated, "by his employment of *avadhi*-knowledge."¹ *Prayukta-avadhi* would give in Prākṛit *paūttāvahi* or *paūttlohi*, and the *paūttovahi* of the MS might easily be explained as a quasi-syncretism.

The note on 6, 16 is also incorrect. In reading *māṇuṣabikkhaṃ* of A in place of *amāṇuṣa* of B a difficult notion is substituted for a quite simple one. Fick translates the phrase, "*tā desu puttajivāvaṇeṇa māṇuṣabikkhaṃ*," by "*deshalb spende mir ein menschliches Almosen, indem du meinen Sohn wieder belebst*," and in his note explains "*menschliches Almosen*" as "*ein in einem Menschen ... bestehendes Almosen*." How much simpler it is to adopt the reading of B and translate, "therefore bestow by bringing my son to life a more than human gift."

The glossary is far from complete, though it sets out to give all the words not found in Jacobi's more extensive vocabulary. Most Sanskritists make their acquaintance with Prākṛit through the medium of the drama with its *chāyā*, supplemented by a professor's brief lectures. If the glossary had been rendered complete and independent, this little volume would have formed a more convenient addition to our material for Prākṛit study.

A very conspicuous omission from both glossaries is the caus. of *√jiv*, *jivāve*, which occurs in verb forms at 5, 18 and 6, 4, and in a nominal derivative, *jivāvaṇeṇa* (cf. Wh. Gr.³ 1051², 1150^m) at 6, 16.

Miyā 3, 2 is omitted from both glossaries and from the translation (?). It is plainly the p. p. of *√mi*, cf. *niya* : *√ni*.

Adverbs and conjunctions particularly suffer in these glossaries, and though they are in the main easy to make out, what reason is there for their omission? *Tatha* (*tatra*) 2, 12, *egayā* (*ekadā*) 10, 5, and *ca* and *ya* *passim* are examples.

Further omissions from the glossaries are : *payaṅgo* (*par*°) 3, 10; *dullaṅghā* (*dur*°) 3, 16; *sāmeṇaṃ* (Ins. *sāmnā* fr. 3 *sāman*) 4, 6; *bhāsa*° for **bhamha*°, which offends by over aspiration (*bhasman*) 4, 9; **kando* (*krandaḥ*) 4, 11; *palavantio* (*pralapantyaḥ*) 4, 13; *vasagāṇaṃ* (**gāṇām*) 5, 11; *saṃvihāṇaṃ* (**vidhān*) 5, 12; *miccēṭṭho* (*niceṭṭaḥ*) 5, 18; *lambho* (**bhaḥ*) 6, 7; *phudḍase* (vb. formed fr. *phul*?) 7, 16; **satti* (**gaktiḥ*) 9, 1; *āgarisanto* (*ākaraṇan*) 9, 11; *chindaṇeṇa* (deriv. fr. *√chid*) 10, 9; *coriyā* (*coritā*) 10, 16; *tayaṇantaraṃ* (*tadan*°) 11, 8.

The proof-reading of the book has been very careless: pg. xix, *sapparvata*° for *saparvata*°, *nikkhileṇa* for *nikkh*°, *asmābhi* for *asmābhir*; pg. xx *muṇṇa* for *su*°; 2, 6 *arūḍho* for *ā*°; 2, 13 *tirūviṇṇa* for *ni*°; 5, 18 *jāo* for *jao* (?); 6, 4 *tāo* for *tao* (?); 14, 12 *Ivalanaprabha* for *Jv*°; 18, 3 fr. bot. *Bhagirahi* for **rathi*. In the note to 7, 1 on pg. 24 the citation Jacobi p. xxvi has no pertinence, possibly xxix, §23 is the correct reference, but even that is scarcely apt. *Appuṇṇa* is the reading of the text at 7, 16, but the glossary reads *apu*°. As far as can be made out Jacobi nowhere supports Fick's theory of a doubled stop-consonant after *a-privativum*. *Giphiṭṭā*, 2, 17, is printed **hatta* in the glossary. *Duḥkhita* s. v. *duhiya* in the glossary must be for *duḥsthitā*.

Tassa ca, 1, 2, must be a misprint, for elsewhere the copulative conjunction after a vowel is always *ya*. *Ca* occurs in this text 15 times and always after the *anuṣvara* of *m*. The 27 occurrences of *ya* are always after a vowel, and the place cited has to be corrected accordingly. The explanation of this phenomenon lies in the enclitic nature of *ca*. After a word with vowel-final *c* fell away

¹ Cf. 3, 2 and note.

and the hiatus was broken by *y*, probably a mere representative of the surd guttural vowel corresponding to the Greek *spiritus lenis* before *ā* (?). After the *anusvara* *c* remained. The same state of affairs is shown by *ci* (*cid*) in indefinites: *ko ya : kim ca* = *koi : kim ci*.

Of the form *sakkheha*, 10, 13, neither Fick nor Jacobi offers an explanation. It must be a survival of the Sk. *sya*-future.

Tappaccayam, 10, 9, is also unexplained. *Paccayam* may be a neuter adverbial formation from *pratyāñ*, with a transfer to the *a*-declension.

Kālagayā, 7, 8, is explained by Jacobi as *kālakṛta* and defined "*gestorben*." The P. W. does not give such a meaning for *kālakṛta*, and a form *kālamkṛta* is not set down. Possibly we should look for the root *gam* in this compound with an extension of the idiom *mṛtyum gacchati*, *kāla* and *mṛtyu* being synonymic in the later language.

EDWIN W. FAY.

A Theory of the Origin and Development of the Heroic Hexameter. By FITZ GERALD TISDALL, Ph. D. New York, 1889.

The theory advanced in this paper is that the "primitive long meter" was the "*spondaic* trimeter," either long or short syllables being used with conventionally equal quantity: $\underline{\text{—}} \underline{\text{—}} \mid \underline{\text{—}} \underline{\text{—}} \mid \underline{\text{—}} \underline{\text{—}}$. Two of these verses combined formed the original hexameter. The catalectic pauses, one of which in each pair of trimeters became a caesural pause, led to the use of real shorts at the end of each colon. The existence of these shorts brought about a recognition of the difference between long and short syllables, with the possibility of using two shorts for one long. The original ratio then between any two syllables was conventionally 1 : 1, while the new ratio of a short to a long was 1 : 2. This ratio was never modified any further. All poetry probably had its origin in the original trimeter; but the present discussion relates only to the hexameter.

The author seems not to be acquainted with the various theories that have been proposed, recognizing the hexameter as a combination of two originally distinct verses. He has only seen mention of Usener's theory in Allen's *Metres of the Inscriptions*. His statements, however, sometimes make the impression that he believes he has surveyed the whole field, as when he states (p. 7) that "strangely enough, no publication recognizes" the fact that the caesural and catalectic pauses "take time from the verse."

The only new features of the theory are in the details. The theory that the hexameter is a combination of two trimeters of some sort is old and familiar; but usually it is assumed that the trimeters were already fairly well developed, with recognition of quantity, or else a *tetrameter* (tetrapody) is assumed as the original verse, which became a trimeter (trimetric colon) as a result of, or at least after, the combination. That the original foot was $\underline{\text{—}} \underline{\text{—}}$ is a well known hypothesis which encounters some obstacles. Some verses, for instance, bear much stronger marks of an original spondaic rhythm than others of the same number of feet. There seem, for instance, to have been prosodiac and paroe-miac verses based on the spondee. Those who derive dactylic rhythm from quasi-spondees must assume either a bifurcation or a later origin of genuine

spandaic verses. The latter alternative is hardly to be considered. A more serious difficulty is the existence of tetrameters (8 feet) both in $\frac{3}{4}$ and in $\frac{4}{3}$ time. The heroic verse of the Zendavesta and that of Sanskrit seem to give a hint as to the origin and first step in the development of tetrameters in $\frac{4}{3}$ time. Hence the well known theory of Prof. Allen (*Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, XXIV, pp. 556 ff.), which derives not only the Saturnian and some other verses from this original form, but also the Homeric hexameter, has not met with much favor in so far as it includes the last named verse.

Prof. Tisdall's method is peculiar. The greater part of his work is taken up with an *a priori* theory of the origin and development of the verse. He tells what the original verse was likely to be, and then what modifications were likely to be made, going into minute details as to the changes which would eventually lead to a certain form of verse. Then he turns to the Homeric hexameter, and shows that it is exactly what the *a priori* theory led us to expect. It is not an adverse comment to say that there is more induction in this process than appears on the surface.

The steps assumed will not seem most natural to all. By an analogous process, most persons would probably have arrived at a trochaic hexapody. Even the original trimeter assumed does not seem most natural. The original verse, he correctly says, represents the primitive sentence or coordinate clause. "The dimeter is decidedly too short"; "the tetrameter is, on the whole, too long; *for it could easily be separated into two dimeters.*" Does this make it too long, or is the objection of a different nature, and if so, what? Eight syllables seem reasonably short for a coordinate clause. The kinsmen of the Greeks—the Bactrians and Indians—appear to have found the tetrapody short enough, and combined them in pairs at an early date. Moreover, one of the most natural uses of verse would be to march by; and for this purpose the triple beat would not serve without a pause. This would lead us to the paroemiac or prosodiac, and to the well known theory of Bergk, or the slightly different theory of Usener. This is not the meaning of Prof. Tisdall. He assumes continuous rhythm of consecutive verses, even after the combination, with a slight catalectic pause within the last foot. To me it seems more natural to assume the *tetrapody* as the primitive march-verse, and the tripody as an intentionally differentiated form for purposes of recitation, if, indeed, the differentiation would not at once produce the ($\frac{4}{3}$ time) hexapody, iambic or trochaic according to the original rhythm.

Of the numerous details that invite discussion, I can barely touch upon a small number. The author thinks that the primitive people wished to have the two trimeters of a compound verse equal to each other, and hence the division between them was shifted a little into the first trimeter to prevent it from *seeming longer* than the other because of a peculiarity of the nervous system which makes the first impression the strongest and hence causes a sound to seem longer. Not very happy is the illustration taken from the fact that the top part of certain letters (including a fairly symmetrical D) is made smaller to prevent it from appearing larger; but especially striking is the fact that the author would expect *a priori* a phenomenon which has been a puzzle to many. Moreover, his theory is confronted by the fact that in all tetrameters, whether in $\frac{4}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ time, the caesura or incision falls exactly between the cola

(or original verses) although the second one is reduced by catalexis more than is that of the hexameter. Here seems to me to be the clew to the whole matter. The hexameter, with incision in the middle, was *too* uniform for continuous composition. The caesura marks an effort to weld the joint between the original cola. A continuous poem of dactylic (so-called) *pentameters* would give some idea of a continuous series of hexameters with incision in the middle; but of course the pentameter was never so used. It would no longer be a pentameter, but two catalectic trimeters; and even in the single verse an effort to relieve the monotony was made by frequently substituting the spondee in the first colon, never in the second. In view of all this, it seems to me some scholars have made too much of the dicolic nature of the hexameter, as, for instance, Dr. Richard Klotz, who, after approving my theory of caesura as a *vinculum* in so far as it applies to the iambic trimeter, thinks it will not hold for the hexameter: "Denn während der Trimeter, *nach alter Theorie* eine rhythmische Verseinheit enthält, so zerfällt der Tetrameter und *Hexameter in zwei selbständige Verse.*"

The author cites a number of Greek and Latin grammars and one elementary independent work on metres (intended for schools) as evidence of the prevailing opinion as to the *origin and development* of the hexameter, and assumes, apparently, that what is not taught in these books is taught nowhere. So far as I am acquainted with these works (I have examined several of them) they do not treat of the origin and development at all. When they say "fundamental" they do not necessarily mean *original*, and even "original" might not mean *primordial*. Prof. Allen, for instance, pronounces the dactyl the fundamental foot of the hexameter, though his theory gives it a different origin. Nor is there anything new in the author's view that the caesural and catalectic pauses must not add time to the verse, though he says no work mentions that fact. And the view that the last foot of the hexameter is a trochee is as old as the science of metres. It is true, most metricians, such as Hermann, Brunck, etc., teach that it is a catalectic *dactyl*, not a reduced spondee.

The remarks on the ratio of feminine to masculine caesuras might be omitted as being familiar to all concerned, and in some other matters the discussion deals too much with dead issues. Sometimes, on the other hand, we are left in doubt whether certain facts have escaped the author, or he assumes familiarity with them on the part of the reader, as when he says there is no proof that any other ratio than 2 : 1 between longs and shorts was ever recognized. This opens a wide question, and we hardly feel fully assured that the author has studied all the evidences, traditional and internal, and all the arguments of modern authors for and against.

In the strictures upon Virgil there are several things one might object to; but they are foreign to the scope of the investigation, and my space is exhausted.

These remarks are not intended to discourage further investigation on the line marked out, but to suggest the propriety of taking more fully into consideration what has been done by others, and of avoiding the insertion of unsound links into the chain of argument.

M. W. H.

Beitraege zur Kenntniss der vedischen Schulen, von Dr. RICHARD SIMON.
Kiel, 1889.

The question of the Vedic schools has been treated often, prior to the appearance of this little book : see e. g. Weber, *Indische Studien*, I 149 fg., 289 fg. ; III 247 fg. ; XIII 430 fg. ; Omina und Portenta, p. 412 fg. ; *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 34 fg., 170, etc. ; Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 371 fg. ; Rājendralālamitra in the introduction to the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, p. 6 ; Roth, *Der Atharva-Veda in Kaschmir*, p. 24 fg. ; Bloomfield, *J. A. O. S.* XI, p. 377-8. The chief native sources for this subject are : 1. The *caranavyūhas*. One, counted as the fifth *pariṣiṣṭa* of the White Yajur-Veda ; another figures as the 49th *pariṣiṣṭa* of the AV., dealing with the same subject in shorter form. 2. Incidental mention of school-names in Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya*, and other literature accessory to Pāṇini. 3. The late over-systematic reports of commentators and the *purāṇas*. 4. Incidental mention throughout Vedic literature itself.

Simon's work contains two parts. First an introduction, in which he collects and discusses all that has been said on the subject prior to his own production. As the book is furnished with a good index, the value of this effort cannot be impugned ; any given name of a Vedic teacher can with this help be traced back to the texts in which it is mentioned, and the value and scope of the tradition can be controlled. The second part of the work consists in the edition of the introduction to the *Saṃskāraganapati* of Rāmakaṣṇa, which deals almost entirely with the same question. I cannot ascribe to this text any particular value in reference to this question : Rāmakaṣṇa's knowledge on the subject is derived from the latest stratum of Indian tradition ; it stands about on the same level as the reports of a single *purāṇa* on the same point. The liberality with which authors of this sort borrow from any quarter whither their studies may have directed them is well known. To cite one instance we may mention the *śloka*, p. 41 : *omkāraṣcā'thaṣabdaṣ ca dvāv etāu brahmaṇaḥ purā | gaṇḍāu bhittvā viniṣkrāntāu tena māṅgalikāv ubhāv*. Rāmakaṣṇa says that he has derived this verse from the commentary to a *prātiśākhya*. I have found the verse, with many variants, both in the *bhāṣya* of the Vāj. Prāt. I 17 ; in the *Tribhāṣyaratna* of the Tāit. Prāt. ; in the *Gṛhyasaṃgraha*, II 9 ; in Ācāditya's (or Ācārka's) unpublished commentary on the *Karmapradīpa* ; in Govindānanda's gloss to Čaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. It is likely to occur in a dozen or more texts of this sort.

Rāmakaṣṇa's introduction bears this character throughout. His sources are the very poorest imaginable. I should not consider any name of a Vedic teacher as authentic on his authority merely. He reports e. g. as the ninth *çākhā*s of the AV. the *pāippalāḥ*, *dāntāḥ*, *pradāntāḥ*, *tāntāḥ*, *āuntāḥ*, *brahmadābalāḥ*, *çāunaki*, *devadarçī*, and *caranavidyās*. I shall endeavor to show elsewhere that the statement in reference to this point, made by the *caranavyūha* of the AV., is according to good MSS as follows : *tatra brahmavedasya nava bheda bhavanti tad yathā | pāippalādās tāudā māudāḥ çāunakiyā jājālā jaladā brahmavedā devadarçāḥ caranavidyāḥ ca* ; see Kāuṣika-sūtra, introduction, p. xxxii. This statement is shown, *ibid.*, to be correct, because these school-names are known in actual Atharvan literature. The many blundering reports

of this same list, of which Rāmakṛṣṇa's offers a fair specimen, are due to false MS readings, to more or less conscious malformation of these names on the part of later writers, and to later additions.

Clearly, the way to render an ultimately correct account of the Vedic schools will be to rely solely on the reports of the Vedas themselves. Just as the dhātupāṭha has given way to an independent account of Sanskrit roots, derived from the language itself, so must the future account of Vedic teachers and other celebrities ignore the over-systematic, garbled collections of late texts.

Simon's work is done with excellent judgment and great care as to every detail. There is evident promise of valuable work in the future in this, his first effort.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

REPORTS.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.¹

Vol. XLI, Heft 4.

The Ossetes are a tribe of about 120,000 souls, occupying the eastern slopes of the Caucasus range. They are a remnant of the ancient Iranian race, and have preserved many of the old Iranian customs and beliefs which died out in Persia under the influence of Muhammadanism. Schamyl, their last independent chieftain, only surrendered to the Russians in 1859. The Nart tales are the sagas of Ossete national life, corresponding to the Icelandic sagas. The best collection of these oldest heroic legends is by Vsevolod Miller, who committed them to writing in 1880, from the lips of the Ossetes in Vladikavkaz, Alaghir, and Sadon, and published them in his 'Ossete Studies,' with a Russian translation (Moscow, 1881). A most interesting summary, chiefly from Miller's studies, is given by H. Hübschmann on pp. 523-76.

The Narts are half men and half angels or heroes, whose deeds are sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument like a violin. There are only a few Narts, who are said to dwell in one village in the mountains, on the river Sequola, crossed by a bridge leading to the village. H. gives text and translation of the 15 legends published by Miller.

A second chapter treats of the views of the Ossetes concerning life after death. The funeral oration by a relative of the deceased shows that their views are akin to those of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans. The dead has the same wants as the living. This accounts for the burning of the sacrificial animal or a part of it, and for the libation on the fire of wine, 'that the dead may not hunger or thirst on his way to paradise.'

Schlechta-Wssehrd is about to publish a complete translation into German verse of Firdusi's long-neglected poem on the legend of 'Jussuf and Suleicha.' The poem is based on the sura Joseph in the Korân. S.-W. prints 8 episodes of the poem, covering 22 pages.

G. H. Schils calls attention to the French translation, by Matu nami Masa Nobu, of the Japanese poem Man-yô-siu, lately published in the *Mémoires de la Société académ. des Études Japonaises et Indochinoises* (Paris, Maisonneuve). The work is said to be the oldest collection of Japanese poems, begun about 750 A. D.

The two following articles are by J. Barth. The first—the beginning of a series of studies in Semitic comparative philology—treats of biliteral nouns. There are but few of them in the Semitic languages. Triliteralism is so prevalent a law in this family that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the triliteral form. We find masculine nouns with feminine termi-

¹ See A. J. P. VIII 501.

nation, to compensate, as it were, for the loss of the third stem-consonant. Against those who believe in primitive biliteral nouns, B. maintains that neither the use of the pluralis sanus (or outer plural) in the South-Semitic branch, nor the masculine plural formation with nouns having a feminine singular termination, nor again the insertion of an *h* between stem and plural ending, can prove the primitive biliteralism of these nouns; such peculiarities are due to other reasons. On the other hand, an examination of the plural formation of so-called biliteral nouns shows that the North-Semitic and the South-Semitic, independent of one another, presuppose three radicals. A number of instances make it probable that these biliteral singular nouns are shortened from primitive forms with three radicals.

In the second note, 'The Phoenician suffix DJ,' Barth argues that *nôm* = Hebr. *hem* = Arab. *hum* = Assy. *ḫunu*.

M. Grünbaum describes graphically the various stages of drunkenness in Semitic legends; being induced thereto by the publication in Vol. XL 413 of a proverb on the four qualities of wine. He also gives additions and corrections to his article on Schem-ham-mephorash in Vol. XL 234 ff.

O. Böhtlingk compares the Kâtantra Grammar (edited, with notes and indexes, by Julius Eggeling) with Pāṇini. The grammar is mentioned for the first time in the beginning of the twelfth century A. D.; it is a brief, systematic grammar in 4 sections: (1) the Sandhi (or Satzphonetik); (2) the noun; (3) the finite verb, and (4) the *kṛt*-suffixes. The work is based on the *sûtra* of Pāṇini, so much so that many passages cannot be understood without consulting the latter. The same scholar contributes, under the heading of 'Miscellanies,' restorations of corrupt passages in Sanskrit literature.

In an article on Blood-money in the Veda, R. Roth proves the existence, both in the Veda and in the later law books, of the old custom of payment for manslaughter. Besides this, peace-money was paid to the king or to the community.

In the Book Notices there are reviews, among others, one by W. Grube of R. H. Conington's *The Melanesian languages*. The book is commended, notwithstanding the inconsistencies in transliteration and the lack of an index.—O. Donner gives a somewhat caustic review of Heinr. Winkler's '*Das Uraltaische und seine Gruppen*,' parts I and II; his remarks are mostly not of a commendatory sort, and the hope is expressed that the book may prove at least an inducement to a thorough investigation of the difficult problems proposed by the author.—Praetorius has a favorable notice of J. Schreiber's *Manuel de la langue Tigraï, parlée au centre et dans le nord de l'Abyssinie*. The chief value of the little book consists in the new material which it furnishes, but that material is unscientifically arranged.—J. Wellhausen's '*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, III: *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,' show that the author is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the ancient Arabians. In his masterly review of the book Th. Nöldeke points out that stone-worship (*Steincultus*) was universal among the northern Semites, that the sacred stone which Jacob set up near Beth-el (Gen. 28, 18 ff.) was originally an idol,¹ that the practice of circumcision is found among the Arabians as much as among the Hebrews, and that

¹ See also ZDMG 42, 482.

sacrificial rites and religious customs were the same as in ancient Israel, the slight differences being due to the poverty of the Arabians, who could not afford to waste frankincense or offer holocausts. N. agrees in the main with W. He praises him for not having permitted himself to construct history rather than to narrate facts.—A. Müller speaks in terms of highest praise of C. H. Cornill's 'Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel'; which praise is ultimately bestowed upon Paul de Lagarde, who has constantly urged scholars to make use, for establishing the text of the O. T., of the ample resources at their command, many of which were made accessible by this indefatigable scholar and "greatest living Orientalist" (Driver).

Vol. XLII, Heft 1.

In the first article of this volume M. Klamroth discusses al-Ya'qûbî's extracts from Greek mathematicians and astronomers. Besides short paragraphs from earlier writers, we find large portions of Euclid, Nicomachos, and Ptolemy, the author of *Almagest*. A Greek-Arabic glossary is added to the notes on the writings of Ptolemy, and an essay on the teaching of the Greek philosophers is begun.

Th. Houtsma adds, on p. 692, a note to p. 41 of Klamroth's article.

M. Grünbaum gives Semitic notes on the star Venus, and examines the meaning of מִנִּימ (Mīnim) in the Talmud. The Mīnim are not sectarians, but Jewish Christians; they are called by Rashi disciples of Jesus.

F. Praetorius holds, in opposition to J. Halévy and D. H. Müller, that the so-called energetic perfect tense in Sabaeen with *wāw* copulativum is in reality an infinitive form. This peculiar construction started from the hiph'il, and spread thence over to the other conjugations. The same scholar continues his publications of Tigrîña Proverbs, with notes and comments.

Th. Nöldeke believes that the story of the Treasury of Rhampsinitos (Her. 2, 121) is of purely Egyptian origin, notwithstanding the similar story mentioned by Charax in Schol. Arist. Nubes ad v. 508. This tale of the Master-thief is repeated in the Hindu legend of Karpura and Gata, in the Highland story of the Shifty lad, in that of Ali Baba and the 40 thieves in the Arabian Nights. [But it was also told in Europe before the days of Herodotus. It is found in the ancient hymn to Hermes, who expressly receives as his reward the title of Master-thief, ἀρχὸς φηλητέων, Hymn. Herm. 292.]

Houtum-Schindler contributes an article on Kurdish lexicography; he gives a list of verbs, paradigms, nouns, and short sentences.

A. Müller finds the source of the story of the Arabic Rip van Winkle (Korân II 261) in the legend printed in Dillmann's Aeth. Chrestom. p. 5, l. 6 ff. On p. 320 M. remarks that he had just learned that I. Guidi as early as 1885 connected Korân II 261 with the same legend. In reply to this article M. Schreiner (Heft 3, 436-8) traces the story to a haggadic narrative of Chônî Hame'aggêl, which again is based on a wrong interpretation of Ps. 126, 1.

Eugen Wilhelm prints 20 pages of Contributions to the Lexicography of the Avesta.

The question, Should Turkish poetry be vocalized, is answered in the affirmative by R. Dvořák. Arabic books, especially Arabic poetry, are vocalized in the East as well as in the West. Turkish books to some extent, and this should be done throughout. D. advocates the use of Arabic vowel-signs, which would prove a great help to the student.

H. Wislocki gives text and translation of a number of fairy tales and fables from the folklore of the Transylvanian Gypsies. On p. 491 R. Sowa calls attention to the Gypsy Lore Society of Edinburgh, Scotl.

Glosses to Fr. Spiegel, 'Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände,' 1887, by C. Bartholomae. B. does not intend to write a review of the book, 'dazu fehlt mir Veranlassung und Wille.' He holds, against Sp., that religious differences caused the separation of the two nations, the Indian and the Iranian. It is a fact, acknowledged by all scholars, that during the Aryan period *daiva* and *asura* were names for good, benevolent gods. After the separation we find that in India *daiva* was the name for the good god, and *asura* that for the evil demons, while in Iran the reverse is the case. On p. 319 C. de Harlez raises objection to some remarks of the reviewer with reference to statements made by Harlez in Bezz. Beitr. XII 117.

Heft 2.

Ernst Leumann publishes a lecture, delivered at the 39th annual meeting of German philologists at Zurich, 1 Oct., 1887, entitled 'A request to the future editors of Sanskrit dramatic poetry and prose texts, other than Vedic.' L., who is about to publish a new edition of Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, advocates the use of quoting according to the divisions in the MSS, in preference to that after the pages of modern editions, which will soon be out of print or superseded. Sanskrit prose should be cited after Granthas, a measure of fixed length ($4 \times 8 = 32$ syllables); the Grantha would be a subdivision to the chapter. Verses inserted in prose writings are to be counted each as one Grantha. Dramas, of course, have to be counted after acts and lines; thus Śak. VII ३१ means that the word is to be found between lines 30 and 31 of the VII act of the Śakuntalā. If prose writing occurs within a drama, cite according to Granthas, thus Śak. II १, 6 means Grantha 6 of the prose writing introductory to the II act of the drama. Publishers should in future mark their Sanskrit publications according to Granthas. Specimens of quotations to illustrate this new method are appended.

The composers of the hymns of the R̥gveda, with notes on Vedic chronology and the history of the Soma-ritual, is the title of a long article by H. Oldenberg. O. distinguishes four groups of references to the authors of the several sūktas. (1) Such as are found in the songs themselves, especially in the II-VII mandala; he then examines the VIII mandala and the Kāvya sections of the first, and closes with a short discussion on mandalas I, IX, and X. (2 and 3) The next two groups are formed by the references found in later Vedic literature, the Anukramanī and the Sāman-names; the Anukramanī or detailed indexes to the texts yield a very meagre result. Samān is a technical term signifying a musically modulated verse, a chant. Texts and music are often by the same author. With the help of these references O. examines the

several mandalas. (4) The references contained in the Pravara lists. The chronological results.

M. Grünbaum treats of assimilations and popular etymologies in the Talmud. Starting from a discussion of the words *demijohn* and *sherry vallies*, the writer examines the etymology of modern Greek *κεχριμπάρι*, amber, from Turkish

كبریا, and *χάραγμα* from Turkish *ğarâj*, which resulted in *χαράζι*, and this in *χάραγμα* (tribute, tax-money). Proceeding on the same line of studies, G. mentions a number of expressions occurring in the Talmud which are but assimilations and popular etymologies. He examines, among others, the word for orange, *êthrog* (אתרוג). The word *σύμβολον* = *δῶρον*, wedding present, transcribed in the Talmud by סבלינות, is connected with the Hebrew root *sabal*, to carry a burden, thus implying that such gifts are burdens. The Talmudic expression for *κληψύδρα* has been subjected to the process of popular etymology, so as to mean the assembly is over, because the time of the assembly was measured by the *κληψύδρα*. Rebus and charades occur frequently in the Talmud. The Latin *honor* was divided into Hebr. *hôn* (הון), wealth, riches, and French *or*, to show that money brings with it honor.

The same writer favors us with an elaborate paper on this world and the next referred to by Arabic-Persian and Jewish authors. This world, *αἰὼν οὖτος*, is generally called the fore-court to the next world, a place of preparation for *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. Again, this life is likened unto *terra firma*, the future to the desert and the ocean; for either we must prepare in the former. Life is compared with the wandering of the nomads, as early as Gen. 47, 9; the end and goal is the future life. Good deeds, benevolence, and charity are considered the best viaticum. The vanity and fickleness in this life is often mentioned and gives rise to a continued *Αἰλινος* (אילנין).

R. Pischel has a word to say on Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa, against an essay of H. Jacobi in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes II 151 ff. J. holds that Rudraṭa, the author of the *Kāvyālanakāra*, and Rudra or Rudrabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Çringāratilaka*, are different persons. This is denied by Pischel. Jacobi prints an answer to this denial on pp. 425-35, and Pischel a final reply on p. 435.

W. Bacher believes that Abulwalīd wrote his works with Hebrew characters, and not with Arabic as usually said. The MSS have the Hebrew script. This script is justly retained by Derenbourg in the edition of the *Kitāb-al-Luma*, while Neubauer, the editor of Abulwalīd's *Kitāb-al-uṣūl* or dictionary of roots, uses Arabic characters. B. continues his corrections of Neubauer's edition, begun in Vol. 38, 320.

There is a very favorable review, by J. Euting, of A. Neubauer's Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian library, and by Vollers on Paul Ravaisse, 'Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Maḳrīzī I 3, pp. 409-80. The book is of importance and will prove a great help to the student.

Heft 3.

The Arabic reports concerning Nedjd, the highland of Arabia, are examined by A. Sprenger in the light of Doughty's *Travels in Arabia*. These notes do not pretend to exhaust the subject-matter, but would merely call attention to the excellent work of D. The description of a number of Wadies by native authors, such as Hamdāni, Jacût, and others, is corrected or modified on the basis of D.'s book and Sprenger's personal experiences.

J. Barth, in a second article on studies in Semitic comparative philology, entitled 'Early analogical formations in the plural,' examines the Semitic terms for heaven and water, and comes to the conclusion that the plural forms found in Hebrew are based on the analogy of other plural formations. A number of similar cases in Hebrew and the cognate languages are discussed. In a second paragraph B. speaks of the use of prepositions with so-called plural affixes in Semitic languages. They are without exception formations based on the analogy of prepositions whose third radical sound is *aj* or *el*, as *علي*, *علي* and others.

J. Fürst prints some additions to the *Aruch* of R. Nathan by R. Samuel ben R. Jacob Gama, edited for the first time from MSS of the libraries at Parma and Cambridge, by Salomon Buber. F. discovers a number of Greek words and phrases which were thus far considered to be Hebrew. The Jews of the Byzantine empire knew Greek better than Hebrew; thus they introduced many Greek political terms into the Talmud and other writings.

H. Oldenberg, in a second article on the *Adhyāya* division of the *Rigveda*, answers M. Abel Bergaigne's reply (*J. A.* IX 191) to his first article (*ZDMG* 41, 508), and here the discussion ends—the death of Bergaigne being announced by Oldenberg on p. 491, and the loss of the great scholar deplored in fit terms.

O. Böhtlingk misses a good treatment of the impersonal use of the participium necessitatis in Sanskrit grammars. This induced him to collect all material bearing on this special point.

In an article of 46 pages S. Reckendorff examines the Aramaean portion of the decree of the Senate of Palmyra respecting duties on imports and exports. The monolith, 19 feet long and 6½ feet high, was discovered in 1881 by Prince Lazarew, who copied it and sent it to Odessa, where it was opened and destroyed by the suspicious customhouse officers. A second copy was made in 1882 at the expense of the Prince, and it arrived safely at Petersburg; see the account of de Vogüé in *J. A.* 1883, I 231–55, and II 149–83; also Sachau in *ZDMG* 37, 562–71, and Schröder *ib.* 39, 352–61.¹ The Greek part of the document is explained by G. Dessau, *Hermes* XIX 486–533.² Reckendorff reprints Dessau's text, and gives the text and translation of the Aramaean portion, with a philological commentary.

Under the head of *Ossetica*, R. von Stackelberg gives, on the basis of Miller's studies, notes on the religious belief of this people. There are many Christian traits in their rites and ceremonies. Christianity was introduced among them

¹ See *A. J. P.* IV 510 and V 394, V 530 and VII 118.

² See *A. J. P.* VI 396.

from Grusia. This is proved by the names found in their ritual, and by an old tradition still alive in Ossetia. St. explains several names which have thus far puzzled the ingenuity of all scholars, for instance, Donbütür is a compound of Don = water and the name of the Apostle Peter, who is the saint to whom the fishermen pray.

F. W. E. Roth publishes Ludolf von Sudheim's account of the taking of Acre, 1294 A. D., found in a MS at the library of Darmstadt. L. von Sudheim travelled in Palestine from 1336-41, and published a book, *De itinere terre sancte et descriptio terre sancte* (edited by A. Naumann in *Archives de l'Orient lat.* II 2). There existed a number of extracts from the work in Latin and in German. R. publishes a German extract from the same on Akris.

Yasna XLIII 1-10, with the Pahlavi text, is deciphered and translated by L. H. Mills. It is a translation of the Avesta, especially of the Gâthas, made strictly in the light of its original. This is the first attempt yet made to translate or explain this portion of the Pahlavi in its entirety.

The use of Psalms for witchcraft, by C. Kayser. In a Syriac MS of the Royal Library at Berlin (Sachau's collection, No. 218) there are appended to a short commentary on the Psalms directions for using the same for witchcraft. The Bible, especially the O. T., is used for such purposes among all nations. The Jews inscribed Deut. VI 4-9 over their doors as a protection against evil influences; the same was done with many short psalms. Christians did the same with the Gospels. The MS was written in 1847 A. D. in Modiad in Tur 'Abdin, by a priest, Shem 'ôn. Kayser gives the text (Sachau 218, pages 173a-175b) and the translation, with a few notes. Additional remarks and corrections to this paper are published by D. Simonsen, on pp. 693-4.

S. A. Smith reviews Rudolf E. Brünnow, 'A classified list of all simple and compound cuneiform ideographs, with their Assyro-Babylonian equivalents, phonetic values,' etc., Pt. I, 1887. Dr. Br. has put Assyriologists under great obligations for his painstaking work, which supplies us with the much-needed sign and ideograph list. The book is well arranged, doing credit to author and publisher. Smith also reviews J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., 'Babylonische Texte. Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555-38 v. Chr.), Heft I und II.' The excellent publication of these difficult texts is of value to us in five ways: 1. They enrich, correct, and confirm our knowledge of the history of this period. 2. They give us an insight into the social relations of the time. 3. The jurisprudence of the Babylonians is made known to some extent. 4. The religion of the Babylonians, temple service, etc., is made clearer to us. 5. They are of the highest philological importance. In the course of his remarks the reviewer has again given vent to his unfounded feeling against the Leipzig school of Assyriology.—Nöldeke examines Fr. Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte Israels und die Götter der Heiden*, Berlin, 1888. B. presupposes a primitive Semitic monism. This developed, on the one hand, into monotheism among the Hebrews, and degenerated into polytheism among the other Semitic nations. N. does not agree with B., nor does Siegfried in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 20 Ap. 89, No. 8. Baethgen omits the Assyro-Babylonian Pantheon entirely; he should have done the

same with the Arabic portion of his book. The chapter was antiquated even before it was published. N. disapproves of B.'s combining the name of the Phœnician goddess 𐤀𐤋𐤍 with Greek Ἐλλωρία, *Ἐλλωρία*, Athen. 678a, Pind. Ol. 11, 40. The latter seems to be of genuine Greek origin. The scholiast to Pindar combines it with *ἔλεiv* and *ἔλος*; yet more impossible is the comparison with Arabic Allât. Hebrew 𐤀𐤋𐤍, of course, does not prove an original polytheism, for it is a pluralis majestatis; cp. the Ethiopic plur. *'amlâk* as a name of God. Compound names with Yahve are scarce in the early period; the names of the Hebrew tribes and the early family names do not contain 𐤀𐤋. Such names increase in frequency after the establishment of the kingdom in Israel. Absolute monotheism among the Hebrews was of slow growth. The worship of images and stones supported the primitive polytheism; against this the second commandment was given. Like the other Semites, the Hebrews observed the custom of human offerings, especially of children. Cp., for instance, the reminiscences in Gen. 22, Ex. 13, 2, etc. Nöldeke believes that the name of Moses is Egyptian, and that the service of Yehovah originated in that country. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are mere personifications. Abraham and Sara were originally gods and worshipped as such.

Heft 4.

H. Jacobi publishes the Yaina-legend concerning the ruin of Dvâravatt and the death of Krishṇa. The true position of Krishṇa in the Hindu Pantheon is not yet determined; to make this possible we must first examine the different forms of the legend concerning him. As a contribution to this J. prints text and translation, with glossary, of a few Yaina-texts found in the commentary of Devendra to the Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra.

Two lists of Sanskrit MSS, together with some remarks on his connexion with the search for Sanskrit MSS, are given by G. Bühler. The first is a classified list of B.'s private collection of Indian MSS, comprising 193 modern transcripts and 128 old MSS, acquired mostly between May 1863 and Oct. 1866, and arranged under 18 sections. The second is a rough list of MSS bought and copied for the government of Bombay during the years 1866-8.

R. Dvorák. Bâkî as a poet. The two greatest Oriental lyric poets, Hâfiz, the Persian, and Matanabbî, the Arabian, have become accessible to all students and readers by careful editions and correct translations. This is not the case with the last of the great triad, the Turkish poet Bâkî. Though he cannot be compared with Hâfiz, he yet deserves a better treatment than he found at the hands of Hammer in 1825. Bâkî (1526-99) lived during the reign of Suleimân, the lawgiver, the greatest of all the Turkish Sultans. D. prints text and translation of Bâkî's best poem, his Heftbend on the death of Suleimân. Specimens of his Diwân, Gazeles and Kasideles are added. We also read from Bâkî's own poems and the writing of other Turkish authors, a number of testimonials to the superiority of the poet.

J. Goldziher discusses the use of Turab (dust) and Hagar (stone) in Arabic phrases of rebuke and warning, e. g. a stone in thy mouth means: do not pronounce, tell this or that, keep quiet, lest some evil may overtake thee.

M. Schneider has an article of 85 pages, headed 'A contribution to the history of religious polemics between the Jews and the Muhammadans in the middle age.' It comprises nine sections, three long extracts from Arabic-Hebrew texts, and an excursus on the 'Iḡāz al-Ḳur'ān, the miraculous composition of the Korān, mentioned by every Muhammadan writer, and refuted by their Jewish opponents. The paper is based on Steinschneider's *Polemische und apologetische Literatur zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*. Schn. begins with an examination of the traditions on both sides, and gives some polemic notes of al-Mas'ūdī and al-Bērūnī, the two great Arabic historians of the tenth century, and, on the other side, the like of the Gaons and the Karaeans, beginning with Sa'adyā. We are made acquainted with the earliest documents of Jewish religious thought in Spain, found in Ibn Ḥazm's book on Religions and Sects. This work contains a number of polemical remarks against the Jewish religion, and proves a great help to the study of contemporary Jewish literature. From Spain we are transported to the East, to hear what al-Guwejnf and his pupil al-Ġazālī have to say on this topic. In the sixth section we are introduced into the polemical writings of Jehuda Halēwī. The Sicilian Ibn Zūfr praises Muhammad in his book, 'the best announcement concerning the best man,' a work of great importance for the history of exegesis among the Muhammadans. Many passages of the O. T. are transcribed, translated, and explained with reference to their prophet. Abraham ben Dāwūd, the first consistent Aristotelian among medieval Jewish philosophers, has written a systematic polemic against both the Muhammadans and the Christians. His book is examined at length. The article closes with a glance at the writings of Fachr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, a Muhammadan contemporary of Maimōnī. Copious extracts from the original writings and translations are added in the foot-notes and appendices.

F. Praetorius reviews Dr. M. Grünert, 'Die Alliteration im alt-arabischen,' Wien, 1888. The title is misleading, because the author treats, not of alliteration, but of rhyme and assonance in Arabic poetry, of which the book is merely a collection of material.—Two very favorable critiques are given by Holtzmann of 'The Mahābhārata of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa translated into English prose. Published and distributed chiefly gratis by Pratap Chandra Roy,' Pts. 24-35, Calcutta, 1886-7; and by Himly of 'F. Hirth's Textbook of documentary Chinese, with a vocabulary'; and 'Notes on the Chinese documentary style,' by the same author.

Thorbecke closes the volume with a short memorial sketch of the late Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (born 21 Feb. 1801 and died 10 Feb. 1888).

W. M. ARNOLT.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM. Vol. XLI.¹

Pp. 1-13. F. Bücheler prints 10 paragraphs of conjectanea. Under No. 8 he gives a number of emendations to Aesch. Suppl. : l. 40 retain τ' after *λυν*; 74 *δειμαίνονα* = *ἀφόδους*; 88 *εἰθειν* = *εἰθεῖα*; 79-84 are explained; 107, before *φρόνημα* read *ἀν*; *ἀτα* in l. 113 is to be taken literally just as in l. 170; similar restorations to ll. 118, 126, 59, 153 f., 647 f.;—Plautus Asin. 11, restore Maccus.

¹ See A. J. P. X 105.

Pp. 13-18. A. Philippi, in an article on Alcibiades, Socrates, and Isocrates, objects to Keil's interpretation of Isocrates' *Busiris*, §5.

Pp. 18-27. F. Schöll examines the quotations from Vergil in Probus and Quintilian. Aen. I 44 Probus simply read *tempore*; I 109 is quoted by Quintil. inst. orat. VIII 2, 14, not as a verse of Vergil; it is therefore spurious; ad Aen. IV, 50-53, cf. Quintil. IX 3, 16.

Pp. 27-66. According to O. Hense, the edition of Stobaeus by Nicolaus Schow is unreliable and unsatisfactory. Some of the MSS quoted by Schow never existed, others may have been lost in the course of time.

Pp. 67-73. J. Overbeck maintains, against K. O. Müller, Klein, and Milchhöfer, that, according to Pliny 36, 9 f., the figures made by Dipoinos and Skyllis were of marble. Cretan influence on early marble-sculpture is quite possible.

Pp. 73-85. P. Höfer's book, 'Der Feldzug des Germanicus im Jahre 16 n. Chr.,' pretended to have solved the problem. But J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, in a note on this campaign, doubts the correctness of H.'s statements from the military as well as the topographical point of view, and also questions the manner in which the sources were used.

Pp. 85-118. Th. Kock publishes the results of a renewed study of Menander. 1. By far the greater part of the so-called monostichs of M. are the work of several other authors. 2. Of the remaining verses, none can be attributed to M. unless his authorship is expressly affirmed. 3. More than 40 verses do not belong to Attic comedy, owing to the Christian ideas contained in them. 4. Not only independent monostichs were borrowed from their sources, but also sayings and proverbs were forcibly changed into monostichs. 5. Many verses were changed in order to yield, instead of the original proverbs, others better suited to time and circumstances. 6. To enlarge their number, verses were repeated with a slight change in order of words or contents. 7. These variations occurred especially in the beginning of lines. 8. The final result is that the collection of Menander was used as copy-book verses for the boys in the convent schools of the Byzantine period.

Pp. 118-134. F. Bücheler and E. Zittelmann reprint, translate, and interpret the fragments of the second code of Gortyn, edited and translated for the first time by Halbherr and Comparetti (Museo Italiano de Antichità classica, I, p. 277).

Pp. 134-150. R. Wagner has discovered a Vatican MS, Saec. XIV, XV, containing extracts from the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, which proved to be very important for the criticism and the restoration of this library of Greek mythology.

Pp. 151-160. E. Schultze reads Od. VII 69 *περιμνηται γεράεσσιν*.—E. Hoffmann. Menander (ap. Stob. Flor. 64, 15) read *εὐ λόγῳ*.—M. Schanz. Plato uses only *ὥς ἐπος εἰπεῖν*, except in Leg. XII 967b *ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐπος*, which we are to change to the normal order; Gorg. 517a *πολλοῦ γε δεῖ—μὴ ἐργάσθαι*. The construction is found in other passages, e. g. Ep. VIII 344e *πολλοῦ δεῖ μὴ* being = *οὐ μὴ*.—R. Hirzel has a word on the meaning of 'liber,' and compares Cic.

ad Att. XVI 2, 6 with ib. 6, 4.—E. Wölfflin reports a fragment in the fifth book of Origen, cited by Servius, ad Aen. IV 293.—Th. Korsch prints metrical notes to Martial XI 2, 5.—According to Fr. Vogel, the lyric poet Maximinianus lived towards the end of the Gothic empire. F. Bücheler examines the inscription on a leaden plate recently found in Carthage and published by Joh. Schmidt in the Ephem. epigr. V, p. 317, No. 454.

Pp. 161–169. A minute study, from various sources, of the chronology of the year 238 B. C., convinces O. Seeck that Haloander fabricated nearly all the 'subscriptiones' published in his edition of the Codex Justinianus 1530 A. D.

Pp. 170–190. G. Kaibel (Hermes XX 507 ff., see A. J. P. VII 539) opposed E. Rohde's view that the later sophists did not produce anything new, but merely revived the manner of the old Asianic rhetoric (Griech. Roman. p. 290). K. abides by his former conclusion and answers K.'s objections.

Pp. 191–202. W. Deecke follows with contributions towards deciphering the inscriptions found in Middle Italy.

Pp. 203–223. E. Schwartz, in an article on 'The first book of Thucydides,' sides with Wilamowitz against Cwiklinski. The unitarian theory of the history of Thucydides has to be given up for good. None of the eight books was completed by Thucydides, save, perhaps, books II, III, and IV. What we have is only a torso published by a later hand.

Pp. 223–242. In his notes on the inscriptions of Rhodes and Delos, K. Schumacher speaks of the sculptor Phyles of Halicarnassus; examines the chronology of the Delian archons between the years 200 and 169 B. C., and takes sides with Homolle against P. Paris' assertions in Bull. de corr. HELL. IX, p. 149; also see ibid. II, p. 576, ll. 18 and 83, and VI, p. 40, l. 101 et al.). An inscription referring to Dionysos Sminthios of Lindos, published by Ross, Hellenica, p. 114 f., is copied, emended, and interpreted. Ancient amphorae had the name of the maker or that of the place of manufacture stamped on them. S. examines 7 such stamps on amphorae from Cnidos and Rhodes.

Pp. 242–246. Vergiliana, by P. Corssen. Aen. IV 269 *torquet* is to be taken literally; 243 *somnos* means death; 693 ff.; 748; 174–88.

Pp. 246–266, 376–386. A. Kopp. On positio debilis and correptio attica in Greek iambic trimeters. 1. Additional remarks to the Quaestiones metricae, by J. Rumpel (Gymn. Progr., Insternburg, 1865–6), and De correptione attica by Karl Goebel (Diss. Inaug., 1876). 2. Muta cum liquida in Greek trimeters. A minute study of the tragedies of Sophocles shows his essential agreement on this point with Aeschylus. The article closes with a collection of material from Euripides.

Pp. 266–291. A. Gercke thinks that 1. The sources of Neo-Platonism lie in Platonism. 2. A comparison of Pseudo Plut. de fato and corresponding passages of the Latin version of Chalcidius, as well as Nemesius, shows that they go back to the same source, an eclectic Platonist living about 200 A. D. 3. Platonists as well as Neo-Platonists believed in the superiority of providence over the laws of nature. 4. Stoicism has influenced the system of the Platonists.

Pp. 292-301. C. Galland argues that the Codex Matritensis, No. 38, containing the *ἐπιτομή τῆς καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* 'Ηρωδιανοῦ, attributed to Arcadius, was written by Constantinus Lascaris. The Bodleianus and Havniensis were copied from this MS. Another MS, no longer extant, was the archetype of two Parisian MSS. The cod. Matr. is thus of the highest value.

Pp. 302-320. N. Wecklein reads, Hes. Scut. 91 *ῥ'χετο λατρεῦσων* instead of *τιμήσων*.—A. Ludwich has notes on the prosody of Dionysius Periegetes, with reference to his use of *positio debilis* and *correptio attica*.—G. Heylbut. On the Scholia of the Nicomachean Ethics (Cod. Paris. 1854).—K. Fuhr. Ad Hypereides fragm. 70 (Blass).—H. Lewy. Ad Themistius *Κωνσταντίου δημηγ.*, p. 19 (Dindorf).—M. Schanz reads Dem. 6, 16 *οὐ δ' ἂν ἡγοῦμαι* instead of *οὐδ' ἂν ἡγοῦμαι*; the discovery by Fox, in 1879, that *ὡς ἀληθῶς* = *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ* was known in 1831; cf. Schoeman, Isaeus, p. 368. The earliest interpretation of the formula is found in Plato's Laches, 188d.—F. Bücheler has remarks on an inscription from Gortyn, and on the prosody of Plautus, Poen. 699, Curcul. 78, etc.; application of the law *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*.—F. Blass examines the phraseology of the second Gortynian code.—Th. Kock. The metre employed by Horace I, 10 shows that it is one of the earliest poems in which the poet tried to master the forms of the Aeolic lyric poetry.—A. Zingerle reads Liv. II 28, 2 *delata <senatu>m consulere*.

Pp. 321-341. P. Krumbholz. The Assyrian history of Diodorus. Diod. Siculus based his *Ἀσσυριακά* (book II) on the work of Ctesias himself, and not on the recension of Kleitarchus, as Jacoby thought (Rh. Mus. XXX 555 ff.).

Pp. 342-348. P. Wolters sends critical notes on the epigrams in the Greek Anthology. V 132, 5 read *θύομαι ψδარიών*; 189 read *λίσσωμαι*. VI 164. VII 6 *έέκευθεν* 'Ιος; 362; 375 *τὸν θάλαμον* for *ὀφθαλμῶν*; 423 *λάλος*. IX 13; 241; 290 *κτεπῶν* for *πτύσας*. XVI 271 *ἀνίας* . . . *καὶ ὀπόσαι*; then follow emendations of the inscriptions, G. Kaibel, Nos. 799, 245, and 590.

l'p. 349-364. P. Natorp defends Diogenes of Apollonia against the charge of being a mere compiler. Aristotle and Theophrastus mention him in their works. The well-known passage in Simplicius does not prove that Theophrastus asserts a dependence of D. on Anaxagoras or Leucippus. N. gives a summary of the doctrines of Diogenes and his followers as far as they can be known.

Pp. 364-376. A. Otto prints 12 pages of conjectures to 37 passages of the epistles of Cicero ad Atticum.

Pp. 387-398. F. Cauer attempts to prove, against Wilamowitz, that ll. 1226-80 of Lycophrón's *Alexandra*, referring to the Romans, are interpolated. In addition to other proofs, he maintains that the harmony of the whole poem would be destroyed if these lines were authentic.

Pp. 398-436. E. Hiller. Contributions to the history of Greek literature. Continuation from XL 204.¹ IV. The fragments of Glaucus of Rhegion. Gl. has the merit of being an excellent critic of ancient music. He tried to establish an exact chronology of ancient musicians and to determine their

¹ See A. J. P. X 108.

influence upon the later representatives of Frau Musica. H. examines minutely the period in which Glaucus lived, i. e. the latter part of Saec. V or the earlier part of Saec. IV B. C., the title, sources, and contents of his principal work. He combats Westphal's theories not infrequently.

Pp. 437-454. A. Ludwich contributes a most interesting study on the development of the meaning of ἡ δ' ὅς. He distinguishes 4 periods. 1. ἡ δ' ὅς was used as an Atticism for ἐφη δὲ οὗτος. 2. The meaning of δ' was forgotten as soon as ἡ δ' ὅς was inserted into speeches; in the same manner ὅς became a mere pleonasm. ἡ δ' ὅς was now equivalent to ἐφη, and was connected with a subject noun. Philostratus in such cases omitted the ὅς. 3. In time δ' became closely connected with ἡ and ὅς a deadened particle (suffix); gender and number were forgotten, and ἡ δ' ὅς was used for ἐφασαν as well as connected with a feminine noun. 4. The difference from the noun ἡδός was no longer felt; ἡ δ' ὅς became = ὦ φίλε.

Pp. 454-460. F. Bücheler. The text of Persius. B. collects the ἀπὸ ταύρο-μάτων mistakes; aside from these the agreement of a and C shows only 4 grave errors in our texts. Wherever editors have deviated from the traditional reading of aC we have to restore the MS reading.

Pp. 460-464. W. Deecke reprints, translates, and interprets the Tyrrhenian inscriptions found on Lemnos by Cousin and Dürrbach, and published in the Bull. de corr. Héll. X 1, 1886. The inscriptions are the work of a branch of the Tyrrhenio-Etruscans, which at the time of the general migration of that nation towards the Italian peninsula, separated from the rest and spread over the coasts and the isles of the Aegean sea.

Pp. 465-480. E. Lübbert. Pindar's hyporchema in honor of Hieron. In the quotation from Pindar by Arist. Av. 938 ff. we should write, not Στράτων, but στρατών, or rather in this sense στρατών, an accentuation which is warranted for στρατός or στρατός in the sense of tribal divisions. Thus ἀλάται στρατών becomes clear, 'he is expelled from the στρατοί.'—A. Wecklein denies the existence of the form μάσθλη quoted by Hesychius; Weil was wrong in introducing it into the text of Aesch. Agam. 1025.—A. Gercke, in a note De Galeno et Plutarcho, replies to O. Crusius' article, Rh. Mus. XXXIX 581 ff. See A. J. P. IX 239.—E. Wölfflin reads *non macies* in Tibullus I 3, 47.—Ad. Sonny states that the frequent verbal agreement between Justin and Vergil is not due to Justin himself, but to Trogus Pompeius. He quotes 58 cases of intentional imitations of Vergil by Justin (i. e. Trog. Pompei).

Pp. 481-499. H. Nissen. The literary importance of the Monumentum Ancyranum. According to N. and others this document is an epitaph of the emperor Augustus. The contents are arranged according to groups, not in a chronological order, as in earlier Roman historiography. Suetonius, in his vita Augusti, followed it closely; he probably had a copy of the Monumentum before him.

Pp. 500-516. H. Usener. The Christmas sermon preached by Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, on the 25th Dec. 634 A. D., was hitherto incompletely known in a Latin translation. U. publishes the Greek text after a

Munich MS, No. 221, Saec. XV, and the collation of a Paris MS, No. 1171, Saec. X.

Pp. 517-548. Disagreeing from Mommsen (Hermes XXI 266), A. Elter explains SP and SPect on the tesserae of the Roman gladiators by *spectatus*, with the meaning of approved and designated for public exhibition. *Spectatus* meant he has been successful in the spectatio, he is a spectatus; thereby the tiro became a veteranus. 6 similar tesserae bear the inscription *spectavit*. E. explains this form as follows: From *spectari* was derived the neutral verb *spectare*, meaning to stand a *spectatio*; cf. the German, Er hat promoviert.

Pp. 547-559. F. Marx, in De poetis latinis critica et hermeneutica, emends passages in Lucilius, Plautus, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid.

Pp. 560-591. Ed. Meyer. The development of the tradition touching the constitution of Lycurgus. This tradition was very vague in Saec. V B. C.; in Saec. IV the principal data were fixed. M. shows that the story of the Delphic origin of the constitution of Lycurgus was brought to Sparta from abroad, and was not officially received before 400 B. C., i. e. during the reign of Lysander. Ephorus and his followers took the oracles relative to his constitution from a work on Lycurgus by the exiled king Pausanias. What Ephorus says concerning the division of the land among the citizens is not exact. Herodotus and Xenophon do not mention it, because it never took place.

Pp. 592-617. A. Ludwich contributes 25 pages of emendations of the epigrams in the Greek Anthology.

Pp. 618-626. O. Ribbeck. The composition of books V-VII of Varro's De lingua latina. The order observed by the author is not always easy to see; nevertheless there is a certain logical connexion between the different parts as well as a general harmony in conception and plan.

Pp. 627-644. N. Wecklein reads Sophocles Oed. Kol. 523 f. *ἦνεγκα δοκῶν μὲν*; 525 *κακῇ ποιῶν*.—A. Ludwich emends Phlegon Mirab. c. 3 (R. Hendess, Or. Gr. 154) *ἤξει δ' Ἴταλιν* for *ἄξει δ' εἰς Ἀσίην*.—K. Schumacher. *Δίθος Λάρτιος*. *Λάρτιος* evidently is the modern Lardos, the name of a promontory and a village in the neighborhood of Lindos on Rhodes, where a hard blue limestone is found to-day.—G. Goetz. Camerarius and his studies in Plautus.—O. R[ibbeck]. Praxidica and the Parerga of Accius. Praxidica is the Greek *πραξιδική*, a surname of Proserpina, and served as the title of the first book of the Parerga of Accius.—G. Gundermann. A fragment of Lucilius restored from the liber glossarum.—F. B[ücheler] reads Juv. 8, 148, sufflamine mulio consul, on the basis of the Florileg. Sangall., No. 870.—B. Simson. On the poem de viro bono.—A. Riese. The Roman sources for the German history. Notes on Tacitus Germ. c. 41 and Sueton Domit. c. 6.

Vol. XLII.

Pp. 1-14. H. Diels. Leucippus and Diogenes of Apollonia. Against Rohde, D. fixes the *ἀκμῇ* of Democritus about 420 B. C., and answers Natorp's paper, XLI 349 ff. On pp. 374-385 Natorp replies to Diels' attack and defends his views on Diogenes and Leucippus.

Pp. 15-27. A. Papadopoulos Kerameus discovered in the convent library on the isle of Chalki two MSS with letters of Julian the Apostate, six of which were hitherto unknown. They were published by him in the *Παλαιογραφικὸν Δελτικόν*. He now re-edits, with notes, the six letters, together with a discussion of the two codices and the emendations proposed by him.

Pp. 28-61. H. Nissen. On temple orientation. Continued from XL 370.¹ V. N. begins with a general survey on the ancient Greek custom as regards the bearings of temples. He distinguishes between the native popular orientation made with reference to the sunrise, and the foreign learned orientation with reference to the rising of the stars. The latter, however, is found very seldom in earlier times. The author examines the bearing of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, as also that of the sanctuaries in many other Greek cities, in connexion with the question as to the date of the principal festival observed therein and that of their erection.

Pp. 62-80. Ingram Bywater publishes Scaliger's and de Labbé's MS notes on the *veteres glossae verborum iuris*. They are marginal notes from the original volume, lately in possession of Mark Pattison; cf. H. Haupt in Vol. XXXIV.

Pp. 81-101. Ed. Meyer. The development of the tradition touching the constitution of Lycurgus. Continued from XLI 560 ff. II. On the 4 *ῥήτραι*, which M. considers unauthentic. III. The origin and development of the legend concerning Lycurgus. The author argues that Lycurgus was originally the same as Lycoorgos, the Arcadian and Attic *Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος*. In an appendix M. speaks of the early genealogy of the royal families of Sparta.

Pp. 102-110. G. Heylbut. The MSS of the Politics of Aristotle. Collation of twelve leaves of the palimpsest Vat. gr. 1298, containing fragments of Arist. Polit. III and IV.

Pp. 111-117. O. Ribbeck, in a note on the lost scenes of the Bacchides of Plautus, attempts their reconstruction from the extant fragments, on a plan much simpler than that of Ritschl.

Pp. 118-121. A. Kopp. The fragment of Apion found in the Cod. Vindob. philol. philos. CLXIX contains an extract of Apion's commentary on Homer, shorter than the one published by Sturz, and yet covering the whole work.

Pp. 122-137. J. P. Meier. The tesserae of the gladiators. M. agrees with Elter in the explanation of *spectavit*; he believes, however, in a different origin of the formula, and refers the date on the tesserae to the contest when the tiro made his public début. *Gladiator spectavit* originated from *populus gladiatorem spectavit*. Equivalent to *spectavit* is the more solemn *spectatus*. The division of the combatants into *primi pili* and *secundi pili*, found under Commodus, did not originate at that time. Every gladiator became after his first public contest a *secundus palus* = *secunda rudis* = *spectatus*, and when he had belonged to the troupe for a certain time he became a *primus palus* = *summa rudis* = *veteranus*.

¹ See A. J. P. X 110.

Pp. 138-152. H. Tiedke defends Nonnus XLIII πῶθεν, against Köchly, and Θ 45, 47 ὁμύλησεν, against Scheindler.—F. Dümmler reads Ξενοφάνης for Ξενοφῶν in Athenaeus IV, p. 174, and restores the lines.—F. Susemihl changes ἐβδόμηκοντα in Diog. Laert. I 79 into ὀγδοήκοντα, so that the ἀκμή of Pittacus falls into Ol. 42, 2. A comment on this note by E. Rohde is found on pp. 475-478.—E. Wölfflin corrects *amniun*, Quintil. X 1, 46, into *flumihum*.—F. Becher removes, Quintil. X 1, 79, the comma after *studiosus* and places it after *compositione*.—J. van der Vliet. Ad Apulei Metamorphoses, books VI-VIII.—The question, is the history of Herodotus completed? is answered by Ed. Meyer in the affirmative, in spite of VII 213.—K. Schumacher examines two misplaced Greek inscriptions found on Paros, but belonging to Delos.—F. B. A tomb inscription found at Cologne proves that the *ala classiana civium Romanorum*, originally stationed in the Bretagne, was removed to the Rhine, probably to coöperate with the fleet.—A. Riese has an additional remark to his article published in XLI 640.

Pp. 153-163. Edm. Pfeiderer believes that the nine letters of Pseudo-Heracitus were written by one author, who, as he thinks, is identical with the composer of the apocryphal 'Book of Wisdom.' The writer probably was a Hellenistic Jew, living in Alexandria during the latter part of Saec. I B. C. Nos. 1-3 are an introduction, as it were, to Nos. 4-7; Nos. 8 and 9 appear to be an appeal in favor of *ισοπολιτεία* and *ισοτιμία* for the Jews of Alexandria and Ephesus.

Pp. 164-178. E. Klebs writes on the development of the city prefecture under the Roman empire, against Mommsen, who wrongly supports Tac. Ann. VI 10, against Pliny, Hist. Nat. XIV 145, and Sueton. Tib. 42, with reference to the appointment of L. Calpurnius Piso as *praefectus urbi*.

Pp. 179-197. F. Dümmler. On the historical writings of the first Peripatetics. I. The relation of the Politeia and the Politics of Aristotle to the πολιτικά τὰ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς of Theophrastus; the work of Theophr. was largely made use of by Plutarch. II. The νόμοι of Aristotle were published in conjunction with his learned friend Theophrastus, and their supplement are the νόμιμα βαρβαρικά. Fragments of the latter are preserved in the παραδόξων ἐθνῶν συναγωγή of Nicolaos Damascenus.

Pp. 198-208. F. Bücheler treats of Philodemos and the princely ideal in Homer, on the basis of a papyrus of Herculaneum published by Cirollò in 1844 (Herculane. voll. tom. VIII).

Pp. 209-225. G. Hirschfeld. The inscriptions from Naucratis prove that of the three conflicting statements found respectively in Herodotus, Strabo, and Apollonius Rhodius, as to the date of the founding of the city, that of Herodotus is the correct one. The form H prevails over H in these inscriptions. Remarks on the Greek inscriptions of Abu Simbel, belonging to the period of Psammetichus I. The Ionic alphabet shows three stages of development from the beginning of Saec. VII to the second half of Saec. VI B. C.

Pp. 226-232. W. Deecke prints notes on the interpretation of six Messapian inscriptions, published in Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1884.

Pp. 233-238. A. Ludwich. Imitators and models of the poet Gregory of Nazianzus.

Pp. 239-250. Rud. Hirzel. The impeachment of Socrates by Polycrates and his defence by Lysias. Polycrates the Sophist composed the discourse for Anytus. This was answered by Lysias in his Apology, as also by Plato in the Anytus-episode of the Menon. Libanius, in his Apology of Socrates, made use of the work of Lysias.

Pp. 251-261. F. Marx. The Nausicaa episode in the Odyssey. The lines expressing Odysseus' feeling of shame over his nakedness are spurious. We have to connect ll. 127, 128 (where the *πτόρθος* is a *ἰκετήριος κλάδος*), 130-134, 135 (... *ἐνπλοκάμῳσι μετήλθεν*), 137, 138.

Pp. 262-275, 590-626. A. Gercke. Alexandrian Studies. I. (a) King Magas of Cyrene ruled either from 300-251 or. 296-247 B. C. (b) Hieron II became archon and strategist in 270 B. C. and king in 265 B. C., not already in 270, as universally believed since Casaubon, on the basis of wrong statements of Polybius and Justin. (c) The marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus to his sister Arsinoë took place between the years 276 and 270 B. C. II. Characteristic of the two Alexandrian poets, Theocritus and Callimachus; their relations to one another and to the court of the Ptolemies; chronology of their lives from internal evidences.

Pp. 276-285. H. v. Arnim. The sources of the tradition concerning Ammonius Saccas are the *Σύμμικτα ζητήματα* of Porphyry.

Pp. 286-309. J. Boehme. On the Catasterisms of Eratosthenes. Against the assertion of Maass (*Analecta Eratosthenica*) that Eratosthenes was not indirectly the author of the work.

Pp. 310-320. L. Friedländer. The enigmas in Petron. c. 58.—E. Wölfflin discusses Quintil. X 1, 60, 63, 65, and 69.—J. van der Vliet. Ad Apulei Metamorphoses, books IX-XI.—K. Schumacher reads *ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ* for *ἐπιτρόπων* in the inscription published, Bull. de corr. Héli. I, p. 88, No. 37, and prints additions to Insc. Bull. VI, p. 491, No. 4.—F. B. The oldest Latin inscription discovered by Helbig and Dümmler on a golden fibula in a tomb at Praeneste reads: Manios | med | fhe | fhaked | Numasioi, Manios made me for Numasius (Numerius, the owner of the fibula). We meet here for the first time the perfect *sefaked*; the combination of *F* and *h* proves that *F* had not yet the value of *f*, given to it in the later Latin alphabet, but was equal to *Vau*. The inscription runs from the right to left.

Pp. 321-361. E. Hiller. Contributions to the history of Greek literature; continuation from XLI 398. V. Homer a collective name. That Homer was ever held by common opinion in antiquity to be the author of the epic cycle is erroneous, and due to the deceptions of rhapsodists, etc., with misapprehension of the loci.

Pp. 362-373, 531-546. A. Otto sends critical notes and emendations to the *Silvae* of Statius, books I and II-V 5.

Pp. 386-425. O. Crusius. The collection of Greek proverbs by Maximus Planudes. On the MSS, history and editions of the work, with the most interesting passages quoted and illustrated. A collation of Laur. plut. LIX 30 (Florence) and Vaticanus 878 (Rome) yield a number of corrections and additions.

Pp. 426-435. G. Thouret examines the chronology of the years 218-217 B. C. against the wrong date fixed for Trebia by Matzat in the Zeittafeln.

Pp. 436-461. J. Ilberg. The manuscript tradition of the works of Hippocrates. An investigation of the MSS shows that the critical apparatus of Littre is incomplete and not reliable. I. proposes a new arrangement of the MSS into two classes.

Pp. 462-466. C. Wachsmuth draws deductions as to the topography of Alexandria, from a passage in the biography of St. Spyridion by Theodorus, Bishop of Paphos. The text was published in extracts by H. Usener in Jahrb. für protest. Theol. XIV 219. Neapolis is the settlement on the Isle of Pharos.

Pp. 467-471. J. Schoenemann. Herodicea. Herodicus followed Eratosthenes in reading Arist. Ran. 1028 *Μαρόδιον* for *Δαρείον*. There is a reference to the second edition of the Persae of Aesch., acted at Syracusae.

Pp. 472-488. F. B. defends his reading, 'suum,' in Juv. X 294; punctuates *ille sui, palpo quem* in Persius V 175, and refers the Floralia mentioned, not to the Roman festival, but according to CIL. IX 3947, to a rural fête. Lucil. fr. 103, Bährens, Syll. read *si dent* for *student*, id. fr. 585 *arguta manu* for *argutimini*. Julius Romanus ap. Charis p. 145, 29 read *Torres* (= *torques*) for *tores*, and for Pomponianus mentioned, cf. CIL. VIII 2391. Pomp. was younger than Fronto and a contemporary of Jul. Romanus.—A. Ludwich reads Aesch. Eum. 76 *κἀν δὲ ἡπείρου μακρᾶς βεβῶς ἀμείψης τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα*. Schol. Od. v 381 (Cod. Ven. 813 M) read *παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ*, and cf. Soph. Ai. 341.—R. Schoell. The inscription of Cnidos, discovered and published by Ch. Newton in Disc. of Halicarnassus, etc., I, pl. xcii, No. 40, II 755, reads: [Ἰθά]νάτοις | [θν]όεντα | [δα]μουργὸς Ἀρ | [πο]κρά(ς) | ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν.—E. Hoffmann, *Epeur* on mirror in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel, III, pl. 181) and *Epiur* on one in the Berlin Museum (ibid. IV 335, No. 2) are equal to Epeios, and represent the eponymos of the Epeians, who, being defeated by Hercules, followed him and settled under his leadership in Latium.—K. Zange-meister reads, Velleius I 17, 5, *huius ergo procedentis in unum saeculum*, and II 109, 1, *corona saltuum custoditum* for *corpus suum custodientium*.—E. Wölfflin. Ad Sueton's Pratum.—J. Chododniak. Prosepnais or Prosepnai? Actual inspection shows that on the speculum Cosanum (Ritschl, Pr. Lat. Mon. Ep. tab. XI M) the older reading Prosepnai is the true one. The figure S at the end of the word is only a rude picture of a curl of hair.—M. Ihm. Three new inscriptions found in Cologne and Mayence. 1. A votive tablet to the Quadviriae. 2. A tomb inscription (fragmentary). 3. A dedication (also fragmentary).

Pp. 489-524. A. Kalkmann. Tatian's information concerning works of Greek art, in his discourse to the Greeks, cc. 33-5, are mostly fictions. His enumeration is merely an uncritical compilation from other works on Greek art, and not based on actual inspection, as he wants to make us believe.

Pp. 525-530. L. Mendelssohn. De Zosimi aetate disputatio. Reasons for fixing the date of the work of Z. between 450 and 501 A. D., and not in the first half of the century, as Jeep (Rh. Mus. XXXVII 425).

Pp. 547-558. A. Ludwich. The Homeric hymn, No. 19, to Pan shows no traces of the Alexandrian artistic period, nor is it a make-up from several poems. L. places ll. 8-11 after l. 27; and 37, 40, 39, 38, and 41 in this order, with some changes of reading.

Pp. 559-581. B. Niese. Straboniana. Continued from XXXVIII 567.¹ VI. The acquisitions of the coasts of Pontus by Mithridates VI. A detailed narrative of the origin and progress of M.'s conquests on the Euxine, by a comparison of Strabo's account, and the decree passed by the inhabitants of the Chersonesus in honor of Diophantus, the general of M. (Ditt. Syll. I 371). VII. The last tyrants of Athens. Athenio, mentioned by Posidonius in Athen. V 211e ff., is distinct from Aristio, mentioned among others by Appian, Mithr. 28 ff. and Pausan. I 20, 5 ff., he is a predecessor, ruling a few months of the summer 88 B. C.

Pp. 582-589. F. Bücheler. Old Latin. Continuation from XXXIX 427.² Distinction of Latin words into three groups. 1. Such as are common to all the Indo-European languages (*pater*). 2. Such as are specifically Latin (*patronus*), and 3. Words borrowed from sister-tongues. Another paragraph treats of Old-Latin intersonantal *f*, as in *profat*, *Safino*, *scrifont*, *verfom*, *sifilare*, *lafanus*, *Alfurnus*, etc. The written language expressed this sound by *b*, while the popular tongue preserved it, whence it passed later on into the Romance languages. B. derives *barge* from *βάρυς* (*barica*), and *soin* from *sonium*, sorrow. This *sonium* is equal to *senium*, but different in its origin from *senium* = *senectus*, notwithstanding their similar meaning. *Sonium* is the low-Latin, *senium* the literary form. The root is the same as in the German verb 'schwinden' and the Greek *σίνος*.

Pp. 627-633. Reprint of a letter of Philip Buttmann, dated 1817, to B. Naeke apropos of the latter's edition of the fragments of Choerilus.

Pp. 634-644. A. Ludwich denies the existence of the plural form of *πρόσωπον* for the poets Colluthus and Nonnus, and emends accordingly.—K. Schumacher. The narrative in Livy XXXIII 18 is confirmed by an inscription published in Bull. de corr. Héll. VIII 358 on the conquest of Πισύνη and Κίλλανδος.—C. Weymann shows that Alcimius Avitus (Carm. IV 499) *Inter se tumidos gaudet committere fluctus*, is a transformation of the obscene line Martial I 90, 7.—S. J. Werner has discovered in a Zurich MS, C. 58 (275), Saec. XII, a shorter description of the dies Aegyptiaci than that published by Schmitz, Rh. Mus. XXIII 520. It consists of 22 lines in poetry and a prose index.—G. Mollat calls attention to three incunabula hitherto unknown, preserved in the library at Cassel. They are Cicero de officiis, sine loco et anno; Aesopus fabulae XXXIII trad. Laurentius Valla, Nuremberg, and Auctoritates variorum, Deventer 1497, Jac. de Breda.

W. M. ARNOLT.

¹ See A. J. P. VII 534.

² See A. J. P. IX 237.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PÄDAGOGIK. 1888.

Fascicle I.

1. Beiträge zur deutung antiker namen. C. Angermann. 1. Ἰκαρος, Ἰκάριος, Ἴκος, from root *sik*, "benetzen," "befeuchten." 2. Sagra, Σάγρος, from root *svag*, an old form of *sik*. 3. Ἀθήναι, "the heights," from which are derived Ἀθήις, Ἀττική. 4. Κίμων, from root *κίμο*, Skr. *ṣjāma*, "dark," "whitish." Thus Miltiades is "the red" (μυλτός), Κίμων "the whitish." 5. Aesis, Aesar, Isara, from root *is*, "schwellen." 6. Names of places in -este. Segesta, "Starkenbourg"; Praeneste, "Hochheim."

2. Zu Homers Ilias. A. Scotland. Δ 79-85 and E 267 are probably interpolations.

3. Biblische parallelen zu Homeros. Ul. Krenkel. A very interesting and apparently complete (30 pp.) collection of similarities in thought or expression.

4. Review of Cichorius' *de fastis consularibus antiquissimis* (Leipzig, 1886), by F. Rühl, Königsberg. This review is mainly an outline of C.'s work, which is praised in very high terms. It reaches the conclusion that the capitoline fasti are simply eine kontamination der Fasten des Macer und der von Diodor bis 328 benutzten.

5. Conjectanea Pausanica, by H. Hitzig, Zurich. Critical notes on I-VI.

6. Tyrsenisches von Kyllene, by K. Tümpel, Neustettin. On certain forms of the Hermes and Aphrodite cults.

7. Zu Sallustius, by Opitz, Dresden. Critical notes on Cat., Jug., and Col. 8, 9, 10, 17.

8. Das reciproke verhältnis bei Caesar durch *se*, *ipsi se* ausgedrückt, by R. Menge, Halle. The purely reciprocal relation in Caesar is indicated by either *inter se* or *se ipsi (ipsi se)*.

9. Review of Waltz's *Oeuvres d'Horace*, by R. Robrik, Belgard. This edition by Waltz (professor at Bordeaux) is intended mainly for advanced students in Horace. It is a good, somewhat expurgated edition, and contains an excellent and satisfactory introduction devoted to the life and the language and meters of Horace. The text is mainly that of Keller and Holder (1888).

11. Über eine Trierer Caesarhandschrift, by M. Manitius. This MS has been employed in the composition of chapters 9-12 of the *gesta Treverorum*, which are taken bodily from Caesar's B. G. It takes, therefore, a middle position between the MSS of the first and second classes.

12. Zu Ausonius und Apollinaris Sidonius, by Manitius. This has to do with the assertion of Sidonius that Anthemius in his youth learned all the wisdom of Greece, including the sayings of the Seven Wise Men. Some of these he quotes. The present article is to show that these quotations are from the 'Ludus septem sapientum' of Ausonius, or an abbreviation of it.

Fascicle 2.

13. Zur geschichte und composition der Ilias (continued). K. Brandt. V. Über eine zweite bearbeitung der alten epopöe vom zorne des Achilleus. H 313-K 579 comprise a late extension of the original "Wrath of Achilles," which latter, B 42-H 312, is to be assigned to a date near the first Olympiad.

14. Zur Katharsis des Aristoteles. K. Göbel. G. compares Plat. Leg. VI 790e, *δειμαίνειν*—*ἐμφορᾶς ἔχειν*.

15. Die neueste übersetzung des Anabasis. G. K. A sarcastic notice of one of the publications of the enterprising Ph. Reclam.

16. Zu Platons Politeia. K. J. Liebhold. Very interesting critical notes on 19 passages.

17. Vermischte bemerkungen, 37-50. F. Rühl. A series of miscellaneous notes, the longest being on the order of the books of Diyllos, the division of the works of Philistos, and the date of Kleitarchos's "floruit."

18. Zu Hesiodos Theogonie. A. Ludwig. A note on 48.

19. Review of Merguet's Lexicon zu den philosophischen schriften Ciceros mit angabe sämtlicher stellen (erster band), by M. Hölzl. It has been with praise and pleasure that the special lexicographical work of Gerber and Greff (lexicon Taciteum), and of Merguet, Meusel, Menge, and Preuss, who have published Caesar-lexica, have been welcomed. In 1884 Merguet finished his lexicon to the Orations of Cicero; he is now undertaking the production of a lexicon for the Philosophical writings. There are to be about 60 lieferungen (12 each year), 8 of these constitute the first volume, and are very favorably reviewed in the present article.

20. Über die handschriften von Ciceros Deiotariana, by C. F. W. Müller, Breslau. A refutation of Nohl's classification of the MSS as he has given it in his "Orationes selectae," published by Tempsky-Freitag.

21. Zu Vergilius Aeneis, by Th. Maurer, Mainz. Critical notes on X 107 and 279.

Fascicle 3.

22. Euphorionea. G. Knaack. I. A list of words used by Lycophron which are found also in Euphronion. II. A number of fragments referred to the Chiliades and an attempt to outline the contents of the poem.

23. Analecta medica. M. Wellmann. I. The physician Petro, mentioned by Celsus and by the scholiast upon Il. A 624, is identical with Pliny's Peteichus and Galen's Petronas. II. On the relation between the scholiasts upon Nikander and Dioskorides.

24. Zu Sophokles Antigone. Th. Breiter. Notes on 287 and 392.

25. Zu Platons Apologie. O. Apelt. In 19 c, for *μή πως ἐγὼ*, read *μή ποθ' ὥς ἐγὼ*.

26. Kritische bemerkungen zur geschichte Timoleons (cont. from Jahrb. 1886, p. 319). Ch. Clasen. The narrative of Diodoros, drawn from Theo-

pompos, is more trustworthy than the prejudiced account which Plutarch gives, and which may be referred to Timaios. The colonization by Timoleon took place after the overthrow of Syracuse, and after the peace with the Carthaginians. The battle of Krimisos was not earlier than 340-339.

27. *Ac* und *atque* vor consonanten, by P. Stamm. This article embodies an attempt to prove from Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, and Livy these points: (1) *atque*, as well as *ac*, is very common when within one and the same sentence one idea is added to a preceding one; (2) *ac*, and not *atque*, is used when a whole sentence, or a rather fully developed clause, is appended, in which case there very frequently stands after *ac* a negative, a preposition, a conjunction, or an adverb; (3) after expressions of likeness or unlikeness both *atque* and *ac* may stand.

28. Zu Ciceros Briefen an M. Brutus, by O. E. Schmidt, Dresden-Neustadt. The critical treatment of a number of passages as an illustration of how S. understands the text has been improved. He repeats his views of the critical apparatus as he has set them forth in his edition of the letters.

29. Zu Aeneis und Ilias (vgl. Jahrb. 1886, s. 500-502), by Th. Plüss. An analysis of the episode of Nisus and Euryalus with the purpose of showing Vergil's manner of scene and character sketching.

30. Review of the Zeitschrift des vereins zur erforschung der rheinischen geschichte und altertümer zu Mainz, hggb. von W. Velke (dritten bandes, viertes heft). This makes special mention of the work of Heim and Welke, and reviews it favorably.

31. Zu Silius Italicus, by L. Bauer, Regensburg. Critical observations on a large number of passages.

Fascicle 4.

32. Homerische probleme (continued). F. Weck. Critical discussion of six passages in the Iliad.

33. Athene-Mentes in Ithake. A. Scotland. S. defends the traditional reading in Od. *a*, and suggests a number of interpolations in different places.

34. Zu Hesiodos. A. Ludwig. The form of the word *ἄγυιη* in the Antimachos MS, Od. *a* 85, is precisely the same as found in Hesiod.

35. Bemerkungen zu Aristophanes. W. Pökel. Critical notes on 42 passages from the different comedies.

36. Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen. A number of textual criticisms on books IV to XIII, by F. Polle, Dresden.

37. Über *se* und *inter se*, by K. Göbel. A reply to Menge (fasc. 1). In the case of transitive verbs in which the idea of reciprocity already rests, like *coniungere*, *conciliare*, *disiungere*, *disparare*, the mutual relation is usually indicated simply by the reflexive pronoun. *Ipsi se*, or *se ipsi*, in Caesar serves not to express reciprocity, but to intensify the subject.

38. Review of H. J. Müller's L. Annaei Senecae oratorum et rhetorum sententiae divisiones, by R. Opitz. A very favorable review, although in a

number of places O. proposes certain corrections or additions. The work is one which has been actually needed and cannot be ignored by any future student in Seneca.

39. Zu Seneca Rhetor, by M. C. Gertz, Kopenhagen. Proposed emendations.

40. Zu Persius, by H. Blümner, Zurich. On I 80. It is proposed to read *farrago* for *sartago*.

41. Chronologische vorurteile, by W. Soltau, Zabern. In reply to Niese's claims concerning the chronology of Diodorus, published in the Gött. Gel. Anz. 1887, pp. 831 ff.

42. Zu Livius, by Berndt, Herfod. Critical note on XXI 8, 4.

Fascicles 5 and 6.

43. Zu Lysias. A. Weidner. Textual criticism of a number of passages from orations 10-31.

44. Das Griechische heer bei Plataiai. J. Beloch. The total strength of the Greek army must have been somewhat over 60,000, a number which was seldom surpassed in later Greek history.

45. Der überfall von Plataiai. A. Bauer. A vigorous argument against Junghahn's theory (Jahrb. 1887, p. 748 ff.) of a second recension of the works of Thucydides.

46. Zur nautik der alten. R. Oehler. The hitherto accepted interpretation of *λογγῶνες* (*τρητοὶ λίθοι*) is correct, Breusing to the contrary notwithstanding.

(17). Vermischte bemerkungen, 51-63. F. Rühl. Notes on various passages from Livy, Justin, Vegetius, etc., with a discussion of the question of the founding of Kyme in Italy.

47. Zur Anthologia Palatina. H. Stadtmüller. Critical notes upon 10 passages.

48. Zu Kallimachos. E. Dittrich. In fr. 172, for *γυνή* read *γρόνη*.

49. Diphilos und Hikesios. M. Wellmann. The physician Diphilos is the source from which Hikesios drew his material.

50. Über die poetischen fragmente des Asinius Pollio, by F. Harder, Berlin. Ausser dem zweifelhaften worte *caminus*, das einem verse entstanden sein *kann*, besitzen wir von des Asinius dichterischer thätigkeit nichts als den rest eines mutmasslich galliambischen verses, an dem eine kühnheit des ausdrucks auffällt: *Veneris antistila Cuprus*.

51. Zum Catonischen gründungsjahre Roms. L. Triemel. This is directed against Unger's hypothesis, namely, the year 739.

52. Auguralia, by P. Regell. On Fest. 241b 31, and 333a 9.

53. Zu Horatius, by E. Anspach, Cleve. In reply to E. Schultze (Jhbr. 1887, pp. 621-627); this is therefore written in defense of the genuineness of c. III 30, 2.

54. Ad Orientium, by E. Bährens. Critical notes.

55. Zu Seneca und Minutius Felix, by E. Bährens. Critical notes.

(20). Über die handschriften von Ciceros Deiotariana, by H. Nohl. In reply to C. F. W. Müller (Jhbr. 1888, p. 138) in defense of his classification of the MSS.

56. Die quellen von Charisius I 15 and 17, by F. Bölte, Frankfurt-am-Main. This discussion covers forty pages of this number of the Jhbr., and constitutes a series of "kritische beiträge zur geschichte der römischen national-grammatik."

57. Zu Tacitus Historien, by F. Walter, München. On I 66.

E. B. CLAPP.

W. E. WATERS.

HERMES, 1887.

III.

H. Schrader. Die Ambrosianischen Odyssee-Scholien. An attempt to sort these Scholia and to fix more accurately their age and value than had been done by Dindorf. Of the latter's work S. says, with some exaggeration, possibly: "ein Symptom des unerhörten Zustandes des uns bei Dindorf gebotenen Scholienmaterials der Odyssee." The three MSS are independent of each other as far as the scholia are concerned; consequently there is no prospect of reducing the bulky material to a more modest compass.

I. Beloch. Das Attische Timema. B. reiterates his contention (against Boeckh and the recent editor of the Public Economy) that the assessment of the first class of taxpayers did *not* amount to one-fifth of the assessed value. Incidentally Beloch claims that there was a system of taxing real estate by assessing the demes, quoting C. I. A. II 1055: καὶ ἐὰν τις εισφορά ὑπὲρ τοῦ χωρίου γίγνηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Αἰξίων ἐας εἰσφέρειν; also II 1059: ἐὰν δὲ τις εισφορά γίγνηται ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τοῦ τιμήματος, τοὺς δημότας εἰσφέρειν.

Th. Thalheim. Zu Deinarchus. Critical notes on the text. Very close study is everywhere manifest, but it is very doubtful whether the difficulties emphasized in many cases ought to be considered sufficient cause for changing the text. The faulty and awkward expressions may be chargeable to the author himself.

G. Heylbut (Hamburg) publishes a MS of Ptolemaeus, περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων, in which Ammonius is followed to a great extent; still there are many things not found in that writer. Distinction is made e. g. between ῥις and μυκτήρες, φεύγει and ἀποφύγει in the legal sense, between ἀπολογεῖσθαι and ἀπολογίζεσθαι, ἀμφί and ἀμφίς, ἀνάμνησις and ὑπόμνησις, ἄμα and ὁμοῦ, θεατῆς and θεωρός, αἶθε and ὀφελον; οὐδέποτε to be used of past or future, οὐδεπώποτε of the past only: "ὥστε οἱ λέγοντες οὐδεπώποτε γενήσεται σολοικίζουσιν;—τιμωρεῖν and τιμωρεῖσθαι; ἡ χάραξ and ὁ χάραξ, ἐπίκουροι and σύμμαχοι, ἔνεκα and χάριν, δεσπότης and κύριος, ὀφειλῆμα (public debt), χρέος (private); ἀναβάλλεσθαι and ὑπερτίθεσθαι, ἀρρωστος and ἀρρωστῶν, εὐφνής and εὐμαθής. Useful for younger students is the following definition: ἡ ἀπὸ πρόθεσις τῆς παρὰ διαφέρει· ἡ μὲν

γὰρ ἂ πὸ τίθεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων, οἷον ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐρχεται, ἢ παρὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐψύχων οἷον παρὰ Σωκράτους ἐρχεται. The positive character of αἰδώς and the negative of αἰσχύνη are well marked. Other instructive distinctions are made between χλαῖνα χλανὶς χλαμύς, λαχεῖν and κληρώσασθαι, ἀτέχνως and ἀτεχνῶς; ἄχρι and ἄχρις, διπλοῦς and διπλάσιος, ὅτι and διότι, οἰκαδε and εἰς οἶκον, σημεῖον and τεκμήριον, εὐφραίνεισθαι (defined as intellectual and sentimental pleasure), ἡδεσθαι (sensuous, a distinction not borne out by classic Greek); κιβωτὸς and κίστη. The proper designation of the stages of life is given as follows: βρέφος, παιδίον παιδάριον, παιδίσκος, παῖς; the next stage πάλης or βούταις or ἀντίταις or μελλέφηβος; then ἐφηβος, μενίσκος, μενίσκος, νεανίσκος, νεανίας, ἀνὴρ μέσος, προβεβηκώς, also called ὠμογέρων, γέρων, πρεσβύτερος, ἐσχατογέρων. The Atticistic tendency of the collection is evident from the article on ἀπελεύθερος and ἐξελεύθερος: "ἡ δὲ μὲντοι καὶ ἀδιαφόρως χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν." The drift of the list is rather phraseological than antiquarian; there are but few articles like that on μέτοικος and ἰσοτελής.

H. Diels. Herodotus and Hecataeus. Diels dissents from those who hold that Herodotus derived nothing whatever from literary tradition, while he rejects the view of those who consider Herodotus a clever and unscrupulous compiler. Hecataeus of Miletus seems to have been almost the only one of whom Herodotus made considerable use. First Diels discusses the authorship of Hecataeus, and claims for the fragments substantial authenticity. He traces allusions to Hecataeus particularly in the account of Egypt (Bk. II). The passage in which the Delta is called a "gift of the Nile" Diels considers a bodily transfer from Hecataeus; and he further compares Hdt. II 77 with Hecataeus fr. 290 (Müller). (The expression in Hermogenes, de Ideis II 423, 'Ἐκαταῖος παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, refers to style.) The account of the crocodile and of the hippopotamus in Hdt. II 68, 71, according to Eusebius Praepar. Ev. X 3, p. 466, is copied from Hecataeus. An earmark of Hecataeus' compositions seems to have been his fondness for etymology (as it was a weakness of his contemporary Heraclitus of Ephesus), and Diels, following this clew, attempts to identify a number of passages in Stephanus Byz. as Hecataean.

C. Robert. Archaeologische Nachlese: Atlanta (vase-painting at Bologna), the Sibyl of Marpossos (on certain paintings of Pompeii), birth of Apollō (lid of the Borghese sarcophagus).

Kubitschek (Vienna). Civitates mundi: according to a stray date in a Paris MS (ninth century) there are "in hoc mundo" 5627 "civitates." Kub. finds that this approximately agrees with Ptolemy's geography, both cities and tribes being counted.

The same. On the text of the Geography of Ravenna (last edition by Pinder and Parthey).

IV.

Kaibel. Sententiarum liber quartus. Critical notes on passages in Aris-tophanes' Thesmophoriazusae, Thucyd. VIII 67 (ἀνατρέπειν), Athenaeus, Simonides fr. 47, Apollonius Rhodius, Timon of Phlius (in Sextus Empiricus), Hom. Iliad.

Rassow. Zur Hekabe des Euripides. R. maintains that vv. 92-97 cannot be genuine because they involve a grave discrepancy in the economy of the drama. As a matter of fact it is not known that Polyxena is to be the specific victim at the tomb of Achilles before Ulysses enters upon the stage. From this Rassow infers that the extant parodos has been "worked over," the traces being particularly manifest in 92-97, 104-143, 187-196, 267-270. He also calls attention to the apparent discrepancy between the words of the chorus 98-103 compared with 444-450, a discrepancy exaggerated, as it seems to me. By such means the trace of the 'ueberarbeiter' is found or seen elsewhere.

Rothstein. Critical notes on (Ps.-Longinus) *περὶ ὑψους*.

Th. Mommsen. Die Römischen Provinzialmilizen; cf. Hermes, Vol. 19, 246. Mommsen gives a list of such troops (1-300 A. D., in the provinces) which appear neither as *cohortes* nor *alae*, in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Alpes Maritimae, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, Cappadocia, Syria, Mauretania. These troops were militiamen, an institution which was confined to a portion only of the imperial provinces, none being found in the senatorial provinces. These troops rank below the regular imperial troops.

R. Schöll (Polycrite) discusses a painting on a marble slab in the Central Museum at Athens: a man and a girl, "Lysimachos" and "Polykrite"; the letters suggest the period 479-431 B. C. Polycrite, daughter of Lysimachus (cf. Plato's Laches), is known as the grandmother of Aristides, the granddaughter as well as the son receiving support from the public treasury (Plutarch, Aristides 27); the marble slab, however, bears the image of a young man, probably a son of Lysimachus and brother of Polycrite. Schöll quotes the general mode of procedure under which such bounties were bestowed, from an inscription published by Kumanudis, *Ἀθήναιον* VI 271. Among those who received *σίτησις* in the Prytaneum were also the interpreters of the Delphic oracles (*ἐξηγηταὶ Πυθόκληστοι*), such as Lampon, the contemporary of Pericles and Hierocles. Of these interpreters there seem to have been regularly three.

E. Maas. Untersuchungen zur geschichte der Griechischen Prosa. 1. On the extant speeches of Gorgias. There is a composition extant among the writings of Hippocrates entitled *περὶ φνσῶν*. Choice of words and arrangement stamp this performance as Gorgianic. *Parisa*, *Parisoseis*, *Homoioteleuta*, etc., occur in profusion, and the performance closely resembles the typical speech of Agathon in Plato's Symposium. The same combination of rhetorical figures is found in the Eulogy of Helen, preserved in the MSS as of Gorgianic authorship. This latter work has evidently served as a model for passages of the former. The fact that Isocrates' *ἐγκώμιον Ἑλένης* does not allude to Gorgias' eulogy does not prove anything against it. The excess of rhetorical adornment in the Gorgianic Helen should not be adduced as an argument against genuineness; cf. Dionys. Hal. Lys. 3: *ἐν πολλοῖς πάνυ φορτικὴν καὶ ὑπέρογκον ποιῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ οὐ πόρρω διθυράμβων φεγγόμενος*. This speech, as well as the Defence of Palamedes, Maas considers to be genuine, the absence of individual traits in the latter notwithstanding. [Whether the fact that avoidance of hiatus is observed in Gorgias is sufficient basis for the inference that Isocrates learnt this from Gorgias may be doubted.—E. G. S.] As to date,

Maas compares Antiphon V and promptly infers dependence in the latter from a few stray and slender data ; hence the Palamedes is older than Antiphon V—is, in fact, the oldest piece of Attic prose we have.

2. Herodotus and Isocrates. The political debate (Hdt. III 80-82) on the choice of different forms of government is a *τόπος κοινός* such as the Sophists were wont to start, and Maas infers from the occurrence of similar ideas in Isocrates that both derived their ideas from a third source, perhaps the *καταβάλλοντες λόγοι* of Protagoras.

Mommsen. Symbols for numbers and fractions. Earlier figures (letters) for 50, 100, 1000, etc., became obsolete. The symbols for fractions are based on the corresponding words, being the initials of the latter: S *semis*, Σ *semiuncia*, Τ *teruncius*, etc. Further details treat of the designation of weight, of copper and silver money: HS for the system of sesterces, * for that of denarii.

Hülsem (the pomerium of Rome in the imperial era) revises the material with which Jordan operated, e. g. the following inscription: "ex. S. C. collegium augurum auctore Imp. Caesare Divi Traiani Parthici F. Divi Nervae Nepoti Traiano Hadriano Aug. Pont. Max. Cos. III Terminos Pomerii restituendos curavit." A kindred *cippus* (of Claudius) was found in 1885, evidently in its original position. Details of Jordan's views are corrected.

B. Kübler. Notes on Julius Valerius de rebus gestis Alexandri, a critical edition of which is said to be urgently required. It was first discovered by Angelo Mai in 1817 (reprinted Frankfort, 1818), and later also published by C. Müller as an appendix to Dübner's Arrian, Didot, Paris, 1846. There are but two MSS, one at Milan, of the ninth century, and one at Paris, of the fourteenth.

Miscellen. *μάσθλης* (Br. Keil) is of the third declension, -ης, not of the first, and becomes obsolete after the fifth century.

E. G. SIHLER.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY desires to express his deep obligations to Professor CHARLES FORSTER SMITH, of Vanderbilt University, who has kindly undertaken to read the proofs of this number.

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WHOLE No. 39.

I.—ON THE CONCEPTION OF LOW COMEDY IN ARISTOPHANES.¹

Readers of Shakspeare will readily admit that such a passage as Hamlet's advice to the players may be taken as the author's lecture to the house on the proprieties of acting. Multiply such passages, introduce them as freely as was permitted by so unparalleled a degree of direct intercourse between author and audience as obtained in the Old Attic Comedy, and we should be able to gain a perception, partial indeed, but clear, of the poet's theory of dramatic art. In the plays and fragments of Aristophanes, expressions of opinion in regard to what things are creditable or legitimate in comedy, and what is not, occur in considerable number. Yet no one, hitherto, has taken the trouble to collect them, or to dissect the plays themselves in order to test how much or how little coincidence may be traced between the playwright's principles and his practice. Such utterances, to be sure, may be considered extraneous deliverances. Why not confine ourselves to analyzing the eleven extant plays of our author, and whatever remains of the twenty-nine lost ones?

The true criticism, of course, is that which begins with Aristarchos, by explaining Homer from Homer alone. The creative mind is sensible of a corresponding impulse. An artist is not obliged to ask the world into his workshop. Michael Angelo burned his sketches. Works of art explain themselves; we must learn their language. But the greatest artists have often been great teachers as well. Goethe, uncovering to view the secret

¹ An abstract of this paper appeared in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association for 1886.—B. L. G.

springs and workings of the poetic faculty, offsets Michael Angelo. And the Scholia Veneta, closely conned, will betray that even Aristarchos shared the inconsistency common to other leaders of thought. He, too, exclaimed his "Never, never!" forgetting his deviations toward the track of Zenodotos or Krates of Mallos from the strait trail blazed by himself. The law is paramount, not absolute. Analysis cannot unravel every synthesis. How many hearers or performers of Wagner's Lohengrin, unacquainted with his writings, recognize the descent of the Sangreal in its wonderful *ouverture*? The classical philologist and archaeologist, called upon to deal with fragments and torsos, corrupt texts and blunt replicas, with imitations of lost models, with parodies of originals now unknown, and caricatures of types forever defunct, can least afford to neglect casual revelations. It were different if the technical manuals known to antiquity, such as were written by some of the foremost architects, statuary, painters, orators, poets, playwrights, had survived. As it is, the horizon must be scanned for the faintest beacon that can flash a saving ray through a murky fog. The most trivial anecdote should be thoroughly exploited. Apelles, asked why he had painted Tyche, the goddess of Chance, seated, tartly answers: *οὐχ ἔστηκε γάρ*—because chance does not stand still. We all feel for the interviewer; but this is not all. The more than Roman baldness of the allegory is in the manner of Apelles and his time. Let your eye fall upon some terra-cotta slab with figures whose action recalls the proverbial expression "to take time by the forelock," and if nothing controverts the notion of an allegory, you will think of Apelles, or since your slab is a piece of sculpture, of his contemporary and rival Lysippos. Now listen to a description by Himerios (Ecl. XIV 1) of a noted work by that statuary: "Lysippos was not only a cunning craftsman, but also a brilliant thinker. Why, asks some one, what ideas did he ever put forth? He inscribed Kairos (Time, or rather Moment) among the gods, and made his nature plain by its image, embodying it in a statue. As well as I can remember, the work is after this fashion. Fancy a boy of soft proportions on the verge of youth, with flowing locks from his temples to his forehead, but with the posterior portion of his head bald, his right hand armed with a knife, his left held over a pair of scales, with his ankles winged, not that he may float above the ground, but so that while seeming to touch the soil he may steal up deceitfully without pressing it." Like Kairos, possibly, the poet who so often and

lovingly alludes to the glistening cerebral surface that earned him the nickname *ὁ φαλακρός*, evasively as, borne along on wings of imagination lent him by his own Birds, and bearing the bar of his scene-shifter's balance nicely poised on the razor-edge of his wit, he may slip from under *Metanoia's* fingers, may offer to *Pronoia* a forelock by which she can seize and hold him.

I find scattered through the plays of the great Aiginetan smiler passages I classify as follows :

1. Plain statements of what is right and wrong in drama and comedy.

E. g. ἀλλ' ἀποκρίπτειν χρὴ τὸ πονηρὸν τὸν γε ποιητὴν,
καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβώσιν δὲ ποιηταί.
πάνυ δὴ δεῖ χρυστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς.—*Ranae*, vv. 1053-1056.

What is wrong should be hid by an author.

He should not by any means drag into light, or put on the boards what is wicked;
For a teacher of children is he that instructs, while poets are teachers of grown folk.

And hence we are bound to tell only the good.

Or negatively :

οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐστὶ τῶ διδασκαλῶ
ἰσχάδια καὶ τραγῳδία τοῖς θεωμένοις
προβαλόντ', ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν.

Plutus, vv. 797-799.

For it is not meet in the author of a play
To throw to his spectators figs and sweets,
Making them laugh at this.

2. Self-glorifications to the audience.

One passage will supply both positive and negative example.
His play comes on the stage, not with all manner of farcical tricks.

ἀλλ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεσιν πιστεύουσ' ἐλήλυθεν.
κἀγὼ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ὢν ποιητὴς οὐ κομῶ,
οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ζητῶ ἔξαπατᾶν δις καὶ τρίς ταῦτ' εἰσάγων,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καινὰς ἰδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι,
οὐδὲν ἀλλήλαισιν ὁμοίας καὶ πάσας δεξιᾶς.—*Nubes*, vv. 544-548.

Reliant on itself alone, and what it may have said.
And yet a poet such as I keeps still his level head,
And never seeks to swindle you rehashing twice and thrice;
For every play that I produce brings something new and nice.

3. Censure of predecessors and rivals.

In this, praise of himself is always implied, oftenest expressed. So he touches on the wretchedly careless performances of early comedy, in two fragments of the Danaids:

ὁ χορὸς δ' ἄρχεῖτ' ἂν ἐναψάμενος δάπιδας καὶ στρωματόδεσμα,
διαμασχαλίσας αὐτὸν σχελίσιν καὶ φύσκαις καὶ ῥαφανίσιν.

Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, fr. 253.

When the chorus danced in a costume of rugs eked out with pieces of ticking,
With spare spareribs and sausage-strings and radishes under its armpits.

οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἢ ποίησις δέικετο.—Fr. 254.

To such a degree was comedy then but a holiday task for the players.

Or he accuses a contemporary of plagiarism:

ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς χλανίδος τρεῖς ἀπληγίδας ποίῶν.—Fr. 54.

Cutting from that mantle of mine three poor mantlets for himself.

The verse is a Eupolidean; enough to identify Eupolis as the "three-coated knave." Perhaps he is alluded to in the "twice and thrice" of the lines just quoted; if so, these lines, like the verses

Εὐπολὶς μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρείλκευεν

ἐκστρέφας τοῖς ἡμετέροις Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς.—Nubes 553, 554.

On the stage his Marikas thus Eupolis brought with ill design,
Palming off our play of The Knights misconceived in every line.

were inserted in the revision; for the Marikas, an attack on Hyperbolos, which would seem to have been modelled by Eupolis too much on the lines of his jealous young rival's Knights, was performed two years later than the First Clouds (Schol. Ar. Nub. 552). The Knights had been written in collaboration. It is quite likely that Aristophanes took a lion's share of the credit. Kirchhoff thinks (Herm. XIII 292) that Eupolis took occasion to vindicate his authorship of the parabasis by inserting it, with slight alterations, in his own piece. Fritzsche, according to Kock, s. fr. 54, identified the other two pieces Aristophanes had in mind as copies of the Knights with the Golden Age—which was virtually Mark Twain's and Dudley Warner's Gilded Age in a former state of existence, with Kleon in his prime for its special butt—and with the Autolykos. With Kock, I take exception to the pertinence of the latter piece. The pivotal figure of the Knights is that strange impersonation of the sovereign populace, twy-

natured Demos, who at the close is restored to his foretime glory. It is the Demoi of Eupolis, with its deliverance of the state from the incompetence of its politicians through the citation from Hades of the true statesmen, Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, and Perikles, that, more than any other of his known pieces, resembles the *Knights* in conception—which does not prevent its having served as a model for so different a piece as the *Frogs*. Some palpable similarity must have existed to make the gibe of Aristophanes possible, although I admit the justness of Cobet's remark (*Obs. crit.* 66, 7) that the flings of comic dramatists are not to be taken "*ad amussim*."

4. Before passing to another classification of the utterances, the sum of which I regard as having the value of a partial restitution of the poet's conscious literary creed, let me dispose of a category allied to my second and third, and which embraces commendation of kindred minds in the field of comic authorship. Krates is praised in a patronizing tone, ironically, for the cheap wit of his nonsense verses about ivory caviare, leather bottels, and fleet-footed crabs:

ἦν μέγα τι βρῶμ' ἔτι τρυγθοποιομουσική,
 ἥνικα Κράτητί τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
 λαμπρόν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπόνως παραβλημένον,
 ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρλ' ἐκχιλίζετο.

Fr. 333, from *Thesm.* II.

The musical farce of an earlier day was a precious dish what year
 Poor Krates tickled the general with his ivory caviare,
 Unticklishly concocted, for all it looked so bright,
 Like the thousand similar trifles he giggled with artless sleight.

Compare fr. 29 of Krates himself, and *Knights* 537-539:

οἷας δὲ Κράτης ὀργὰς ὑμῶν ἠνέσχετο καὶ στυφελιγμούς·
 ὅς ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπεν,
 ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας.

What caprices of yours poor Krates endured! What derision and anger intense!
 From you he had breakfasted often and well, albeit at little expense,
 With the nonsense-jingle that his clear voice could attune to the merriest sense.

In the same way Magnes is commended, cordially enough, for the astonishing abundance of his resources in operatic stage-craft, *Knights* 520-525.

Kratinos is unreservedly exalted for his tempestuous force, and this in verse that imitates so grandly the torrent flow of his, that I

am disposed to think Horace acknowledged its spell in his famous tribute to Pindar. We know that the epode "*Beatus ille*" is imitated from Aristophanes (compare the long fr. 387, from the Islands).

Εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, δε πολλῶ ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὸς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προβελέμους.

Equites, vv. 526-528.

Again, he remembers Kratinos, whose flow in the pride of his praise
Came down as a flood on the valley, uptearing the trees from their base,
And bearing his foes with the oaks and the poplars adrift on its face.

Nor are his palpable hits in political song forgotten :

ἄσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ πλήν' Δωροῖ συκοπέδιλε,
καί' τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων· οὕτως ἤνθησεν ἐκεῖνος.

Eq. vv. 529, 530.

When "*I fain would steal*" was the only song that any would call for at wine,
Unless it were "*Ask me no more*"; for he blossomed and bloomed like a vine !

But the brilliancy of his former achievements also serves to place the dulness of his later efforts, his vapid λῆρος, now that he is played out (the figure is elaborate; the author elsewhere speaks of γέροντες ἐκκεκρουμένοι, just as he says τοῦ γὰρ τεχνίζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς, "for clever trickery we take the cake," Thesm. v. 94), vv. 531-536.

It is Euripides in whose mouth, in order to convict him out of it, Aristophanes puts his definition of the office of the poet :

ΑἲΣ. τίνας οὖνεκα χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητήν;

ΕΥΡ. δεξιότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.—Ranae, vv. 1008-1010.

ΑἲΣCH. Now what is the thing in a poet we ought to admire ?

ΕΥΡ. His wit, to be sure, and the teaching he does, whence citizens learn to aspire

To the good in our towns.

There is no flavor of "art for art's sake" about this, nor will it be found anywhere in Aristophanes. In the succeeding verses the effect of such plays as the Seven against Thebes and the Persians is dwelt on. All great poets, says Aischylos, have been great teachers as well, their works are storehouses of useful knowledge (Frogs 1013-1036). From Homer Aischylos took shining exam-

ples of virtues, the emulation of which is profitable to the state (1040-1042). With this the practice of Euripides is contrasted (1043-1046), and its evil influence is exposed (1047-1051). To Euripides advancing that his subjects were given as he took them, the answer is that it is a poet's duty to cover and hide evil (1053, 1054), for the reason that they are the teachers of the people (1054-1056, the lines quoted first of any). Treatment and words must comport with the greatness of the sentiments and thoughts to be expressed by them; in this Aischylos is as successful as Euripides is deficient (1056-1064):

ἀνάγκη
μεγάλων γνῶμῶν καὶ διανοιῶν ἴσα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τίττειν.

Is it Aristophanes or Matthew Arnold¹ that is extolling to us the important quality of "high seriousness," the *σπουδαιότης* wherein Aristotle² sought the distinction of poetry from prosy fact?

The poet can specify as well as he generalizes. Unlofty treatment does not command the respect essential to the moral effect of example (1064-1066). The quibbling spirit encouraged by Euripides has corrupted the younger generation (1069-1076). And then the charges against Euripides are recapitulated (1076-1098), especially as regards the *physical* degeneracy of the "jeunesse dorée" of Athens. The picture drawn of it is an antithesis to the promises made to Pheidippes on condition of his accepting the guidance of the Δίκαιος Λόγος (Clouds 1002-1014), and a parallel to the alternative there described (Clouds 1015-1023). Aristophanes' conception of corporeal beauty is, like his political, social, and literary views, an archaizing one; the sculptured figure of Aristion, who was possibly a body guardsman of Peisistratos, or the similar one from Ikaria, which Mr. Carl D. Buck publishes in the March number of the American Journal of Archaeology for this year, will best illustrate his description of the ideal, old-time Athenian physique.

The comic poet, if he too is to be a teacher, must have a policy to advocate before his people. The best exposition of Aris-

¹ "The superior character of truth and seriousness, in the matter and substance of the best poetry, is inseparable from the superiority of diction and movement marking its style and manner. The two superiorities are closely related, and are in steadfast proportion one to the other."—Matthew Arnold in his Introduction to Ward's English Poets.

² Aristot. de arte poetica 9: φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν.

tophanes' policy is the parabasis of the Acharnians, that is to say, the *παράβασις κατ' ἐξοχήν* (vv. 628–658). Impelled to declare himself by the accusation of having satirized Athenian institutions in a malicious and unpatriotic fashion, in the play "The Babylonians" (vv. 628–632), he recounts his good deserts, which are well understood abroad (vv. 633–658). He claims credit for having cured the Athenians of their guileless susceptibility to interested flattery, a weakness that often made them victims of wily strangers (vv. 633–641), and for making his fellow-citizens aware of what is going on in the subject cities (v. 642). The poet is actuated by public spirit, he advises things that are for the good of the city (v. 656, as in the *Wasps*, vv. 1017 and 1037, and the *Peace*, vv. 759, 760). His doctrines are called by their promulgator "the right" (*τὰ δίκαια*, Eq. v. 510, Ach. vv. 645, 655; *τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον*, 661), "the best" (*τὰ βέλτιστα*, Ach. v. 658), or "those of the best" (Eq. vv. 507–510), or merely "lots of good things" (Ach. v. 656), which he proposes to himself to inculcate without wheedling, offering of bribes, or humbug (Ach. v. 657), trickery or flattery (Ach. v. 658). He will be and is plain (*Vesp.* v. 1015), frank (*Nub.* v. 518), and true (*Nub.* v. 519), no respecter of person provided his onslaught be a justifiable one (*Vesp.* vv. 1025–1028), not open to corruption by bribes (*Vesp.* v. 1036). He boasts in many passages of his readiness to show that he has the courage of his convictions; to declare what is right in mid-Athens is a risky business, yet he did so, and earned a reputation abroad by so doing:

παρεκινδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια.

οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης ἤδη πόρρω κλέος ἦκει, κτλ.

Ach. vv. 645, 646.

τολμᾷ τε λέγειν τὰ δίκαια,

καὶ γενναίως πρὸς τὸν Τυφῶ χωρεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐριώλην.

Eq. vv. 510, 511.

In the *Acharnians* already, he bravely threatened to chop Kleon to pieces for the benefit of the knights (Ach. vv. 300, 301), and defied him, confident in a just cause (vv. 659–664). And his performance must have given him immense satisfaction, to judge by such grandiloquences as he uses whenever he refers to the fray; so *Wasps* 1029–1036, where it is assimilated to the combat of Herakles with the Trojan shark or the Lernaean hydra, it is hard to tell which. It is well known how he actually was obliged to act the part of the Paphlagonian in the *Knights* in person, because

no actor dared to put on the portrait mask of Kleon that he required it to be played in; so he brags in his next piece of how he made bold to strike the monster in the paunch, though too generous to jump on him when he was down (*Nubes*, vv. 549, 550). The admission that he got a horsewhipping for the first attack sheds a queerish light on this noble impulse; of course he denies that he gave bonds to keep silent (*Vespae*, vv. 1284-1291), although shamefully deserted by those who should have supported him—to *punish them* he boxed up his jokes for a brief while. But his war upon the sophists and idle speculators, socialists and lawless conspirators, those fevers of the body politic, was equally meritorious, almost. The alarm of these people was great when they saw that Aristophanes had risen up against them, a powerful

ἀλεξίκακος τῆς χώρας τῆσδε καθαρτῆς (v. 1043).

The more shame on his people to fail him at this juncture, i. e. to place the Demijohn of old Kratinos and the Konnos of Ameipsias, trivial plays, before their champion's *Clouds* (*Vespae*, vv. 1037-1050), the best comedy ever played, its author assures them. With Aristophanes, his last-performed piece is always his best, with the sole exception of the play on which the curtain is lifted!

All this may seem to have very little bearing on the subject of low comedy, but it is the necessary prelude to an intelligent collection of the direct references to whatever was classed under that head by the author of the *Knights* and the *Birds*. It is his conception of low comedy I would apprehend and examine, not my own. The proof of what I have just said is found in the parabasis of the *Peace*:

... ἀφελὼν κακὰ καὶ φόρτον καὶ βωμολοχεύματ' ἀγεννῇ,
ἐποίησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν ἀπύργωσ' οἰκοδομήσας
ἔπεσιν μεγάλαις καὶ διανοίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν οὐκ ἀγοραίαις,
οὐκ ἰδιώταις ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμῳδῶν οὐδὲ γυναῖκας,
ἀλλ' Ἑρακλείους ὀργὴν τιν' ἔχων τοῖσι μεγίστοις ἐπεχείρει . . .

Pax, vv. 748-752.

By leaving aside the disgrace of the stage, low farce and the quips of the mart,
He founded and built us a structure of stone, a truly magnificent art;
For he cast great thoughts in magniloquent form, neither found half his jokes in
the gutter,
Nor cared to attack with his weapons of wit small fry and the feminine
flutter;
But fired with the ardor that Herakles felt he attempted the hardest of labors.

Then follow the verses from the Wasps describing his great conflict with the hydra from the stinking tanner's vat (Peace 752-759 = Wasps 1030-1036, with few slight verbal alterations). We see that on his pre-eminence in the virtues and merits he ascribes to himself rests his claim to be considered the founder of the *τέχνη μεγάλη*, of the grand style in comedy. His are the new plots and clever conceits that his hearers ought to carry home and put with the quinces between the folds of the articles of dress in their clothes-presses, so that they may keep the aroma of his wit about them (Wasps 1051-1059). His is the mystic choir that will have nothing to do with whomsoever the ponderous Kratinos has not initiated to the pure service of Bakchos, with whosoever, knowing not the orgies of the nobler Muses, rejoices in vulgarities introduced out of place (Ranae, vv. 354-358).

Now for the incuse reverse of this Capuan medal. To learn his negative merits, let us begin with the enumeration of the ignoble vulgarities, farcical business, and other evils happily sifted out and thrown away as not comporting with the high seriousness of this grand style, this new gospel of comedy, of which Aristophanes is the evangelist. It is the prelude to his more positive deserts in the same parabasis of the Peace :

ἄξιος εἶναι φησ' εὐλογίας μεγάλης ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν.
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους μόνος ἀνθρώπων κατέπαυσεν
 εἰς τὰ ῥακία σκώπτοντας αἰεὶ, καὶ τοῖς φθειρσὶν πολεμοῦντας·
 τοὺς δ' Ἡρακλῆας τοὺς μάττοντας, καὶ τοὺς πεινώντας ἐκείνους
 ἐξήλασ' ἀτιμώσας πρῶτος, καὶ τοὺς δούλους παρέλυσεν
 τοὺς φεύγοντας κᾶξαπατῶντας καὶ τυπτομένους ἐπίτηδες,
 οὓς ἐξῆγον κλάοντας αἰεὶ, καὶ τούτους εἵνεκα τουδί,
 ἵν' ὁ σύνδουλος σκώψας αὐτοῦ τὰς πληγὰς, εἴτ' ἀνέροιτο,
 ὦ κακόδαιμον, τί τὸ δέρμ' ἔπαθες; μὲν ὑστρίχῃς εἰσέβαλέν σοι
 εἰς τὰς πλευράς πολλῇ στρατιᾷ κἀδενδροτόμησε τὸ νῶτον;

Pax, vv. 738-747.

So even his rivals were forced to "reform altogether" the low comedy whose principal method of provoking laughter was the constant and wearisome employment of farcical stock scenes and properties, rags and lice, the Epicharmian figure of Herakles gorging himself and wagging his ears, or ravenously hungry, slaves cheating their masters outrageously, or chased and beaten, then brought in blubbering to be butts for wrought jokes by a comrade: Poor fellow, was it a cat-of-nine-tails that invaded your ribs with superior numbers and devastated your back?

What a vivid vision this sample-list gives us of the nature of φόρτος, τὸ φορτικόν, or ἡ φορτικὴ κωμωδία, as it is severally styled. But suppose we take another one, found in the prologue-argument of the Wasps :

ΞΑΝ. φέρε νυν κατείπω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον,
ὀλίγ' ἄτθ' ὑπειπὼν πρῶτον αὐτοῖσιν ταδί,
μηδὲν παρ' ἡμῶν προσδοκᾶν λίαν μέγα,
μηδ' αὖ γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον.
ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος
δούλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις,
οὔθ' Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐξαπατώμενος,
οὔδ' αὖθις ἐνασεलगαινόμενος Εὐριπίδης
οὔδ' εἰ Κλέων γ' ἔλαμψε τῆς τύχης χάριν,
αὖθις τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα μυττωτεύσομεν.
ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λογίδιον γνῶμην ἔχον,
ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐχὶ δεξιώτερον,
κωμωδίας δὲ φορτικῆς σοφώτερον.—Vespae, vv. 54-66.

Mark that Aristophanes descends in the Wasps from the too lofty level of the intangible Clouds to a bid for popular appreciation, but not to the catch-penny devices of the farcical comedy. And what may these be? Megarian jokes, not imitations of the early Megarian comedy, a fiction Wilamowitz has exploded, but ridicule of their Dorian neighbors, always pleasing to Athenian ears, in one category with which belongs the brace of slaves that scatters nuts from a basket among the audience, belongs Herakles choused out of his dinner, would belong the repetitiousness of making Euripides do duty again as the butt of the author's wit, or of making another onslaught on Kleon. This shabby custom of scattering fruits is again reprehended on the occasion of a show offering for the recovery of sight by Plutos (see vv. 768, 769):

ΓΥΝΗ. φέρε νυν, νόμος γάρ ἐστι, τὰ καταχύσματα
ταυτὰ καταχέω σου λαβοῦσα. ΠΛ. μηδαμῶς.

Plutos, vv. 789, 790.

Again :

ΓΥΝΗ. εἴτ' οὐχὶ δέξει δῆτα τὰ καταχύσματα ;
ΠΛ. ἔνδον γε παρὰ τὴν ἐστίαν, ὥσπερ νόμος·
ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν φόρτον ἐκφύγοιμεν ἂν.

Plutos, vv. 794-796.

The author always contrives to work some unexpected joke out

of the *καταχύσματα*, however, the occurrence of which in so many plays was the pretext for the fig-scramble diversion. They are to him what a hat of peculiar individuality is to Dr. Holmes, an irresistible object to wreak his wit upon. Often it is but the merest ghost of an allusion, unintelligible out of its context; often the reader is but permitted to guess at an actor's significant look or movement. Yet the incomparable poet himself evidently stooped to this execrable trick once, if not oftener, as may be seen from Peace 959-972, where the servants of Trygaeos throw barley spelt and splash water on the house, and that in immoderate quantities. Of course, the preacher had to kick over the traces once in awhile, if only to give his moralizings a new lease of life with the old joke. If introducing the torch as a coercive in the *Lysistrata* (1216-1218, compare 1221) is deprecated as *φορτικόν*, farcical, and one of the distinctions of the *Clouds* is the suppression, in its performance, of torches and inarticulate howls, it is only from the singeing that follows the shaving of Mnesilochos by Euripides in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (236-248), accompanied with his shouts of pain, that we obtain a true perception of the laughableness of this sort of buffoonery. "I am scornfully amused," if I may quote Ruskin in this assemblage, at any one who should know his Aristophanes as thoroughly as Kock taking him as seriously as he does (see the notes to the prologue of the *Frogs* 1-18, in his edition of the play). With genius, especially when it is sportive, glaring inconsistencies are a matter of course. In that passage, if anywhere, the moralizing is hardly more than a hook from which to hang the very vulgarities, the *βωμολοχεύματα ἀγεννή*, so severely condemned. Aristophanes plays a double part, he is both the god who forbids his slave to complain of his load (vv. 3-5), and the slave that hastens to ejaculate the precise words (vv. 20 and 30) he has just been forbidden to employ. But to complete the list of things and doings peculiar to the low comedy of Aristophanes, having noted these forbidden words and inarticulate expressions of loaded slaves, I turn to another comprehensive passage, already quoted from :

ὥς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ' ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἦλθε ῥαψαμένη σκύτινον καθειμένον,
ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου, παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ἢ γέλως·
οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακροὺς, οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' εἴλκυσεν,
οὐδὲ πρεσβύτης ὁ λέγων τᾷ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ

τύπτει τὸν παρόντ', ἀφανίζων πονηρὰ σκώμματα,
οὐδ' εἰσῆξε δᾶδας ἔχουσ', οὐδ' ἰοὺ ἰοὺ βοᾶ,
ἀλλ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεισιν πιστεύουσ' ἐλήλυθεν.

Nubes, vv. 537-544.

The new features in this description of things avoided in the Clouds, characteristic, like the poor jokes, beatings, and inarticulate howls already touched upon, of the φορτική κωμωδία, are the survival on the stage of the phallus and the obscene dance cancan-kordax, and one of lighter weight, though not to be condoned by a poet whose own head had grown beyond the hair-line, viz. heartless allusions to the baldheads. The juxtaposition of the cancan-kordax proves that the perennial reflections of our own comic papers on the same subject are a true Attic survival! Indecencies, generally, come under the same head of φόρτος, and are more than once condemned on this account, as Vespaie, vv. 1173-1176, Eccl. v. 371, where the condemnation is faint, or Nubes, vv. 293-297; they should be left to the τρυγοδαίμονες, who are identical with the ἄνδρες φορτικοί, of whom Phrynichos is chief. Of him Aristophanes speaks as of the patron saint of the kordax (Wasps 1490); it is from him that Eupolis copies this feature, together with the drunken old woman that introduces it in the Marikas (Clouds 553-556); it is his name that heads the triumvirate of farcical playwrights in the prologue of the Frogs: Φρύνιχος . . . καὶ Λύκις κάμειψίας. Ameipsias is again branded as an ἀνὴρ φορτικός in the Clouds, with the great Kratinos himself, who, galled perhaps by the taunts in the Knights, had roused himself to administer a signal defeat to Aristophanes and the Clouds on its first performance (Clouds, Argument V):

εἴτ' ἀνεχώρουν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φορτικῶν
ἤττηθείς, οὐκ ἄξιός ὢν.—Nubes, vv. 524, 525.

What happened? I departed beaten, upon my word,
By writers of low comedy, improperly preferred.

In fine, not a word of censure for the writings of rivals and not a self-glorification in the whole of Aristophanes but contributes to draw more and more sharply, to make more and more distinct, the line that divides the low comedy, that of his predecessors and rivals on the comic stage, from the grand, which is his own. At the first blush, to be sure, accusations of plagiarism like that flung at Eupolis, or the malicious comment on the theft of a figure about eels by certain other imitators (Clouds 559), would hardly seem

to be tantamount to a characterization of the pieces in which they occurred as partaking of the nature of low comedy. With Aristophanes, however, they are. The stock scene, the stale joke, the stolen plot and figure, are φορτικά.

οὔτε ποιηταῖσι γὰρ
σκληροῖς ὁ δῆμος ἥδεται κάστεμφέσιν.—Fr. 579.

For the people takes
Small pleasure in poets hard-rooted in a rut.

His pride is based on having broken with all this:

οὐ γὰρ τίθεμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον
ὥσπερ τέως ἦν, ἀλλὰ καινῶν πραγμάτων.

Fr. 528, from the Telemessians.

The reason even his genius attacked comic composition in the firm conviction that it was the most difficult of all arts—*νομίζων κωμφοδοδιδασκαλίαν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον ἔργον πάντων*, Equites, v. 516—is his unwillingness to make it easy by letting his reputation depend on his skill at tricks he despised:

λόγῳ γὰρ ἡγωνιζόμεσθ', ἔργοισι δ' οὔ.

Fr. 529, *e restitutione Bergkii*.

On words, not on stage business, we depended.

Of course, Aristophanes must not be taken too seriously. He cracked his ancient or vulgar jokes with perfect equanimity. The old grammarians, who had his originals before them, were able, as a modern one is not, to point out his petty stealings, *e. g. Schol. in Thesmoph. ad v. 215*, τα γένεια δὲ ταῦτα ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰδαίων Κρατίνου, one of the very *ἄνδρες φορτικοί* of the moralizing plagiarist. But after all, a conscious ideal as laboriously kept in view as Aristophanes occasionally betrays his was kept, even in the routine elements of his stage-craft—

ἀλλ' ἐξάγει', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ', ὀρχούμενοι θύραζε
ὑμεῖς ταχύ. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,
ὀρχούμενον ὅστις ἀπῆλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῶδων.

Vespae 1535-1537.

So tread it along, if you like, and dance away to doorwards
As quick as you can; for as yet no play had this conclusion,
Or author of comedy dared dismiss his chorus dancing.

will leave its trace. Certainly none will deny that the success of Aristophanes' endeavor to

ρήματά τε κομψὰ καὶ παίγνι' ἐπιδεικνύναι
πάντ' ἀπ' ἀκροφυσίων κάπῳ καναβευμάτων.—Fr. 699.

Produce or delicate phrase or bright conceits
Fresh from the modelling stand and bellows' snout.

was at least proportionate, to accept Matthew Arnold's equation between a writer's substance and his style, to the happy medium he claimed for the diction he had modelled on that of Euripides; comp. his characterization by Kratinos as *εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων*, Euripidaristophanes, as it were, and fr. 471, from the Tent Strikers:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἤττον ἢ κείνος ποιῶ.

I use the roundness of his mouth; my thought
I try to keep less every-day than his.

as he himself defines it:

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως,
οὐτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικότεραν.—Fr. 685.

Mine is the middle language of the town,
No feminine prattle super-citified,
Nor country swains' rude speech.

ALFRED EMERSON.

II.—NOTES IN VERBAL MORPHOLOGY.

1. *Some types of dissyllabic roots.*

The theory of dissyllabic roots, as given by de Saussure and by Hübschmann (*Idg. Vocalsyst.*, p. 180 sqq.), invites extension in directions which seem to promise important results. Before suggesting one or two efforts in this line, I should like to add one or two points in which the theory as it stands appears to elucidate questions in verbal morphology hitherto dark. The unthematic verbal-stems given by Brugmann (*Handb.* §113 sq.) as Cl. i, b and c, viz. *svdþimi* κρέμαμαι, and *vāti* ἄFησι, seem to represent in different ways dissyllabic roots of the type *genē*. A root of this kind when accented on the first syllable before a person-suffix would produce the type *genō-t*; when accented on the second, *gnē-t*. With the heavy suffixes the ordinary abstufung would produce from both the type *gñ-mós*; this appears regularly in the first type, cf. Skt. *brdvīmi*: *brūmś*. The absence of abstufung in the second type—*vātds* ἄFεντι ἔγνωμεν—might of course be explained by levelling in the I. E., but this is very unlikely in view of the persistency with which the ordinary root-class exhibits weak forms. More probably the forms belong to different periods. Before the “tonlos tiefstufe” was produced there was still a trace of the vowel of the first syllable left, which allowed the long vowel to remain unchanged while the heavy suffix was added. This remained in the final period just as the long *ē* of perfect forms, *sēduōs*, etc., remained untouched, through being hysterogenous. However this may be, one thing seems clear, that long vowels in the second syllable of roots where a previous syllable’s vowel is lost do not suffer abstufung like the long vowels of monosyllabic roots. Evidence for the longer root-type exists in almost all verbs of this class: witness *jāniman-*, γνωτός, -γνωτος, √ *genē*; E. ken, ἔγνω, √ *genō*; *pīparmi*, πίμπλημι, √ *pelē*; *vātds* ἄFημεν, √ *auē*, etc.

Another example of these roots is seen in the large class of Skt. intensives which “insert” an *ī* between the first and second elements; Whitney, §1002 c. These must have originated in forms with the regular *ī* representing I. E. *a*, and the type being

convenient would doubtless be extended. The norm *genē* would produce an intensive *genāgenti*, Skt. **janijanti* (supposing the intensives original). The form *bharibhṛ* may be regarded either as a regular intensive from a *√bherā** or as an analogic intensive from *√bher*, the existence of the former depending on further evidence. In a case like *caniṣcad* we must either postulate a type *(s)gendāsqnd*, altered by Sanskrit processes of analogy, or much more probably regard it as made up entirely on the model of more regular forms.

We need not be deterred by any *a priori* considerations from extending our conception of "roots" to include a large variety of dissyllabic types. These were once doubtless merely the union of two simpler words in a far earlier period of the parent speech. In a large number of cases these would be nouns, which could be used as verbs by the simple process of adding person-endings; cf. the Indo-Iranian *bhaiṣaj*, a physician, and its verbal developments *bhiṣakti*, *baēqaziāp* (opt.). We can understand now the meaning of "determinatives." Affixing single sounds to a root is meaningless, but affixing syllables may be simply adding one root to another. Thus with I. E. *drā*, *dreu* and *drem* = run, we may assume a simple root *der* amplified by *ā*, *eu* and *em* respectively, the ordinary abstufung reducing the first syllable. An I. E. *sa'n* will similarly produce *snā* and *sneu*, to swim; I. E. *sler* makes *streu*, scatter; I. E. *uer*, *uereu* drag, which must appear either as *ureu* or *uerū*. This process suggests that elements *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, *eu*, *em*, etc., were added to roots, producing not only the dissyllabic roots we have been dealing with, but also the determinatives, by the regular laws of abstufung. The *eu* element gives us some interesting results in two roots. A simple form *uer* appears in Skt. *vr̥ṇōmi*; the norm *uereu* gives us *ῥεῖνω*, *verro*, Skt. *varū-tar-*, *varuṇa* *FopFavōs*. Then a *√ger* makes *kṛṇōmi*, *kur-u* and perhaps *kurmds* = *q̄r̄mōs*, with *ū* by levelling; *qereu* accounts for *karūṇa*, *kārūka*, *kurvānti*, *kurō* and *karōmi*.

Two synonymous roots, *suel* and *suen*, shine, will repay analysis. The first is that seen in *σεῦλας*¹ *σελάννα*, *ῥελέην* *ῥέλα* (the first repre-

¹ I cannot help feeling that *serēnus* must be rigidly kept apart. It is almost the only word in which a Latin *se-* out of *suē-* has been even alleged, and it is quite unnecessary. I believe *serenus* is for *xerenus*, like *super* for *xuper*; it may be then connected with *ξερός*, with Skt. *kṣar*, to flow ("liquidus aether," but perhaps this is rather violent for a word whose differentia is "dryness"), or finally with *ξέω*, *ξεστός*, and so "burnished." The first

senting, I believe, an initial *sv-*, the second *su-*, being sentence-doublets developed in the earliest period of Greek); cf. Skt. *sūvar*, *sūrya*, etc. The *√suen* is required by the Zend *huuēvg* i. e. *suuan-s*, used as gen. of *huuar'*, Skt. *sūvar*, also by the common *hāpra* (scanned *huāpra*), brightness. I trace it also in our *swan*, and in the Latin *persōna*—the meaning "mask" suits our root much better than the traditional *sven* to sound, from which it is also separated by its long *ō*. The interpretation of this *ō* will come through the parallel *suel*. This certainly cannot be dissociated from the Gothic *sauil* and Lat. *sōl*. We thus get a full root *sāuel*, which is simply the name of the sun. Our "root" *suel* is nothing but this old noun reduced by abtufung, and we have a clear hint that any number of seeming verbal roots may have had the same history. The hochstufe *sāuel* produces Gk. **āFēlios*, which in Homer's Aeolic would be *αῦέλιος*, Cretan "*ἄβέλιος*," Attic contracted *ἥλιος*, with the aspirate which the Aeolic psilosis dropped. The second syllable is reduced in Lith. *sdule*. Reductions of both syllables give us *ἀλία*, O. Ir. *sūil*, Skt. *sūrtā*, *sūrya*, O. Blg. *slū-nice*. The ramifications of this root show us what widely different forms may be got by the coincident abtufung of two syllables. Now if *sōl* goes back to *sāuel*, *persōna* is clearly explained by *sāuen*, and the parallel root-words thus found may be explained as due to the junction either of *sāu* and *el*, *en*, or of *sā* and *uel*, *uen*. It is not clear whether the *sa* is in the *ā* or the *ä* series. Some more examples can be given.

severus, *sērius*, Goth. *svera-*, may be connected with a base *sa^uvēr*; an Italic *svēr* (not *suēr*) is, I believe, required by the form *sērius*. The first part of this base might not impossibly appear in the Skt. *sēvate* (in Veda not used outside the present stem), if we could suppose this taken from a perfect or reduplicated aorist of a more primitive root *sav*.

sōpio has an *ō* which contraction will explain most easily. It is clearly a denominative from an old noun **sōp-*, just like *pēd-* and *vōc-*. The short vowel appears in the Zend *hab-dā*, "put to sleep." I am disposed to believe that the difficult long vowel of I. E. root-

gives the easiest meaning, but requires a great amount of suffix-adding to the original root *ksē* or *qsē*. Another word which must be excluded is *Σείριος*, unless *r* and *l* are governed only by caprice. I make it *tveisrījos*, from a noun *tveiser*, like *πάτριος* from *πατήρ*: the root is *tvejs*, to twinkle, lit. to move rapidly (*micare*), seen in Skt. *tveṣ* and Lith. *twiska*. *Σείρ* is formed analogically.

nouns is best explained by contraction of two vowels, one of which vanished by *abstufung* in the weak cases. Here in any case a primitive noun *sa^zueþ-*, whence *sutþnos* and *subnós* (Osthoff), will perfectly explain the *ō*.

sōlor sōlācium may perhaps be connected with Goth. *saivala* (E. *soul*) in the sense of "inspiring." I know no parallels to the production of *sōl-* out of *soi^zuol* or *soi^zul*, but there seems no difficulty.

sōrex against *špaš* can only come from an original declension *sa^zuerak-s surakós*, suggesting a root *sa^zuer*, denoting a shrill noise. The name of the mountain *Sōractē* irresistibly connects itself with this animal.

It is probably unsafe to pry further into the construction of roots. *Abstufung* will provide a conjectural analysis of any root. But this means examining a *prehistoric* I. E. speech, and for this task we have no tools.

2. The *-nā-* class of unthematic verbs.

The regular *abstufung* rules would make this formative suffix appear as *nā : n* after vowels, *nā : ŋ* after consonants, i. e. *nā : n*, *nā : ā* in Skt. and Gk., *nā : n*, *nā : nā* in Latin. Can we find any trace of these normal forms? Some abnormal forms in the Skt. *-neṃ-* conjugation have scarcely received the attention they deserve. Whence comes it that *tanómi* makes *tanvds* and *tanmds*; cf. Vedic *manmdhi*, etc.? No cause can be assigned for this loss of *u*.¹ If, however, we put down these irregularities to the *-nā-* class, all becomes clear. The affinity of these two classes is illustrated by the fact that out of 54 *-nu-* verbs and 48 *-nā-* verbs, at least 13 are common to both. It is by no means a violent supposition to assume that the type *tanmds* belonged to **tanāmi*, while *tanumds* came from *tanómi*, and that the convenient shorter form was thus associated with the *-nu-* verbs. The transfer would be all the easier from the ambiguous appearance of the dual *tanuvds*, where the *u* looks as if it were simply developed from the *v*. The conjectural restitution of the type *krīmds* from *krīnāmi* in Skt. is abundantly justified by the Zend forms which Bartholomae gives in his conspectus of Gāthic verbs (Beitr. p. 41). *Ver^zntē* is clearly more

¹ I notice now that an explanation has been attempted by De Saussure (*Mém.* p. 245). But the "absorption of *u*" is surely impossible, and the parallel *juhmds* is easily explained by the analogy of *tanmds*, etc.

primitive than Skt. *vr̥ṣṣīlé*, and *fr̥iṣṣmahī* (belonging to the Gāthic class of verbs in *-anā-*, *-anau-*¹) is another clear example.

The evidence for the *-ṛ̥-* forms with consonant-ending roots is varied and interesting. The imperative in *-ānd*, i. e. *-ṛ̥- + -nd*, has a good Vedic record, and survives alone in classical Skt. Whitney (§1066 b) gives a curious class of apparent denominatives in *-āya-* which connect themselves with no extant nouns. The great majority of these are parallel with *-nā-* class verbs, as *stabhāydti*: *stabnāti*, etc. With one or two exceptions the rest show nasal stems in Skt. or elsewhere, and the presumption is fairly made that *-nā-* forms existed. Now these formations are exactly paralleled in Greek, if we may assume that *ṛ̥* before *ḱ* behaved just as *ā* did, which there is nothing to prevent. Thus we have *δάμνᾱμι*, *δάμνω* and *δαμάω*, Skt. *damāydti*; *κάμνω* *ḡamāydti* and *ḡamnāti*; *σκιδνᾱμι*, *σκεδάω*; *πέρνᾱμι* (*περάω*); *φέρνῃμι* *vasāydti*; *πῖλναμαι*, *πελάω*; *κίρνᾱμι*, *κεράω*. I shall have something to say about these Greek forms presently. Meanwhile they seem fairly to clinch the argument for the *ṛ̥* formation, which restores the action of law.

But as things are we find, not *kr̥iṣṣm̐ds*, *ḡṛbhām̐ds*, *δυνμαι*, *σκιδᾱμες*, but irregular *nī* and *vā* constructions which refuse to be brought under any rule: Sanskrit only keeps to the old form of the weak suffix when the person-ending begins with a vowel, and Greek does not show it at all. The Greek *ā* is fairly easy to explain, as the analogy of the *ῖσᾱμι* class will come in. The Skt. *ī* is harder, though the dual imperf. *-īlam*, *-ītām* is original (Bartholemae), and the optative weak forms would coincide. This would not mean much alone, but there are other formations in which the *ī* answers to the *ā* of the singular active; thus *adhāt*: *adhīmahi*, etc. And besides the general relationship of *ī* to *ā*, we have evidence of an *ī* which occasionally appears in both Vedic and Gāthic before person-endings; thus *akramīm*, etc. (W. 904 a), (*āstī*) *agrabhit* and *sreuīm*. This cannot have any connexion with the "īṣ aorist": it is probably the extension of types, like *abravīm*, containing a dissyllabic root.

Turning to Greek, I should like to suggest a very simple explanation of a well-known difficulty which the parallels *κίρνῃμι*, *κεράω*, etc., present. Meyer (§29, 59) brings in some very dangerous principles when he would equate *φ* to *ḡ*—without a suggestion of the difficulty—and leave a number of *ι-* forms with an original *e*

¹ Can we assign *ελαίνω*, i. e. *el-nnu-ō*, to this type?

unexplained. The whole question is cleared up by tracing σκίδνῃμι, σκεδάω, etc., to different roots. The first obviously belongs to √ *sghaii*(*d*), whence Skt. *chindāmi*, Lat. *scindo*, *caedo*, etc., the second from √ *sqhed*, Skt. *skhad*. The roots ("sever" and "scatter") are nearly synonymous, and σκίδνῃμι and σκεδάω would inevitably be associated. Then we have a simple proportion σκεδάω : σκίδνῃμι :: κεράω : κίρνῃμι :: πελάω : πίλναμαι :: *πετάω : πίτνῃμι. Then πίτνω and πιτνώ (thematic verbs answering to the *nā* and the *neū* class respectively) get their *ι* from the synonym πίπτω, and doubtless help the other series. This and other analogies will assist Thurneysen's "sonant *z*" to get rid of all the anomalous *ι* forms for *ε*, etc., in Greek.

A somewhat careful examination of the nasal conjugations has brought out very clearly their close affinity, which has been made use of before. It will probably be found that a marked majority of roots conjugated in any of these classes show forms from more than one when all the languages are compared. This prompts us to guess that the suffixes are to be split up as follows. The common element is the weak root plus *n*. We cannot exactly tell under what circumstances the "umlaut" of *n* takes place, producing the class with nasal infix, which apparently has only the thematic *ο* : *ε* added.¹ Add to the common element the determinatives *ā* or *eu*, which came before us in the first part of this paper, and we have the *nā* and *neū* classes complete. The addition of the *ο* : *ε* accented produces the corresponding thematic classes in *νό* : *νέ* and *νυό* : *νυέ*, which must be distinguished from the hysterogenous forms like *δαμνάω* and *ἀνύω*.

3. The suffix of the subjunctive.

There are three apparently distinct ways of forming the subjunctive, represented by the types (1) λύσομεν, ἴσῳται, (2) φέρωμεν, φέρετε, *ferētis*, (3) *ferāmus*, O. Blg. *bera*, etc. We cannot reduce these in number, for φέρετε = *ferētis* is an identity that can scarcely be questioned, and Brugmann's postulated Greek *φέρᾱμεν, etc., is a greater strain on analogy than we can reasonably allow. Thurneysen's account of the "Italo-Keltic *ā*" does not seem probable. A further difficulty comes in when we ask what is the rationale of the first type above. How does ἴδομαι differ from φέρομαι? Are the forms originally distinct, or had the thematic root-class at first

¹ See Brugmann M. U. 3, 148 sqq.

a kind of subjunctive meaning. I propose to explain all the forms by giving the mood a single mood-sign, like the optative. This sign was \bar{a} ; it is curious that both this and the optative \bar{i} form feminine nouns. Now let us suppose that the subjunctive had always the thematic vowel before its mood-sign: we may compare the optative type *bhérois* (where the σ has probably overrun the province of the ϵ). Then in non-thematic formations, whose subjunctives are never accented on the person-suffix or thematic vowel, we get types like *uefd-o-mos* (perf.), *lilgs-e-the* (s aorist), *tn-néu-o-nti* (pres.). In these the unaccented mood-sign has sunk to its "tonlos tiefstufe," i. e. has vanished altogether, leaving the thematic vowel alone. The formations must be supposed anterior to the contraction period. In the thematic verb-formations we divide off two classes: (1) with accent on root, (2) with accent on thematic vowel. In (2) the natural subjunctive will be *uidó- \bar{a} -mos*, *uidé- \bar{a} -the*, the \bar{a} appearing in the "nebentonige tiefstufe"; hence the later I. E. contracted forms *uidōmos*, *uidethe*, Gk. *Fιδεμεν*, *Fιδητε*, Skt. *vidātha*. In (1) it is not unreasonable to assume that the modal \bar{a} kept its accent, since the existing accent lay at a distance on the root-syllable and could be more easily conquered by the new addition; possibly also the continuous nature of these formations encouraged a stress upon the vowel which marked so continuous a mood as the subjunctive. Thus we get *bhero- \bar{a} -mos*, *bhere- \bar{a} -the*, which by Osthoff's contraction law (*Perfekt*, p. 123) became *bherāmos*, *bherathe*. The subsequent levellings of accent and tense distinctions do not need explanation.

4. The formation of the sigmatic aorist.

The "*vrddhi*" form which appears in the Skt. - s - aorist, traceable also in Greek and Latin (Brugmann, *Grd.* I, §314 n), is probably to be explained by analogical action in the I. E., the starting-point being verbs with vowel anlaut. Thus from the root $e_{\bar{a}}$ we should have an aorist flexion $\epsilon_{\bar{a}}ism$, $\epsilon_{\bar{a}}isr$, $\epsilon_{\bar{a}}isnto$, which gives us types $e_{\bar{a}}ism$, $\epsilon_{\bar{a}}isr$, and augmentless $\epsilon_{\bar{a}}ism$, $isnto$; these types are exhibited in $\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$, O. P. $\bar{a}i\sigma a$, $\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$, $ierit$ ($= \epsilon_{\bar{a}}i-\sigma s-et$, subj. of the " $i\sigma$ -aorist"), more or less altered by levelling. Hence by analogy we get from $\sqrt{ne_{\bar{a}}}$ the forms $ne_{\bar{a}}ism$, $ne_{\bar{a}}isr$, $nisnto$, etc., to which the augment was prefixed unsuspectingly, and the formation thus started which is systematized in Skt. There the form of the sing. has overrun the whole active, and the middle adopts the analogy of the augmented or unaugmented middle from the presumed

type. The apparently capricious choice between these two is somewhat elucidated by the fact that *dnēzi*, etc., are equivalent in rhythm to *drutsi*, the norm of roots with consonant auslaut, which of course is the original form unaffected by analogy. Whitney gives (§884, 887) some forms which do not agree with the rules; it is noteworthy that only *ddizi* and *asthiḡata* violate this rhythm. These, like the 1st sing. injunctive type *stuḡé* (W. §894 d), have preserved their form unaltered.

5. *The reduplication-vowel i.*

The curious Greek type of intensives exemplified by *δαδάλλω*, *παιφάσσω*, *ποιφύσσω*, *άίσσω* (= *Fai-Fik-iō*), etc., represents, I think, the original parent of the common form of reduplicated presents. It is not well supported in Skt., where it only appears in the case of roots containing *i*; but this admits a considerable number of forms. Moreover, the assimilation of the reduplicating and root syllables was so prevalent in Skt. that there is no difficulty in supposing the type one among many original forms of the intensive. This formation (including both verbs and nouns) had clearly a large element of caprice in it, the main object being apparently the making of a heavy initial syllable. Granted then that an I. E. intensive type existed with an accented *i*-diphthong in the reduplication, it was natural that a weaker form of intension should be indicated by the same form with accent on root or suffix and consequent sinking of the reduplicating syllable to a consonant with *i*.

J. H. MOULTON.

III.—THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN DIALECT.

V.

ENGLISH MIXTURE.

Speech-mixture in P. G. falls naturally into two divisions: (1) *English mixture*, the subject of the present chapter, (2) *German mixture*, or dialectic fusion, to be treated elsewhere.

The thesis that P. G. is essentially a German dialect and not a compromise between German and English has been adequately maintained in the foregoing chapters on phonology and morphology, which are the true criteria of speech classification. In the chapter on syntax it was seen that English had made inroads into the dialect to a very great extent. The present chapter is designed to set forth the nature and causes of this infusion of English, and the laws which govern this mixture of speech elements.

The problem involved is one of exceedingly complex nature: (1) As regards the German elements brought into contact with the new environment. They were not simply members of one German race, representing one separate German dialect, but members of various races, speaking as many dialects with their provincial patois—Swiss, Suabians, Bavarians, Alsatians, Pfälzer, Saxons. (2) As to their social rank. They did not represent the same social class, but a great variety of social conditions—men of noble rank, like Zinzendorf (who, to be sure, did not settle permanently in the new land); men of profound learning, like Pastorius; men of wealth, like the Crefeld merchants; sturdy pioneers of civilization, like Nitschman; soldiers of fortune—or rather of misfortune—like the Hessians, whom destiny called to defend their new fatherland before taking possession of its fair fields; skilled artisans of almost every trade. (3) As to religion. Devout men of varied persuasions and religious beliefs—Lutherans, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Herrnhuter, Friends, Huguenots, Pietists and Mystics. Add to these facts the conditions of life which they found here: (1) the ethnic elements—English, Scotch, Irish (cf. IX, p. 77); (2) the social and political changes constantly developing in the flux

and flow of our mobile American life; the dominant power of English as the recognized official speech, its growing influence through the public school, its superior advantages as the language of cultivated society. All these are constant forces in the processes of speech-growth under consideration. The elements, then, which enter into our treatment are the Germans with their variety of language and life, on the one hand, influenced by the new conditions of language, institutions, and life—mostly English, Scotch, and Irish—on the other. The discussion will fall under three separate headings: (1) The proportion of English in P. German; (2) the nature of this mixture; (3) the causes and laws underlying this speech-development.

It does not fall within the scope of this chapter to treat at length the influence of English on P. G. phonology. A word must suffice. To the most casual observer, the Germanized pronunciation of English in many P. G. localities is noticeable. So, too, English makes its impression upon the pronunciation of German. A variety of phonological stages or products is distinguishable. The two extremes are comparatively pure—Pennsylvania German, on the one hand, and English on the other, each with its own *basis of articulation*. A very large number speak both languages with remarkable purity. Between these extremes there are those who speak both German and English with the German basis of articulation, and those (I should think relatively few) who speak both English and German with the English basis. It is possible that English influence is traceable in certain P. G. sounds closely resembling the corresponding English sounds, as, for example, P. G. *v* and *p*; cf. phonology.

Proportion of the English to the German Element in P. German.

In order to determine the exact proportions of English in Pennsylvania German it will be necessary to examine not only the representative *literature* of the dialect, but also the *language as spoken* by the people in their various pursuits and conditions of life. The peasant girl, now in the kitchen, now in the field; the quiet farmer, rarely venturing beyond the nearest market-place; the active merchant, breathing the invigorating atmosphere of commercial life; the professional man, in constant contact with keen scrutinizing intellects; the statesman, the scholar, and the poet, must all contribute material for our investigation from their

peculiarities of vocabulary, syntax and style. Let us examine the speech of these representative classes.

1. *Glossaries.* There are two approximately complete dictionaries of the P. G. dialect, both published since Prof. Haldeman wrote his "Essay on Pennsylvania Dutch." Of these two lexicons, that compiled by E. H. Rauch and published in his *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook* (P. G.-N. E. and N. E.-P. G.) contains, to quote his own words, "Schir fir deusend wërdtə, biseids ə deusend mēnər ɛs ɛus əm englisch gənummə sinn," thus making an aggregate of about 5000 words. The second of the above-mentioned dictionaries is that published by Prof. A. R. Horne in his book entitled "*ǵm Horn sei~ Pennsylvānisch Deitsch Buch*" (P. G.-N. E.-N. H. G.). This is by far the most complete and scientific lexicon of the P. G. speech, and contains 5522 words. In addition to these two dictionaries there are three other incomplete glossaries, one appended by H. L. Fisher to his "*ǵs ʏlt Maerikhəus mittəs in dər Schdott*," the second to his "*Kurzweil unn Zeitförtreib*," the third published by Bausman as a "Wortverzeichniss" to Harbaugh's "Hərfe."¹

A word-by-word examination of these glossaries gives the following results :

"ǵm Horn sei~ Buch,"	5522 words, 176 English.
Rauch's "Hand-book," circa	5000 " 1000 "
Fisher's "ǵs ʏlt Maerikhəus"	2181 " 63 "
"Kurzweil unn Zeitförtreib,"	1983 " 21 "
"Wortverzeichniss" to H.'s "Hərfe,"	245 " 123 "

It must be stated, however, that the "Wortverzeichniss" is only a list of the most unusual words, and hence not representative. None of these glossaries except Rauch's attempts to give a full list of the English words in the dialect. If, then, we allow for the number of German words not contained in these collections, and the unrecorded English words actually in use among the people, the entire P. G. vocabulary would number about 6000 words. The figures given above, however, do not represent the exact proportion of English in the dialect, because the frequency with which

¹ Since this was written, a quite exhaustive glossary of the P. G. dialect (P. G.-English) by Dr. Hoffman has appeared in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Dec. 1888. This is, however, little more than a revision of Horne's dictionary. The author acknowledges no sources by name, and hence gives us no clue as to his mode of procedure.

these English words occur is not taken into consideration. To ascertain this let us examine the following specimens.

Southwestern Section.

In Harbaugh's poem, *ḡs Schulhous vn dər Krik*, consisting of thirty-one five-lined strophes (900-1000 words), there are only fifty-one (51) English words, including six (6) recurrences of the work *Krik* and four (4) of the word *juscht* identifiable with the N. H. G. *just*. Some strophes have no English words, none have more than four. In the same book (Harbaugh's *Hörse*) is one of the most pathetic poems in the dialect, *Zum ḡ~denkə vn Dr. H. Horbach*, by Rev. C. Weiser. This poem of nine six-lined strophes (nearly 400 words) contains but two different English words, *juscht*, referred to above, and *schtoppə* (English stop) twice. The next selection, ten poems by Rachel Bahn, contains 117 four-lined stanzas (2800-3000 words). Of this number only 66 are English, including 11 recurrences of *nvu* and 7 of *juscht*. Miss Rachel Bahn has sent me a prose description of Autumn (177 words) in which not a single English word is to be found.

In Fisher's *ḡlts Zeitt*, a poem of some 323 seven-lined strophes, there are, according to my count, only 318 unquestionably English words (including a large number, such as "*awful*," "*potatoes*," "*cottage-cheese*," which have good P. G. equivalents, *schrecklich*, *grumbərə*, *schmirkəs*, and are consciously regarded as intruders, inasmuch as the author writes them in italics). Fisher's P. G. translation of Bryant's "Rivulet," *Kurzweil unn Zeitfərtreib*, pp. 135-9, contains circa 600 P. G. words and no English. This is remarkable as showing the capacity of the dialect. In order to illustrate the proportion of English in Fisher's prose we have chosen two selections. The first is the *Förwort* to his *Kurzweil unn Zeitfərtreib*, containing about 500 words, in which the English *gəpublisch*t occurs twice, *juscht* and *nvu* once each, and the possible English *flint* in the expression "*mei~ flint zu pikə*." The second prose selection from Fisher is from a P. G. correspondence in which he discusses P. G. orthography, vocabulary and kindred topics. In the prose portion of about 300 words the only English word which occurs is "*local*." To complete our examination of the literature of the Southwestern Section the following newspaper selections have been made:

The first article, *Dī Saelli will trə vks gəschlifə hvvə*, from

the *Penna. Staatszeitung* (Dec. 25, 1884) of Harrisburg, Pa., contains about 750 words, of which 48 are English, including repetitions of *lekshen* and *nuu*. The next selection, *Dem Kaepfen sei~ Chrischt-Kindel*, from the *Lancaster Volksfreund und Beobachter* (Dec. 24, 1884), contains about 850 words, of which (proper names excepted) only 22 are English.

Northeastern Section.

The first selection, Rauch's P. G. translation of Brutus' speech on the death of Caesar (Shakespeare's Julius Caesar), printed in Rauch's *Handbook* (p. 218), contains 247 words, of which but 10 are English. In an original article by Rauch ("Pit Schweißbrenner") in the *Carbon County Democrat* (Mauch Chunk) there are about 850 words, of which 123 are English. Rauch's P. G. translation of *Rip Van Winkel*, consisting of 26 pages, of about four hundred words each, averages about 20 English words to the page. From Wollenweber's *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* two selections have been chosen: (1) a prose selection, *Di Faeschens* (pp. 75-76), containing 384 words, of which 22 are English; (2) a poem, *Im Sommer* (p. 19), of 3 seven-lined stanzas containing 131 words, of which but three are English. Zimmerman, in his P. G. translation of C. C. Moore's *Night before Christmas* (circa 500 words) employs only 29 English words. Tobias Witmer's poem, *Seks Ur* (Horne, pp. 59-60), of 9 four-lined stanzas (circa 300 words), contains but 10 English words. Prof. Horne's biographical sketch of Lawrence J. Ibach (Horne, p. 80) contains 160 words, of which 7 are English. Conrad Gehring's sketch of *Gov. Hartranft* (Horne, pp. 74-75) contains 200 words, of which 9 are English. Rev. Eli Keller, in his best poem, *Der Keschtblym*, 52 verses (about 550 words), makes use of the English *mēpəl*, *mēpəlblit*, *nuu* (once each), and *juscht* (twice). The same writer, in No. 2 (about 250 words) of a series of 10 P. G. poems (circa 2500 words), in the Allentown *Kolennar* for 1885, does not employ a single English word. M. C. Henninger, in his poem (Horne, pp. 61-64), *Js Fvra in der Trēn* (12 eight-lined stanzas, about 500 words), makes use of 28 English words. These selections might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough has been given to show the proportion of English to P. G. in the dialect as written.

Of the *spoken dialect* the prose selections given are fairly representative, especially those from Fisher, Rachel Bahn, Rauch, and

Gehring. In order to give completeness to the treatment of the spoken language, let us consider the result from conversation taken from the lips of the speakers themselves. The results of the author's researches in these dialectic colloquies with the people who speak the dialect as their vernacular were two-fold: (1) verification or correction of what had already been written or printed; (2) collection of new materials, which have been used in various portions of this treatise. From these materials, collected in the workshop, in the field, in the kitchen, in the drawing-room, in the store, in church, in the railroad train, in the mixed assembly, we draw the following data.

Southwestern Section.

In a conversation of five or six P. Germans around a store at Manchester, York Co., Pa. (July 5, 1884), the writer noted during the course of an hour the following English words: *hitching-post, crossing, stable, butcher, of course, reaper*. In an afternoon spent in the kitchen of a farmer near Manchester about a dozen English words were heard.

Northeastern Section.

During a conversation between persons from Zieglersville, who were fellow-passengers on the Philadelphia and Reading R. R., the following English words were heard in the course of about an hour's ride: *of kors, gəsætisfeid, aekkommodētə, ləkəschən, fēr-strēt, well, raepids, dollər, Graend Tronk, eidə (idea), əbʊt (about), gəschtoppt (stopped), tip-top (tiptop = N. H. G. ausgezeichnet, herrlich), nu un n den (now and then), sələd məhɔgəni (solid mahogany), seləbrəschən (celebration), sēm steil (same style), terrəs (terrace), gəts (gates), influəns (influence), ɛðər (ether)*. In a tour around the Bethlehem market the following English words were heard among those who spoke P. German: *welschkaern* for English roasting-ears (which, by the way, the speaker did not understand), *rūbaerb* (rhubarb), *gummər* (cucumber), *trunks* (trunks, N. H. G. koffer), *kollekt* (collected, p. p.), *həmrons* (home runs). In the Allentown market in a similar walk the following were noted: *pek* (peck, measure), *tendə* (attend), *ikwəl tū* (equal to), *libərti* (liberty). The speakers referred to in all the above selections are distinctively Pennsylvania German and employ the language as their vernacular. There are, of course, strata of society where the language represents a more decided compromise

between English and German. Such places are found on the boundaries between German and English settlements and in the larger towns. This stage of language mixture is frequently found in the shops or stores, where both English and German customers congregate. Such mixture is to be found in Rauch's Handbook, as, for example, the conversation in the clothing store. This conversation contains 665 words, of which 44 are English, according to my count.

If, then, we recapitulate in tabulated form the results, we have the following proportion of P. G. and English :

Southwestern Section—Prose.

	Proportion of P. G. to English.
Fisher's "Förwert"	100 to 1
" " Letter "	300 to 1
" Penna. Staatszeitung "	15 to 1
" Lancaster Volksfreund " etc.	38 to 1
Manchester conversation . . . (possibly)	100 to 1
Kitchen talk (York Co.)	120 to 1
Total average for prose	112 to 1

Southwestern Section—Poetry.

Harbaugh's "Schulheus" etc.	20 to 1
Weiser's "Ųdenkə" etc.	100 to 1
Rachel Bahn's "Gädichtə"	43 to 1
Fisher's "Ųltə Zeitə"	40 to 1
" " "Ųs Bechli" (Bryant)	600 to 0
Total average for poetry	160 to 1

Northeastern Section—Prose.

Rauch's "Speech of Brutus"	25 to 1
" Article	7 to 1
Wollenweber's "Faeschəns"	17 to 1
Gehring's "Gov. Hərtrenst"	22 to 1
Horne's "L. J. Ibəch"	23 to 1
R. R. conversation (possibly)	60 to 1
Bethlehem market	60 to 1
Clothing store (Rauch)	15 to 1
Total average for prose	15 to 1

Northeastern Section—Poetry.

	Proportion of P. G. to English.
Wollenweber's "Im Summər"	44 to 1
Zimmerman's "Nēcht" etc.	17 to 1
Witmer's "Seks Ur"	30 to 1
Keller's "Keschtebēm"	101 to 1
" " "Yus der eltə Zeit"	250 to 0
Henninger's "Fyrə in der Trēn"	18 to 1
Total average for poetry	78 to 1

Character of English Mixture in Pennsylvania German.

The simplest form of English mixture in P. German is found in those cases where the English word has been introduced directly and without serious change of form. By far the greater portion of English mixture is of this kind. A list of the most important words is given here in alphabetical order. The accent is usually the same as in English; long and inverted vowels could not be printed with the accent.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
edyū	adieu	adieu.
effis	office	büreau, amt.
effisər	officer	beamte, officier.
əpərətə	operate	operiren.
əppōsə	oppose	widerstehen.
ərdərə	order	befehlen, bestellen.
ərgəncisə	organize	organisiren.
ərnəməntə	ornament	schmücken.
əktə	act	handeln, spielen.
ədēddə	add	hinzuthun, addiren.
ədēdrəssə	address	adressiren.
ədzhērənə	adjourn	vertagen.
ədmitətə	admit	zulassen.
ədēptə	adopt	annehmen.
ədferdisə	advertize	öffentlich anzeigen. [verb.
əffördə	afford	im stande sein, or können with a
əməndə	amend	(ver)bessern, ergänzen.
əəpplə	appeal	appelliren, sich berufen (auf).
əəpplərdə	applaud	beifall zuklatschen.
əəpppintə	appoint	bestimmen, ernennen.
əəpprəsə	appraise	schätzen.
əəpprūfə	approve	billigen.
əərrēndzchə	arrange	einrichten, ordnen.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
(ær)réschtsə	arrest	verhaften.
aegrīə	agree	einwilligen, übereinstimmen.
aesséssə	assess	einschätzen, besteuern.
aesscīnə	assign	übertragen, überschreiben.
aettaétschə	attach	in beschlag nehmen.
áevəredsç	average	durchschnitt.
bənd	bond	schuldschein, verpflichtung.
bənətbɛx	bonnet-box	schachtel für damenhüte.
bəss	boss	aufseher, meister, vormann.
bəssəm	opossum	beutelthier.
bɛi or pɛi	pie	torte, kuchen.
bædlənsə	balance	balanciren.
bællət	ballot	wahlkugel, stimmzettel.
bænk(s)	bank(s)	ufer.
bætschələr	bachelor	junggeselle.
bell (s. and v.)	bell	glocke, läuten.
béndi (H)	banty (bantam)	bantam-huhn.
bénreɪl	pennyroyal	flöhkraut.
bens	pence	pfennige
bəl	bail	bürgschaft.
bɛflər	boiler	dampfkessel.
beind	pint	nössel.
biseɪd(s)	besides	ausser.
bɪsnɛs	business	geschäft, sache.
bɪwi (H), pɪwi (H.H)	pɛwɪt	kibitz
bódbɔi	potpie	fleischpastete.
bóddəl	bottle	flasche.
bóggi	buggy	leichter einspänniger Wagen.
bórd	board	brett.
bórtsch	porch	altan, vorhalle.
búkər	bugger	schinderknecht.
bússi	pussy	kätzchen.
bútschər	butcher	fleischer.
der	tar	teer.
dɔdi (daedi)	daddy	vater.
démədi	timothy	timotheusgras.
dénki	thank you	besten dank.
desk(s), dest (H)	desk(s)	pult.
dínnər	dinner	mittagessen.
dílɪngs	dealings	handel.
dred	trot	trab (gehen).
drunk	trunk	koffer.
drúnnəl-bétt	trundle-bed	rollbett.
dzchéntəlmaen	gentleman	der feine wohlgesittete Mann.
dzhúmpə	jump	springen.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
dzchürōmaen	juryman	der geschworene.
dzhúsdis	justice	gerechtigkeit, recht.
éditər	editor	redacteur.
éləvətə	elevate	heben, erheben.
endersə	endorse	indossiren.
éndzhinfrə (or in-)	engineer	führen, lenken, regieren.
éndzhein (or in-)	engine	dampfmaschine, locomotive.
endzhpiə	enjoy	geniessen.
engēdzə	engage	sich verbinden, bedingen, miethen.
engrēf(v)ə	engrave	eingraben, stechen.
enkērədzə	encourage	ermuthigen.
enrölə	enroll	einschreiben.
exaéktli	exactly	genau, gerade.
exaéminə	examine	prüfen.
exkyúsə	excuse	entschuldigen.
exséptə	except	ausnehmen.
éxəkyútə	execute	ausführen.
expéndə	expend	ausgeben.
expéllə	expel	austreiben.
explénə	explain	erklären.
explódə	explode	explodiren.
expréssə	express	versenden.
exschpéktə	expect	erwarten.
extraéktə	extract	ausziehen.
exténdə	extend	verlängern, erweitern.
ēdzhent	agent	agent.
ələkschən	election	wahl.
əvədə	evade	ausflüchte machen.
fərnəs	furnace	schmelzofen.
faekt	fact	thatsache.
faérəwéll	farewell	lebewohl.
féndyu	vendue	(öffentliche) versteigerung.
—— krpier	vendue crier	auctionator.
fens	fence	einzäunung.
feínə	fine	um geld strafen.
fix	fix	befestigen, bestimmen.
flp	flaw	riss, fehler.
fōrs	force	gewalt.
fülə	fool	betrügen, zum narren machen.
gerdzhəl	cordial	herzstärkung.
gaémlə	gamble	um geld spielen.
gaerdin	guardeén (vulg. for guardian)	vormund.
geund	gown	kleid.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
gilti	guilty	schuldig.
graémbíra	cranberries	preiselbeeren.
graéndaed	grandad, for grand- father	grossvater.
grubs	grubs	ausgegrabene baumwurzeln.
gúkumər, gúmər	cucumber	gurke.
gútbei	goodbye	adieu, lebewohl.
hespeuər	hospower (vulg. for horsepower)	pferdekraft.
heswip	hoswip (vulg. for horsewhip)	ochsenziemer.
heuns	hounds	jagdhunde.
heist	heist (prov. for hoist)	heben, aufhissen.
heslər	hostler	stallknecht.
heschpíttəl	hospital (prov. for hóspital)	hospital.
hexət	hogshead	oxhoft.
hërryə	hurry	eilen.
húmbuk	humbug	betrug, aufschneiderei.
indíd	indeed	in der that, wirklich.
Insch, Insching	Ingin (prov. for In- dian)	Indianer.
Inschingróbbər	Ingin (Indian) rub- ber	gummi elasticum.
inseíd	inside	inwendig, innerhalb.
kelletsch	college	eine art hochschule.
kernisch	cornice	dach-gesims, cf. karniéss.
kaérpət	carpet	teppich.
kaesch	cash	bares geld.
ketsch	catch (puzzle)	kunststück.
kétschər	catcher (pall)	leichtentuch.
kíkə	kick	treten, ausschlagen.
klösə	close	schliessen.
kom (or kum-) peúnda	compound (with)	sich abfinden (mit).
komplít	complete	vollständig, vollendet.
konféss	confess	gestehen.
konsídərə	consider	erwägen, überlegen.
kórts	courts	gerichtshöfe.
krenər	coroner	leichenbeschauer.
krep	crop	ernte.
kraéks	cracks	spalten, risse.
kriər	crier	ausrufer.

P. E.	N. E.	N. H. G.
kréditars	creditors	gläubiger.
krik	creek	bach, kleine bucht.
kriks	crickets	grillen.
kwët	vulg. for quoit	wurfscheibe.
kwiltə	quilt	durchnähen.
lédsch (laétsch)	latch	klinke.
leía?	lie	liegen.
lëssən	lesson	aufgabe.
lëkschənīrə	electioneer	stimmen werben.
leithers	lighthorse	reiterei.
líkrisch	licorice	süßholz, lakritzensaft.
líschdə	enlist	sich anwerben lassen.
líttəlheus	little (back) house	abtritt.
lóflettər	love-letter	liebesbrief.
lökus	locust	heuschrecke.
lönsm	lonesome	einsam.
lūpə	loop	mit einer schleife befestigen.
maénedzhə	manage	handhaben.
mēbəl (mēpəl)	maple	ahorn.
meind	mind (and mine)	sinn (auch grube oder bergwerk).
meində	mind	hören auf, acht geben, gehorchen.
míssəri	misery	elend.
miteút	without	ohne dass, wenn nicht.
míxə	mix	mischen.
módəl	model	muster.
muschkītər	vulg. for mosquito	muskito.
múschkrət	muskrat	bisamratte.
múschmflyəns	mushmilions (vulg. for muskmelons)	muskatmelone.
nəu	now	nun, jetzt.
nöschən	notion	idee, meinung.
nöschens	notions	kurze waaren.
nötis	notice	notiz, nachricht.
péddəl (paeddəl)	paddle	ruder.
paéddlə (verb)	"	rudern.
pik	subs. pick (choice),	wahl.
pikə	vb. choose	auswählen.
píktər	vulg. for picture	bild.
píssəbed	pissabed (vulg. for dandelion)	löwenzahn.
plénti	plenty	genug.
plisə	please	gefallen.
plən	plain	einfach.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
póscht-effis	postoffice	postamt.
pökich	poky	langsam.
pöl	pole	stange.
praénks	pranks	possen.
présent (brésent)	prison	gefängniss.
priténd	pretend	vorgeben.
púnk	punk	schwamm.
regün	raccoon	waschbär.
resum	vulg. for rosin	harz.
raeps	raps	schläge.
raesch	rash	vorschnell.
reférí	referee	schiedsgericht.
reförímenn	— man	schiedsrichter.
rēsēd(H) or rēstt (R)	receipt	quittung.
rōschdā	roast	braten.
rūl (rulər)	rule (ruler)	lineal.
rūmēdis	vulg. for rheuma- tism	rheumatismus.
schēp	shop	werkstatt, laden.
schbaérəgrəs	vulg. for asparagus	spargel.
schbeit	spite	groll.
schblíttə	split	spalten.
schbreuts	sprouts	sprossen.
schbrí	spreet	rausch (he has been on a—er ist wieder 'mal durchgegangen).
schbring	spring	quelle, brunnen.
schbunk	spunk	zunder, muth, entzündbares
schdēt	state	staat. [gemüth.
schdīm	steam	dampf.
schdóppər	stopper	(kork)stöpsel.
schdrippə	strip	abstreifen.
schdúdent	student	student (note accent).
schdúdiə (& schdu- díə)	study	studiren.
schēfər	shaver	wucherer.
schīpisch	sheepish	schüchtern, verdächtig scheu.
schkíppə	skip	überspringen, auch hüpfen.
schkíds (cf. schkíds, verb)	vulg. for skates	schlittschuhe.
schkwaérí	squirrel	eichhörnchen.
schkwéíər	squire	friedensrichter.
schlē (or schlíttə)	sleigh	schlitten.
schlēd	slate	schiefer.
schlík	slick	glatt.
schlō	slow	langsam.
schmaert	smart	geschickt, klug.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
schmók	smoke	rauch.
schmókə	smoke (vb.)	rauchen.
schnéppər(schnaep- pər)	snapper (turtle)	eine schildkröte.
schnók	snug	bequem, enge.
schpeíə	spy	erspähen, entdecken.
schpéndə	spend	verausgaben, ausgeben.
schaéndə	stand	ertragen, erdulden.
schaérta	start	abgehen, abfahren, in bewegung setzen.
schūr	sure	sicher, gewiss.
sēfə	save	retten, sparen.
seidər (cf. seider- press)	cider	apfelwein.
sémmlí	vulg. for assembly	versammlung.
sént	cent	ein geldstück.
séssər	vulg. for assessor	steuerbeamter, siehe aessor.
séssment	" assessment	steuerumlage, einschätzung.
sét	set	bande, rotte.
seífərə	cipher	rechnen.
seíno	sign	unterzeichnen.
símədéri	cemetery	kirchhof.
síti	city	stadt.
sóldzhər	soldier	soldat
sómmənsə	summons	vorladen.
súklə	suckle	säugen.
súpərínténdər	vulg. for superin- tendent	oberaufseher.
sūt	suit	rechtshandel, prozess.
süta	suit	passen, gefallen.
təp (dəp)	top	gipfel, spitze.
taéfərnə	taverns	wirtshäuser.
taégo	tag	{ ein spiel in dem der gewinnt, der einen andern berührt, oder ihm einen schlag gibt.
tölbex	toll-box	kasten für das chausseegeld.
tölhəus	toll-house	zollhaus.
tórnpeík	turnpike	chaussee.
traévolərs	travelers	reisende.
tríks	tricks	possen, streiche.
tzháeps (dzhaeps)	chaps	kerls.
tzhěsə (dzhěsə)	chase	jagen, verfolgen.
ufkōrs (ofkōrs)	of course	natürlich.
umbrəl	vulg. for umbrella	regenschirm.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
wetschə (cf. wetsch, s.)	watch (as subs. = Uhr)	bewachen.
werk-heús	workhouse	arbeitshaus, zuchthaus.
waélli	valley	thal.
wérri (or very)	very	eben, (der)nämliche.
wíb (wíp)	whip	peitsche.
wíberwill	whippowil	der virginische ziegenmelker oder windfänger.
wíg (wik)	Whig (Republican)	Whig.
wildærnis	wilderness	wildniss.
zepling	sapling	bäumchen.

German Prefix and English Root.

əbschtaértə	start off	abgehen, abfahren.
əbseínə	sign away	überschreiben an.
əbwaérə (p. p. əbgə-wərə)	wear off (out)	abtragen.
ɛ̃fídə	fit (try on)	anpassen.
ɛ̃schplítə	split a little	anspalten.
ɛ̃séttlə	settle	ansiedeln.
ɛuspíkə	pick out (shell)	ausschälen.
ɛúschpéə	spy out	ausspähen.
ɛústéərə	tire out	ermüden.
eĩfénə (einfensə)	fence in	einzäunen.
fərbédərə	bother	plagen, verwirren.
fərmíxə	mix	vermischen.
fərschmökə	blacken by smoke	verrauchen.
fərschwéppə	swap	austauschen.
reúslaénə	lance out	herauseilen od. springen.
úfpéllə	pile up	aufhäufen, aufschichten.
úfkótə	cut up	unsinn, possen treiben.
úfköksə	coax up	durch liebkosungen bereden.

German Root + English Root.

eltfaéschen	old-fashion	altmodisch.
belgēm	ball-game	ballspiel.
dirəschö, also kri-dúrschö (R)	menagerie	menagerie.
eisə meínd	iron mine	eisengrube.
eisəschdör (H)	hardware store	eisenwaarenladen.
hendbörd	hand-board	wegweiser.
húnichsúkəl	honeysuckle	geissblatt.
kípén	cow-pen	kuhstall.
klepbörd-féns	clap-board fence	lattenzaun.
lęgarfér (or -faer)	camp-meeting	gottesdienst im freien.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
selsbex	salt-box	salzfass.
schdikəlféns	stake-fence	eine aus pfählen od. stangen aufgerichtete umzäunung.
schépböl	dipper	schöpfer.
schússbörd	tailboard	schussbrett am wagen.
tēbex	tea-box	theekasten.
úfrör	uproar	aufruhr, lärm.
wélschkornkrip	corn-crib	welschkornscheune.
wéschblok	washing-block(stool)	waschbank (-block).

English Root + German Root or Suffix.

beíndzəbbə	pine-cone.	tannenzapfen.
bódəlcə	small bottle	fläschchen.
bördkaerch	church-gallery	empor-kirche.
bútschəre	cleaver	schlächterbeil.
fénsrigəl	fence-rail.	stake, staket.
gínihínkəl	guinea (chicken)	perlhuhn.
híkərniss	hickory-nuts	weisse amerikanische wallnüsse.
klíngschte~	clingstone (peach)	pfirsiche, deren kern sich schwer vom fleische ablöst.
krikli	little creek	bächlein.
ləbebír	law-paper	papier für dokumente.
ləmæssich	according to law	gesetzmässig.
lédzhərbúch	ledger	hauptbuch.
maéntəlbörd, maén- təlstik	mantelboard (-piece)	kaminsims.
maərbəlschtē~	marble	marmor.
mēbleis	tick-seed	wirtelssstrefpen.
schdimmil	steam-mill	dampfmühle.
schléddekər	slater	schieferdecker.
schmökduwək	smoking tobacco	rauchtabak.
schmökpeif	(smoking) pipe	tabakspfeife.
schmökdeg (or -wé- der), also eltweí- vərsümmər	Indian summer	nachsommer.
wetschkett		
wiblein (better wiblí)	watch-chain	uhrkette.
	little whip	peitschen.

English Idea expressed in German.

əgədóokter.	eye-doctor	augenarzt.
bəkschtē~lēgər	bricklayer.	maurer.
bísskets	piss-cat (skunk)	stinkthier.
bíssketsəgréut	skunk-cabbage.	stinkkohl.
blōbaeryərtē	golden rod (Blue mountain tea)	bergthee, goldruthe, wundkraut.
gəwíttərrút	lightning-rod	blitzableiter.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
gútgúkich (cf. schléchtgúkich)	good-looking	hübsch, schön.
hēmgēmēcht	home-made	selbst gemacht.
húnnærtjör	hundred years (cen- tury)	jahrhundert.
zē~dóktor	dentist	zahnarzt.

Bahn.

For wes ich dō fēlörə hēb,
Ich dort *exschpekt* to [zu] sē.—P. 196.

For what I have lost here, I *expect* to see there.

For ellə mōl ich's hērə dū,
Dut's mich *enkērədzə* mē.—P. 199.

For every time I hear it, it *encourages* me the more.

Un *gəfixt* hot er īn juscht *fērstrēt*.—P. 193.

And he *fixed* it just *first-rate*.

Sin noch fil mē ich *gleichə* dū.—P. 200.

There are still many more [which] I *like*.

In faekt ich wēss's juscht sō gūt,
Dass wēnn's geschtər *gəhaeppənt* waer.—P. 192.

In fact I knew it just as well as if it had *happened* yesterday.

Unn sell *konnfess* ich ē~.—P. 198.

And that I *confess* too.

Ich hoff aer mēk(g) noch *laestə* leng.—P. 187.

I hope it may *last* yet a long time.

Unn mit dem schtēub sich *mixə* dut.—P. 184.

And with the dust it is mingled [*mixed*].

For jēdər's waer ēm *pikə* dēnn.—P. 190.

For every one would then be *picking* [it up].

Well, ennihvu, wēnn's frijör kummt,
Bin ich *gəplist fērstrēt*.—P. 180.

Well, *anyhow*, when spring comes, I am *pleased first-rate* [very glad].

Aer hot's net kennə *staendə* mē.—P. 190.

He could not *stand* it any longer.

Dō kummt ən schlittə unn aer *schtöppt*.—P. 186.

Here comes a sleigh and it *stops* [is stopping].

Wu di *kleimet sūt* dāt,

Dō singə sī mit frischəm mūt.—P. 183.

Where the *climate suits* [is favorable] they sing with fresh vigor.

Fischer.

Ich gleb mār kennt's *aeppirə* mēchə.—A. M. 71.

I think we could make it *appear*.

Dī hex, dī hot ən *løyer gəfit*,

Der bescht sei~ lēvə hot *gəplīt*—A. M. 65.

The witch, she *feed* a *lawyer*, who *pleaded* his very best [the best in his life].

Dī hex, dī hot dī *lōsūt* gəwunnə.—A. M. 65.

The witch, she won the *lawsuit*.

Ʒn jēdər *məint* sei~ *bissness* dō.—K. 112.

Every one *minds* his *business* here.

Denn *for* sī zu *plisə*,

Isch's kurtsum bəschlossə.—K. 16.

Then in order to [*for to*] *please* them it is forthwith decided.

Kənn's elləs *prüfə* bei meim bu.—K. 83.

I can *prove* it all *by* my boy.

I. D. Rupp hot mit grossər mī unn euslėg dreissich deusət nēmə fon unserə brēfə deitschə ei~gəwəndertə förfētər gəsəmməlt unn *gəpublischt*.—K. 3.

I. D. Rupp collected with great difficulty and outlay [expense] thirty thousand names of our *brave* [noble] German forefathers and *published* them.

Dī eltə wēg sinn ell fərduzt,

Der *schtīm* hot elləs *revoluzt*.—A. Z. 172.

The old ways are all confused [changed], *steam* has *revolutionized* everything.

Ʒs wəert elləs *gərun*t bei *schtīm*,

Ʒs waert bəl nix gəschēft əs bei *maeschīm*,

Der mensch, der *runt* sich Ʒ~ bei *schtīm*.—A. Z. 171.

Everything is *run by steam*, soon nothing will be done except *by machine*, man too will *run* himself [go] *by steam*.

Denn *schmök* ich unn blös der *schmök* in die hē.—K. 62.

Then I *smoke* and blow [puff] the *smoke* up into the air.

Unn di wu als hen treivə solle,
Sinn hēm *gəschnikt*, noch mē sek zu hōlə.—A. Z. 117.

And those who should have driven *sneaked* home to fetch more sacks.

Ʒs waert nix mē gēmēd neu mit der sens,
Ʒs juscht ē~ gēmēd sō en der fens,
Der *riþar* drin zu *schaertə*.—A. Z. 139.

We now cut no more with the scythe than just one swath along the *fence*, in which to *start* the *reaper*.

Unn wenn mār's feiər hen *ūfgəschtērt*
Denn sinn ən deusənt funkə fert.—A. Z. 206.

And when we *stirred up* the fire, a thousand sparks flew out.

Aer *schtekt* so tight es wēx.—A. Z. 108.

He *sticks* as *tight* as wax. Here, then, is an evident adaptation of the German *stecken* (schtekə) to the English idiom.

Mār *traevəlt* neu bei lēnd unn sē,
Bei *lokomotiv tīm*.—A. Z. 172.

We *travel now* by land and sea by *locomotive team*.

Sō gēt mār jērlich en der Pōl,
Unn vōl's elt *Dzhaeksən-tikət*.—K. 113.

So we go to the *polls* every year and *vote* the old *Jackson ticket*.

Hörbuch.

Sell hot sī dif *aeffekt*.—H. 72.

This *affected* them deeply (made a deep impression upon them).

Der mēschtər hen mār neusgəschpaerrt,
Dī dir unn fenschtər fescht *gəbaerrt*.—H. 18.

We shut the master out, we *barred* the door and windows fast.

Der waert hot sī *gəbēlt*.—H. 72.

The tavern-keeper *bailed* them out.

Dō is neu's schreivəs, əll *komplīt*,
Gəmixt mit *lɔ*, des əlləs *bīt*,
Ʒs hot kē *stɔ* unn flek.—H. 73.

Here is the document, all *complete*, *mixed* with law that *beats* [surpasses] everything; it has not a *flaw*, nor [spot] blot.

Wī is des jungə bēurəfolk doch *ufgədresset*,
 Wī hēvə si dī kepp sō schteif unn hoch !—H. 21.

How the young peasant folk are *dressed up*, how stiffly and proudly they hold their heads !

Dī bēurə hen gəsē~ wī gūt
 Es gēt wənn mər sei~ *bissness* dāt
Aekkording zu der lə !—H. 75.

The peasants saw how well it goes when one *does his business according to the law*.

Der *schkweier* hot der gēnz pek *gəfeint*.—H. 72.

The *squire* *fined* the whole crowd [gang].

Kənnscht denkə wī ich *fil*.—H. 15.

You can imagine how I *feel*. Here the German reflexive has given place to the English intransitive construction ; cf. X 3, 314, 4.

Mər lēbt juscht wī dər vōr : des *fixt* dī *lə*.—H. 22.

One lives just as before, that the *law fixes*.

Dēl buschleit hen kēn luscht dehēm,
 Sī *haenkərə* nōch der schtēdt.—H. 51.

Some country people find no pleasure at home, they *hanker* after the city.

Sell hēbt sī schē~ fum wəgəbett herəus,
 Unn *heist* sī haendich in dī ovərə schtek.—H. 46.

This lifts them up out of the wagon[bed] nicely, and *hoists* them handily into the upper stories.

Ir schreivəs hēməlt unser ēm—
 Ich lēs's gern—es *kummt mir hēm*.—H. 25.

Their writing [poetry] reminds us of home ; I like to read it, it *comes home to me*.

Mər hett *gəklōst* unn dēt *kompoundə* mit de kreditərs.—H. 22.

(That) we have *closed* and will *compound* (settle) with the creditors (indirect question).

Səgt Həns : "Ich *kraek* dī nuss."—H. 74.

Says Jack : "I'll *crack* the nut " (I'll settle the question).

Nēu hot der mēschtər rēus *gəlaenst*,
 Ger kreislich *schipisch gukt*.—H. 18.

Now the [school]master *lanced* [rushed] out, *looking* very *sheepish*.

Dī jungə *leiə* ɛllweil schtill,
Unn schlōfə ɛllə fescht.—H. 15.

The young ones now *lie* still, and all sleep soundly.

Dort hengt ən schtrik, den *lūpt* mər ən dī sek.—H. 42.
There hangs a rope, this we *loop* to the sacks.

Mər *ēgent* nix—dī fra *hof's in hōnd*—
Mər is ir *ēdzhent*, *maenedzht* geld unn lēnd.—H. 22.
One [the husband] owns nothing—the wife has it all *in hand*—
One [he] is her *agent*, *manages* money and land.

Guk, wī.sī *pīpə* rum.—H. 15.
Look, how they *peep* around.

Der mond is uf—er is juscht foll—
Ʒr *pīpt* zum fenschtər rei~—Guk mol!—H. 33.
The moon is up—it is just full, it *peeps* in through the window—
just look!

Unn *ufgəpeilt* uf ēnər seit.—H. 26.
And *piled up* on one side.

Dəs hot der Həns *ebvut gəplist*,
Wī mər sich's denkə kənn.—H. 72.
This *pleased* Hans *about* as one might imagine to himself.

Ʒn jədər baurebū muss *kaerridzh reidə*.—H. 21.
Every peasant-[farmer-]boy must *ride* in a *carriage*.

Wenn's *seinscht*, dēnn kēnscht du rei~!—H. 18.
If you *sign* it you may come in.

Dī schwelmə *schkipppə* ivər's feld.—H. 14.
The swallows *skip* [fly low] over the field.

Schtopt ɛm hēus unn schluppt gens sēcht
Mit seim sək ɛm schornschtē~ nei~.—H. 40.
[He] *stops* at the house and slips right softly down the chimney
with his sack.

Unn ɛlləs wəs sī hen, dī leit,
Dēt ich *fərschwappə enich zeit*
For's schulhēus ən der krik.—H. 13.
And all they have, these people, I would *swap any time* for the
schoolhouse on the creek.

Sell is ən ɛrch gut ding—əs *sēft* fīl mī.—H. 46.
That is a very good thing—it *saves* much labor.

Du finnscht kën mëschtər sō, gē, such—
 Der seifərə kën derch's gēnsə buch,
 Unn schkippt kën ēni rül.—H. 17.

You will not find a teacher—go, hunt [him]—who can *cipher* through the whole book and *skips* [without skipping] not a single *rule*.

Dī grossə hen dī grossə gətaegt,
 Dī klēnə ɐll fərmissst.—H. 18.

The large [boys] *tagged* the large [girls], [but] missed [passed by] all the little ones.

Der mëschtər wotscht sī ɐwər scherf.—H. 16.

But the master watches them closely [sharply].

Gəwipt hot aer nummə zu.—H. 17.

He *whipped* continually.

Horne.

Kutsteun leit im drek.—P. 53.

Kutztown *lies* [is situated] in the dirt.

Aer is ən ɛrch freindlichər unn schmaertər mēnn unn meint sei' *bisness* gut.—P. 48.

He is a very friendly and *smart* man and *minds* his [own] *business* well.

There seems to be English influence in the following: ʒs is ɐ' zu sellər zeit imə brif ɐus Filedelfə grossə glɔg beim govərnir gəfirt worrə, dess dī filə deitschə ivərēll's bescht lēnd ʔfnēmə dētə unn gəfərlich waerrə.—P. 55.

It was also at that time that a grave complaint was made to the governor in a letter from Philadelphia, that the numerous Germans were *taking up* the best land everywhere and becoming dangerous.

Weil der ɛlt mēnn ɐrm wər, hot der jung tʒhaep ken laerning krigt, ɐs wəs er so ɐus sich selvərt [selvər] ʔfgəpikt hot.—P. 72.

As the old man was poor, the young *chap* got no education except what he *picked up* himself [by his own exertions].

Aer hot mit fil widerwaertichkeitə zu fechtə ghət, ɐvər ər hot's gəschlaent wī ən mēnn.—P. 74.

He had many misfortunes to contend with, but *stood* them like a man.

Weil ər zu seinərə muttərschpröch gəschlikt hot, ɐvə wī'r in d' hēkschtə emtər wər.—P. 74.

Because he *stuck* to his mother-tongue even when he was in the highest offices.

Juscht sei~ föreltərə hettə 'n pər hunnərt jör in Englənd
gəschd(t)oppt.—P. 48.

Only [except that] his forefathers had *stopped* a few hundred years in England.

För ɛltərs—dəs mēnt bei uns ivər hunnərt jör—wī unsər forel-
 tərə ins lənd kummə sin, unn's eschtlich Pennsylvēni *v~gəsettəlt*
 hen, wər's noch ən ɛrmə schlechtə gēyent, foll Inschə, schləngə unn
 fil ɛnnər ungəzifər.

Long ago—that means with us over a hundred years—when
 our forefathers came into the country and *settled* eastern Pennsylv-
 ania, it was still a poor, wretched region, full of Indians, snakes,
 and many other vermin.

Aerscht kaerzlich hot uns ən freind gəsət, dess ər noch gut
 wisst, wī der Dzhen noch drunnə in Norristəun *bvər gətent* unn di
sēm zeit lə gələsə hett (Gehring).—P. 75.

Only a short time ago a friend told us that he still knew [remem-
 bered] well how [when] John *attended bar* down there in Norris-
 town and at the *same* time *read law*.

Sī sinn mit *schdīm ūfgəwaermt* im wintər.—P. 49.

They are *warmed up* by *steam* in winter.

English influence seems to be traceable in the following: Aer
 hot sō hōch ɛs 8 bis 10 gəmənə *fil zeitə ghət*.—P. 78.

He had as high as 8 or 10 congregations *many times*.

Rauch.

Unn ich fərmət, ɛs dū selvər *aedminischtrə* wid?—P. 205.

And I suppose you yourself want to *administer*?

Unn wenn dū *düsch*, dēnn waert aer *v~* follens *aegrīə* mit mir.
 —P. 196.

And if you *do*, he will fully *agree* with me.

Will ich ebbəs sunscht provirə—der *raeskəl aektə*.—P. 219.

I will try something else—to *act the rascal*.

Unn dāt de gens *trēn* sellerwäg *baelaensə*.—P. 228.

And in this way *balances* the whole *train*.

Juscht zu sēnə, wī gut aer dich *bekummt*, *suppōs* du provirscht
 ən emōl *v~*.—P. 191.

Just to see how well it will *become* you, *suppose* you try it on.

Unn es dāt der *flōr v~* *protektə*, for hols ɛs gūt *ei~gəsōkt* is mit
tzhp-duvekbri dāt net fərfeulə.—P. 232.

And it also *protects* the *floor*, for wood which is well *soaked*
 with *chewing* tobacco juice does not rot.

In der kaerich is ən *fērstrēlar* plēts for ēmə sei~ *tzhə* duvek
gūt *endzhvīe*.—P. 232.

[In] church is a *first-rate* place for one to *enjoy* thoroughly his
chew (vulg. "*chaw*") of tobacco.

Unn wenn sell *fēlt* zu schēffə dēnn nem di *bōks*.—P. 194.

And if that *fails* to operate, then take the *box*.

Dō is ən schtik, ɐs *gəfiggərt* is.—P. 198.

Here is a piece that is figured [with figures].

net hēlvər gəfinischt

Lēm unn schīp, so wīscht unn ɐus der faeschən.—P. 219.

"scarce half made up,

And that so lamely and unfashionable."

Ich inschūr's, ɐs sī de *veri* beschte sinn.—P. 202.

I'll insure them to be the *very* best.

Kēperə mer dō rum mit de lēdis.—P. 219.

"He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber."

Əm Jones sei~ unfēlberə kreitərmittəl *positivli kjurt* ellə mensch-
lichə *komplēnts* fom blōhuschtə ɐʔ bis nunnər zu *schquaer* zɐ~ wē.—
P. 193.

Jones' unfailing herb remedy *positively cures* every *complaint*,
from whooping-cough down to *square* tooth-ache.

Dērum is sei~ *dədi* nēus unn hot ən *gəkökst*.—P. 224.

"Therefore came his father [daddy] out and entreated him."

Sell mæg sei~, ɐvər ich *gēnei* for *plēn* prēdichə.—P. 183.

That may be so, but I *go in for plain* [square] preaching.

Der doktər hot di pilfərlin *pripaert*, unn *gəordert* ɛns ei~ zugēvə
ellə zwē schtund.—P. 197.

The doctor *prepared* the powders, and *ordered* one to be given
every two hours.

Piti mich net, ɐvər geb mir nēu dei~ őrə.—P. 220.

"Pity me not, but lend me thy serious hearing."

Sei so gūt unn mēch ən *bill* derfo~ unn dū si *risitə*.—P. 201.

Please make me a *bill* and *receipt* it.

Plaens hob ich *gəlegt* for ən ufrör *rēsə*.

"Plots I have laid . . .

To set my brother Clarence and the king

In deadly hate the one against the other."

ʏvər ich bin net *gəschēpt* for so *schports* unn *triks*.—P. 219.

"But I that am not shaped for sportive tricks."

Oh, ich will net *schte*~ uf ə faertel.—P. 189.

Oh, I won't *stand on* a quarter.

Unn mit   l mein   sind   *n  usg  schtep  t* in di   nn  r welt.—P. 222.

And with all my sins stepped into the other world (free translation of the original).

S  g zw   unn dreisich—*schplit* der *differens*.—P. 200.

Say thirty-two, *split* the *difference*.

Der kostom  r *sett  lt*   f un s  gt *faeriwell*.—P. 193.

The customer *settles up* and bids *farewell*.

Causes and Laws underlying the Speech Mixture.

It now remains to trace the causes and laws underlying this speech-mixture. One will notice, by glancing at the lists, that most of these borrowed words are either very familiar or very technical. Attention has already been called to the remarkably pure German vocabulary of certain isolated phases of the life of this people, as for example that of the peasant-women in the kitchen and the home. Here, then, is the nearest approach to the speech of the original German settler. If we begin in the isolated home and follow the course of the homespun German as it is brought by the children and other members of the family into contact with the life about them, we shall be able to discover both the *causes* and *laws* of the English infusion. Prominent among these *causes* are the following :

(1) *The unintelligibility of German to the English speaker.* On entering the land the German settler found a civilization the language of which was English. Most of the traffic had to be carried on with English-speaking tradesmen, who knew and wished to know little or no German. The natural result was that the German, in transacting business, was compelled to call objects, perfectly familiar to him in his own idiom in the fatherland, by their English names. The following are examples: *bod  l* (N. H. G. flasche), *baerg  n* (N. H. G. handel), *br  ds* (N. H. G. gewebe), *fendyu* (N. H. G.   ffentliche versteigerung), *kaerp  t* (N. H. G. teppich), *s  t  r* (N. H. G. laden), *s  t* (N. H. G. anzug), *s  fs* (N. H. G. eiserne geldkasten), *schlipp  rs* (N. H. G. pantoffeln), *wor  dr  bs* (N. H. G. kleiderschr  nke).

The newspapers abound also in curious compounds ; cf. the following : eisenstore, k  chen r  nges, extra gr  les, furn  ces, bar-room-  fen, air-tight und alle sorten parlor-  fen, brilliant gas burners, tragbare heaters und gasbrenner, feuerbricks, springs, geforged und gerolltes eisen, sh  fting, safes, meisel in setts, razor strops und hones, pulleys, carvingmesser, butschermesser, varnisch,

neues kohlen**screen**, boiler von allen sorten, *brassarbeit*, kaffee-mühlen (cf. Haldeman, pp. 30 ff. for this and similar selections).¹

(2) *The insufficiency of the colloquial German vocabulary for the emergencies of the new environment.* The newly arrived German met many objects for the first time and learned to recognize them by their English names, which were much better known to him than the German equivalent. Among such the following may be mentioned: *fens* (N. H. G. zaun, mauer, umzäunung, gehäge, are all insufficient to express the various meanings of the American "fence"); *küttedzh-kaerpäts* (N. H. G. teppiche für hütten oder landhäuser would need explanation); *pvi* or *pei* (N. H. G. kuchen und pastete both somewhat different from the American, Yankee, "pie"); *bvss* in P. G. has the meaning of N. H. G. aufseher, fabrikherr, meister, with various other kindred significations; *kolletsch* is something quite peculiar to English and American life and has no equivalent in N. H. G., the German *gymnasium* would be misleading, and *hochschule* or *universität* would signify too much; *rvgün* or *rvkkün* would hardly be exchanged for the lumbering N. H. G. nordamerikanischer waschbär! Agricultural implements, as *ripər*, *schellər*, *kaerridzh* (Eng. carriage), *boggi* (buggy), *rvkəwē* (rockaway).

(3) *The recognition of English as the only official speech.* The fact that since early in the eighteenth century English has been the only recognized official speech, even for Germans, has forced the P. German to make use of the technical vocabulary connected with municipal and state government. The result is that P. G. has received a large influx of these technical English words untranslated and for the most part unchanged in pronunciation. To be sure, the German pulpit, schools, and press in various parts of the state have kept the German equivalents of many of these terms before the people, but the P. G. dialect has chosen to adopt the English terms instead of the German. So we find scores of them: *vffis*, *aednptə*, *aepppintə*, *aerreschtə* and *reschtə*, *endvrsə*, *enrölə*, *poschtvffis*, *schdēt* and *schtēt*. A glance at the list above will afford numerous examples. In order to show how English law terms have crept into the dialect I quote passages from Harbaugh's *Harfe* (pp. 70-71).

¹ It must be noted, however, that these selections given by Haldeman, while illustrating to some extent P. G. speech mixture, are taken from professedly N. H. G. newspapers.

Dī lə unn kōrts hen sī gəhesst, . .
 Nord hot der en der ennər gərescht,
 ʒs is fōr den schkweiar kummə;
 Der Hens wər gəsommənst. . .
 Uf sēmschdēg wər dī sūt beschteilt, . .
 Der schkweiar hot der gēns paek gəfeint, . .
 Der waert hot sī gəbēlt.

(4) *The loss of puristic speech-consciousness by the decline of the German pulpit and schools.* The English public schools are rapidly supplanting German institutions and thus decreasing the demand for German in the pulpit. The German press is still active in almost every town of considerable size, but that does little toward cultivating a puristic taste for the mother-tongue. The result is clear. The younger generation of Pennsylvania Germans, schooled in the dialect of the parental fireside, comparatively ignorant of the literary language, and taught in the English schools to forget their vernacular, speak the dialect, if at all, without distinguishing or knowing whether they speak a language or jargon. It is but fair, however, to state that there are not a few who can distinguish, when their attention is directed to their speech, and some are found who make conscious efforts to preserve the pure German vocabulary.

To this blunting of speech-feeling are due such borrowings as *plenti* (quite general for N. H. G. genug, also P. G. genunk), *town* (N. H. G. dorf, also P. G. schtedəl), *bisness* (N. H. G. geschäft, sache), *opinyən* (N. H. G. meinung, also P. G. mēning), *dzhudzhe* (N. H. G. urtheilen, beurtheilen), *traevels* (N. H. G. reisen, also P. G. rēsə), *kostomərs* (N. H. G. kunden, also P. G. kunnə). Even more interesting than these single words are the unconscious Anglicisms which have crept into P. G. syntax: (1) modified signification of the German term *gleichə* (orig. = N. E. resemble, now = N. E. like, N. H. G. gern haben), *gukə* (orig. = N. E. look, N. H. G. sehen, now = also N. E. look (appear), N. H. G. aussehen, *filə* (orig. trans. and reflex., now trans. and intrans.) (aer felt schlecht = N. H. G. er fühlt sich unwohl); (2) the introduction of the English idiom, as *Ich heb mei meind uf gəmvocht* (= N. H. G. Ich habe mich entschlossen), *sī is daun uf der elt Rip Van Winkel* (N. H. G. sie ist böse auf den alten Rip V. W.) (Rip 11). *Wenn avər der Rip dī noschen nemt vus zu baekə inseid fon zwēneich jōr unn ē dēg* (= N. E. If, however, Rip takes the notion to back out inside of a year, etc.) (Rip 17). *Ich wēss*

es aer der *aedvaentedzh gənūme* hot fum Rip (N. E. I know that he took *advantage* of Rip) (Rip 24). Des der Dzhō den Dzhēn bei der Saelli *vusgəkot* het (N. E. That Joe had *cut out* John with Sally) (W. 48). Dō hen sī gəmerkət des sī *gəfült* sinn (N. E. Now they noticed that they were *fooled*) (W. 134). For other examples see X 3, 295 et seq.

(5) *The inclination to despise the P. G. vernacular.* As English culture becomes more generally disseminated, the rising generation regard with contempt the speech of their fathers, and thus not only contribute to the growing speech-mixture, but bid fair in a few generations to erase the last vestiges of the sturdy German vernacular. The results of this cause are manifold. In some cases the strong vitiation of the German idiom with English words and expressions; in others, the speaking of broken English on the part of the parents when addressing their children and strangers; in still others, the utter abandonment of all reminiscences of the fatherland and complete absorption in English language and life. There is a touch of pathos in the fast vanishing traces of this once flourishing German civilization. It were a theme worthy of the poet's pen to sing the dirge of this dying race of sturdy Teutons, and perpetuate to coming generations vivid recollections of the honest simplicity, the patient sacrifice, the untiring energy, and indomitable heroism of their early ancestors.

Laws.

From the foregoing it is possible to summarize the general laws underlying the speech mixture:

1. *That term or idiom is employed which is the most familiar to both speaker and hearer. So doublets are frequent, German and English varying according to the speakers.*

2. *Where the object is new and distinctively English (American), the English term is likely to be retained. Not infrequently, however, a speech compromise is made in the form of a compound, as kipen, ei⁻fensə.*

3. *Where the literary activity is not nurtured by the schools, the speech-consciousness is deadened and mixture becomes more indiscriminate.*

4. *Official, formal, and technical terms are rarely, almost never, translated (in this case from English into P. German).*

5. *That form of the word which in common use is borrowed in the form in which it is heard, i. e. if the vulgar pronunciation is the one in vogue, the vulgar form of the word is introduced, as bessəm (for opossum), reschtə (for arrestə), schkids (for skates).*

M. D. LEARNED.

IV.—THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN ANGLO-SAXON.¹

INTRODUCTION.

The general significance of the absolute participial clause is familiar to all students of language, but to give a precise definition of its constituent elements is by no means easy. Thus, Grimm² (p. 887) says: "Absolute Casus sind welche nicht regiert werden. Wenn ein Casus weder abhängig zu machen von einem herrschenden Verbo, noch von einem Nomen oder einer Partikel des Satzes, so verdient er jene Benennung"; but on the next page he modifies this definition as follows: "eine bedeutende und häufige Ausnahme ist jedoch, wenn der absolute Casus durch präpositionalen Ausdruck umschrieben wird." According to Hoffmann³ (p. 784), the simplest and most comprehensive definition of the ablative absolute is "dass er ein mit prädicativer bestimmung versehener ablativ ist"; which, excellent as it otherwise is, seems defective in this, that a substantive in the ablative and dependent upon a preposition may have a predicative participle attached to it and yet not be absolute, as in: *a Caesare in Italiam redeunte adhortati sunt*. Amid such complexities, an exact definition and one free from objections becomes exceedingly difficult. A loosely paraphrased definition, restrictive enough for the present purpose, may be stated as follows: when to a substantive not the subject of a verb and dependent upon no other word in the sentence (noun, adjective, verb, or preposition⁴) a participle is joined as its predicate, a clause is formed that modifies the verbal predicate of the sentence and denotes an accompanying circumstance, as in: *Urbe expugnata imperator rediit*. From its apparent grammatical independence, this has been denominated an absolute clause, though,

¹ This article contains a portion of a larger paper bearing the same title that is to be published separately at an early date. The substance of the latter paper was read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Association, January 18, 1889, and an abstract appeared in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 72, p. 64.

² Grimm, J.: *Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. 4. Göttingen, 1837.

³ Hoffmann, E.: *Der Ablativus Abs. u. Seine Definition*, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb. f. Clas. Ph.*, Vol. XXI, 1875, pp. 783-84.

⁴ This, of course, denies an absolute use to the participles preceded by *at* in Gothic and by *be* in A. S., both of which constructions are treated in their appropriate places.

as Hoffmann thinks (l. c. p. 783), incorrectly ; since the clause stands in close relationship to the rest of the sentence, the absolute substantive differing, in fact, from the simple substantival modifier of a verb only by the annexation thereto of a predicative participle (Delbrück,¹ p. 42). It is with the participle so used that we have to do, here designated, as usual, the absolute participle.

The absolute participle is in general easily distinguished from the appositive participle by the fact that the latter has no distinct subject of its own, but agrees with the subject of the verb or with a word in regimen, as in : *In illo die exiens Jesus de domo, sedebat secus mare*, Mat. 13. 1, etc. Occasionally, however, it is difficult to decide whether the substantive is dependent and the participle appositive or independent and the participle absolute ; hence, all cases admitting of doubt are cited in the statistics. In its attributive use, finally, the participle throws off its verbal power and approximates an adjective, as in : *Vernante silva caremus*. In some instances it is not easy to tell whether such a transformation has taken place, and yet the attempt must be made in order to determine whether a given participle is to be ranked as attributive or absolute. The writer cannot hope to have decided correctly in each instance ; all examples, however, are cited in which the one construction seemed as possible as the other, while those that appeared preponderantly attributive are not given.

The case of the absolute participle varies with the language. As a rule, the locative is used in Sanskrit, the genitive in Greek, the ablative in Latin, and the dative in the Teutonic languages ; the three last cases respectively having assumed directly or indirectly this function of the locative (Delbrück, l. c. p. 42 f.). In Anglo-Saxon, also, the normal absolute case is the dative. A few examples occur, however, of an absolute instrumental, as is shown by the form of the accompanying demonstrative pronoun. Again, instances occur, chiefly in the later MSS, of what may be termed a "crude"² form of the absolute participle ; by which it is meant that the participle shows a weathered, uninflected form that cannot be assigned to any definite case. That the participle is not a nominative or an instrumental is evident from the fact that the earlier MSS give the participle in the dative where the later ones show a "crude" form, and that where we have but one MS the

¹ Delbrück, B.: *Ablativ, Localis, Instrumentalis im Altindischen, Lateinischen, Griechischen u. Deutschen*. Berlin, 1867.

² The term is borrowed from Logeman, who uses it in his *Rule of St. Benet* (p. xxxix), though with a wider application than is here given to it.

subject of the "crude" participle is still a dative. The participle, then, while "crude" in form, represents a dative of the earlier, unweathered stage of the language. Lastly, it must be said that no clear example of an absolute participle in any other case than those mentioned occurs in Anglo-Saxon: the participles cited as absolute nominatives by Koch and March, but as absolute accusatives by Grein and Zupitza, as well as those cited by Earle as absolute genitives, can all be explained in another way, as will be seen in the consideration of the individual examples (see pp. 323, 326, 329, 331 below).

The following texts have been read :

(a) *Anglo-Saxon* :

Aelfr. Col. = 'Colloquium Aelfrici,' in Wright's 'A. S. and O. E. Vocabularies,' 2d ed., by Wülcker, Vol. 1, pp. 89-103.

Aelfr. de Temp. = 'Aelfric's Bearbeitung von Beda's De Temporibus,' in Wright's 'Popular Treatises on Science.' London, 1841, pp. 1-19.

Aelfr. de v. et n. Test. = Grein, 'Aelfrik de vetere et novo Testamento, Pentateuch, Josua, Buch der Richter u. Hiob.' Cassel, 1872.

Aelfr. Hept.¹ = ib.

Aelfr. Hom. = Thorpe, 'The Homilies of the A. S. Church.' 2 vols., London, 1844, 1846.

Aelfr. L. S. = Skeat, 'Aelfric's Lives of Saints.' 2 vols., London, 1881, 1885.

Aelfr. Sig. = MacLean, 'Aelfric's A. S. Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigewulfi,' etc. Anglia, Bd. 6, 425-73; 7, 1-59.

Basil Adm. = Norman, 'The A. S. Version of the Hexameron of St. Basil . . . and the A. S. Remains of St. Basil's Admonitio ad filium spiritualem.' 2 ed., London, 1849.

Bede = Smith, 'Beda's Historia ecclesiastica a . . . Anglo-Saxonum rege Alfredo Saxonice reddita' (pp. 471-649 in Bede², which see under (b) *Latin*).

Benedict¹ = A. Schröer, 'Die ags. Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel.' 1 Hälfte, Kassel, 1885.

Benet¹ = H. Logeman, 'The Rule of St. Benet, Latin and A. S. Interlinear Version.' London, 1888.

Bl. Hom. = Morris, 'The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century.' 3 vols., London, 1874-1880.

Boeth.¹ = Fox, 'King Alfred's A. S. Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae.' London, 1864.

¹ Job is included under this title. The abbreviations for the separate books are self-explanatory.

Chron. = Earle, 'Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel.' Oxford, 1865.

Gosp. = Skeat, 'The Gospels in A. S. and Northumbrian Versions Synoptically Arranged.' 4 vols., Cambridge, 1871-1888.

Greg.¹ = Sweet, 'King Alfred's W. S. Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care.' 2 vols., London, 1871-72.

Hexam. = See "Basil Adm."

Laws = Schmid, 'Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen.' 2. umgearbeitete Aufl., Leipzig, 1858.

Oros.¹ = Sweet, 'King Alfred's Orosius.' Pt. I: O. E. Text and Lat. Original. London, 1883.

Poems¹ = Grein, 'Bibliothek der ags. Poesie.' 2 vols., Göttingen, 1857-58.

Ps. Th.¹ = Thorpe, 'Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Latina cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica.' Oxonii, 1835 (for the prose psalms only; the poetical ones are cited from Grein).

Salm. Kembl. = Kemble, 'The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus.' London, 1848 (for prose only; rest from Grein).

Wulfst. = Napier, 'Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien.' Berlin, 1883.

(b) *Latin* :

Bede² = Smith, 'Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum libri quinque, auctore . . . Baeda.' Cantabrigiae, 1722.

Benedict² = Migne, 'Regula St. Benedicti.' Paris, 1866 (in Patrol. Vol. 66).

Benet² = ib.

Bible² = Sabatier, 'Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae, seu, Vetus Italica, . . . quae cum Vulgata Latina & cum Textu Graeco comparantur.' Paris, 1751.

Boeth.² = Peiper, 'Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque.' Leipzig, 1871.

Greg.² = H. R. Bramley, 'S. Gregory on the Pastoral Charge: The Benedictine Text, with an English Translation.' Oxford, 1874.

Oros.² = See "Oros.¹" in (a) *Anglo-Saxon*.

Ps. Th.² = See "Ps. Th.¹" in (a) *Anglo-Saxon*. (The Latin for the whole of the Psalms is cited from this, unless stated otherwise.)

¹ The separate poems are cited according to the abbreviations used by Grein.

² The citations are from the Vulgate, unless stated otherwise.

I.

STATISTICS OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

I.—In the Prose Works.¹BEDE¹ (100).

A. Present Participle (51):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (45):

Bede¹ 479. 39 *Ðæt ricsiendum Gratiano* M. wæs . . . acenned = Bede² 48. 2 *Ut regnante Gratiano* . . . creatus . . . redierit. So :³ 480. 2 (48. 18),⁴ 480. 5 (49. 2), 481. 30 (51. 6), 572. 3 (147. 35), 585. 18 (160. 10).—641. 12 *ða æt nyhstan him eallum fullumien-dum* wæs W. onfangen = 208. 25 *tandem cunctis fauentibus*, . . . sit receptus.—575. 13 *swa eallum geseondum* upp on heofonas gewat = 151. 7 *sic videntibus cunctis* ad alta subduxit. So : 596. 12 (170. 7).—644. 26 on *ðam ealonde* *ðæt he sumre niwre gyfe lihtendre* . . . gehalgode = 217. 14 in insula, quam ipse velut *nova quadam relucente gratia* . . . consecraverat.—581. 38 seo *hwæðere him ðanon gewitendum* . . . agenne b. habban ne mihte = 155. 28 Vulg. qua tamen illo *abeunte*, etc.—585. 27 *fore-gesettendum* *ðam godspellum* = 160. 18 *praepositis evangelis*.—596. 4 *engla weredum gelædendum* to heofonum = 170. 1 *comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis*.—622. 17 to *ðam se* . . . cempa *ymbliðendre Breotone* utan *cuman wolde* = 190. 24 *circumnavigata Britannia* (ymbliðendre a scribal error for ymbliðenre?).—550. 19 *forðferendum* (MS T. *forðferdum*) [*Felice*] = 125. 4 *defuncto Felice*. So : 550. 33 (125. 15), 506. 2 (83. 22).—547. 30 *forðgangendre*⁴ *tide* = 122. 29 *procedente tempore*. So : 555. 11 (128. 34), 599. 33 (172. 33); similarly : 536. 9 (114. 38), 610. 35b (180. 29).—643. 34. 35 *bodiendum Ecbyrhte and lærendum* = 216. 32 *praedicante Ecgebercto*. So *bodigendum* : 552. 4 (126. 21),

¹ Arranged approximately in their chronological order.

² Under "so" are cited words identical with the one quoted; under "similarly," words closely akin to it in signification.

³ The figures in parenthesis refer to the corresponding Latin text.

⁴ With the absolute use of *forðgangendre*, *afterfyligendre*, etc. here, compare the following examples, where they are used attributively : 535. 36 (114. 29), 537. 4 (115. 17), 558. 31 (136. 2), 582. 15 (155. 42), 587. 32 (162. 31), 632. 15 (198. 11).

529. 2 (109. 30); *lærendum*: 635. 10 (200. 2).—565. 10 Ðæt Deodorus se Arcebisceop *gondferendum* ealle Angelcynnes cyricum mid rihte geleafullre soðfæstnesse . . . hi georne het beon lærende = 142. 39 Ut *Theodoro cuncta peragrans*, Anglorum ecclesiae cum catholica veritate . . . coeperint imbui (*gondferendum* for *gondferdum* and to be construed with *cyricum*? though even then the sentence would not be correct. The translator seems to waver between using an appositive and an absolute participle).—Other examples: 485. 5 (57. 24), 644. 17 (217. 6), 573. 12 (149. 3), 605. 9 (176. 38), 585. 24 (160. 15), 585. 26 (160. 17), 609. 20 (179. 46), 610. 35a (180. 29), 613. 7 (182. 6), 553. 12, 13 (127. 14), 553. 14 (127. 16), 572. 4 (147. 36), 560. 11 (137. 31), 569. 26 (145. 51), 570. 12a (146. 23), 570. 12b (146. 23).

2. An A. S. instrumental absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1):

567. 7 Ða cam seo tid ðy *uplican dome stihtigende* = 144. 17 *adfuit superno dispensante iudicio* tempus.

3. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (5):

478. 10 *eallum utagangende* [MS B. *utagangendum*] = 46. 27 *cunctis aggressis*.—576. 34 *hwylcum teonde* [MS B. has a finite verb] = 152. 7 *quo trahente*.—631. 26 *flowende* [MS T. *flowendum*] Ðam styccum = 197. 39 *defluentibus crustis*.—636. 12 Ðissum monnum ðeniende = 204. 1 *Quibus administrantibus*.—647. 14 *efenblissiende Breotone* = 219. 23 *congratulante Britannia*.

B. Preterite Participle (49):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (43):

474. 24 Ða *forðongenre tide*, æfter Bryttum and Peohtum ðridde cynn Scotta Breotone onfeng = 41. 45 *Procedente autem tempore* B. . . . tertiam nationem recepit.—505. 10 ðy læs him *forðferedum* [MS B. *forðferendum*] se steall . . . cyricean . . . tealtrian ongunne = 82. 16 ne *se defuncto* status ecclesiae vacillare inciperet. So: 539. 12 (117. 2), 560. 2 (137. 26), 563. 6. 7 (141. 6. 7), 566. 15 (143. 34), 566. 24 (143. 42), 621. 17 (189. 2).—533. 7 Hæfde O. . . . rice [nigon gear *togeteledum*] ðy¹ *geare* = 112. 33 *adnumerato illo anno*.—557. 15 *ofaheawenum* ðy¹ *getreowleasan heafde* . . . gecyrde = 130. 11 *desecto capite perfido*, . . . convertit.—569. 25 *to heora mode gelæddum* ðærre *forhtiendan tide*

¹ The participle is in the dative, though its subject is in the instrumental, as is evident from the accompanying demonstrative pronoun.

hwonne = 145. 50 *reducto ad mentem tremendo illo tempore* quando (gelæddum instead of gelæddre, by the influence of *reducto* before the translator came to *tide*, the translation of *tempus*?).—578. 28 heo . . . *gebigdum cneowum* hire gebæd = 153. 12 cum . . . *flexis genibus* oraret.—544. 22 *Dyssum wundre* ða *oncnawenum* = 120. 24 *Quo clarescente miraculo*.—478. 29 *gefylledre wilsumnesse* and ðære ðenunge = 46. 47 *ministerio pervoluto, devotione completa*. So: 505. 3 (82. 10), 555. 2 (128. 28), 580. 1 (154. 4).—Other examples: 482. 28 (52. 7), 485. 7. 8 (57. 25. 26), 502. 3 (79. 11), 512. 17 (89. 2), 514. 7 (92. 2), 521. 2 (101. 8), 543. 7 (119. 43), 556. 2 (129. 10), 568. 23 (145. 17), 570. 30 (146. 38), 571. 11 (147. 10), 571. 18 (147. 15), 573. 35 (149. 33), 573. 37 (149. 35), 576. 42 (152. 13), 585. 12 (160. 5), 592. 41 (167. 27), 601. 15 (173. 40), 606. 42 (178. 5), 628. 24 (195. 46), 635. 3 (199. 47), 644. 18a and b (217. 7), 646. 31 (219. 7).

2. An A. S. instrumental absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (5):

479. 14 *fulfremede compe* = 47. 11 *perfecto agone*.—511. 21 *getogene* ðy *wæpne* = 88. 18 *evaginata sica*.—570. 13 *gehælde gewitte* = 146. 24 *sanato sensu*.—585. 4 *geendode* ðy *compe* = 159. 39 *finito conflictu*.—606. 22 *forðagane* ðy *wintre* = 177. 30 *peracta hieme*.

3. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle occurs without a corresponding absolute participle in Latin (1):

544. 20 ac . . . seo wræðstudu an . . . *eallre ðære cyricean and ðam oðrum getimbre forburnen* [ungehrinen] fram ðam fyre stod [MS T. Ac . . . ða studu ane . . . ðæt fyr gretan ne meahte] = 120. 24 Sed . . . sola illa destina . . . , ab ignibus circum cuncta vorantibus, absumi non potuit.

BOETHIUS¹.

No example of either participle.

GREGORY¹ (1).

A. Preterite Participle (1):

1. An A. S. instrumental absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1):

39. 22 swa *awende mode* he hine geðiedde to feldgo[n]gendum deorum = Greg.¹ 20a hunc agri bestiis *mutata mente* conjunxit (cf. Wülfing,¹ §20. 3).

¹ Wülfing, E.: Darstellung der Syntax in K. Alfred's Übersetzung von Gregor's des Grossen "Cura Pastoralis." Bonn, 1888.

OROSIUS' (5).

A. *Present Participle* (5):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin appositive participle in the nominative (1):

34. 1 Joseph, se ðe gingst wæs hys gebroðra, and eac gleawra ofer hi ealle; ðæt, him ða *ondrædendum* ðæm *gebroðrum*, hy genamon J. and hine gesealdan cipemonnum = Oros.' 33. 29 Minimus aetate inter fratres J. fuit, cujus excellens ingenium fratres *veriti*, interceptum mercatoribus vendiderunt.

2. An A. S. dative absolute occurs without a corresponding absolute participle in Latin, though in two of the examples an ablative absolute not corresponding to the A. S. dative absolute does occur (4):

52. 18 Se ða, mid ðon ðe he geweax, him ða *ofðyncendum* and ðæm *Persum* ðæt hie on his eames anwalde wæron and on ðara Meða, ac hie gewin uphofan = 53. 16 Sed Cyrus, mox ut adolevit, congregata Persarum manu, avo certamen indixit. So: 80. 23 (81. 18), 112. 27 (113. 22).—244. 16 Hit ða *eallum* ðæm *senatum* *ofðyncendum* and ðæm *consulum* ðæt . . . ahleopan ða ealle, etc. (245. 16).

PSALMS, THORPE'.

No example of either participle.

CHRONICLE (8).

A. *Present Participle* (4):

1. Dative absolute (4):

616 E *rixiendum* *Eadbaldu* [F. *rixiende* *Eadbalde*] M. for.—
797 A *Gode fultomiendum* he meahte geseon. So: 917 D.—
913 C *Gode forgyfendum* for A. to T.

B. *Preterite Participle* (4):

1. Dative absolute (2):

560 A A. feng to Norðanhymbra rice, *Idan forðgefarenum*.—
792 E and Osred . . . æfter wræc siðe ham *cumenum* gelæht was and ofslagen.

2. "Crude" (2):

1086 E *Disum* ðus *gedone*, se c. ferde.—1090 E *Disum* ðus *gedon*, se c. wæs smægende.

Note: Supposed Instance of a Genitive Absolute.—Earle, in his note to 1006 D (and ðær onbidedon *beotra gylpa*), Chron. p. 336, says of the phrase italicized: "It is a genuine Saxon idiom = *out*

of insolent bravado. It is a sort of genitive absolute, a good example of which may be seen in a charter communicated by the late Mr. Kemble to the Archaeological Journal, No. 53 (1837), p. 60: *ungebetra ðinga* [the clause is: *and wende A. hine eft into S. ungebetra ðinga*;] = *without having mended matters*." *beotra* is not cited in any of the dictionaries; it must, however, be an adjective, possibly for *bettra*? We have, at any rate, a simple genitive of manner, as in: *gewealdes monnan ofslea* (Laws: Alf. Intr. 13). See March's A. S. Grammar,¹ §325. *ungebetra ðinga*, though more nearly approaching an absolute clause, is also a genitive of manner. Compare the German *unverrichteter dinge*, *unverrichteter sachen*, etc., as cited in Grimm, l. c. 908. ix, where it is said: "viele diese formeln sind veraltet und in den meisten hat das part. nur adjectivisch attributiven sinn."

LAWS (3).

A. Present Participle (1):

1. Dative absolute (1):

Wihtr. Int. *cyninge rixigendum*.

B. Preterite Participle (2):

1. Dative absolute (2):

Alf. c. 42. §7 *mon mot feohtan orwige, gif he gemeteð oðerne æt his æwum wife betynedum durum* [H. *betynede*].—Athlr. vii §6 *eal hired æðenedum limum ætforan Godes weofode singe ðone sealm, Domine*, etc.

BENEDICT¹ (21).

A. Present Participle (8):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (8):

10. 5 *Gode fullumigendum* = Benedict² 246 B *adjuvante Domino*. So: 133. 16 (930 B).—Other examples: 10. 13a and b (263 A), 35. 8 (435 B), 35. 21 (436 A), 38. 16 (448 A), 62. 9 (603 A).

B. Preterite Participle (13).

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (11):

33. 13 *Don* [OTF: *ðam*] *geendedum sylle*, etc. = 422 D *Quibus dictis, dicto versu, benedicat*. So: 35. 19 (436 B), 35. 23 (436 B), 68. 13 (675 B).—46. 3 *geworhtum beacne* = 480 A *facto signo*.

¹ March, F. A.: A Comp. Gramm. of the A. S. Language. New York, 1870.

So: 47. 12 (490 C).—Other examples: 31. 11 (374 C), 33. 1 (410 B), 35. 15 (436 A), 44. 9 (470 A), 67. 9 (671 A).

2. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative of quality (1):

31. 8 and swa hwær swa he sy sittende, standende, oððe gangende, *ohnigenum heafde* simle his gesyhða aduna on eorðan besette = 374 C vel ubicunque sedens, ambulans, vel stans, *inclinato* sit semper *capite*, defixis in terram aspectibus. (Or have we in A. S. a dative of manner?)

3. An A. S. dative absolute occurs without a corresponding absolute participle in Latin (1):

137. 30 *gesealdum beacne* (cf. 35. 15 *gesealdre bletsunge* = 436 A *benedicente abbate*).

BLICKLING HOMILIES (7).

A. Present Participle (5):

1. Dative absolute (4):

153. 32 *him wependum*, ða com.—155. 10 *him sittendum*, ða com.—181. 4 *me ætstondendum* he ðis eal dyde.—183. 4 ic bebeode *him eow eallum tolociendum*.

2. "Crude" (1):

245. 30 And ðus *cweðende*, fyren wolc astah.

B. Preterite Participle (2):

1. Dative absolute (1):

151. 16 Ic wille . . . *forsearedum him* begen dælas forbrecan.

2. "Crude" (1):

æfter ðyssum *wordum gefylde*, ða wæs M. arisende (cf. Flamme,¹ §11. 5d).

AELFRIC'S HOMILIES (42).

A. Present Participle (9):

1. Dative absolute (9):

I 296a Ða . . . ferde he to heofonum, *him on locigendum* (cf. Vulg. Acts 1. 9). So: I 452b, 466b.—I 310a "ferdon and bodedon gehwær, *Drihtne samod wyrccendum and ða spræce getrymmendum*" (cf. Vulg. Mk. 16. 20).—I 362a Se bydel ðe bodað rihtne geleafan and gode weorc, he gearcað ðone weig *cumendum Gode to . . . heortan*. (Or is the participle appositive, as Thorpe translates?).—I 396b *cweðendum Drihtne*.—Other examples: I 494a (or appositive?), 508a.

¹ Flamme, J.: Syntax der Blickling Homilies. Bonn, 1885.

B. *Preterite Participle* (33):

1. Dative absolute (33):

I 50b S. soðlice *gebigedum cneowum* D. bæd. So: I 372b, 420a; II 508b, 578b.—I 74b and *astrehtum handum* to Gode clypode. So: I 380a, 568a; II 138a, 186b. Similarly: I 294b; II 360a, 516b.—I 230a Cristes lichama com inn, *beclysedum durum*, se ðe wearð acenned of ðam mædene M. *beclysedum* (or attributive?) *innøðe*. So: I 230b, 458b; II 166b. Similarly: I 230a.—I 566a *geendodum dagum*. So: II 260b.—II 262a Crist aras . . . *oferswiðdum deaðe*. Sq: II 364b.—I 544a *ablunnenre ehtnysse*.—Other examples: I 340a, 386a, 414b, 434b, 440b, 488a, 546b; II 292a (or appositive participle in the genitive, as Thorpe translates?), 326a.

Note: Apparent Instances of a Nominative Absolute in Aelfric's Homilies.—In Aelfr. Hom. I 150a, 228b, 338a, *wunigende* appears to be used absolutely in the nominative; but in reality either there is an ellipsis of the copulative verb or the participle is appositive, as is evident from a comparison of I 324b, 326b, etc.

AELFRIC'S LIVES OF SAINTS (12).

A. *Preterite Participle* (12):

1. Dative absolute (12):

64. 227 gebæd *gebygdum cneowum*. So: 112. 373, 316. 136, 392. 143, 448. 103.—76. 449 *upahafenum handum*. So: 76. 451. Similarly: 182. 224.—422. 281 *forlætenum gedwylde* gelyfde on d.—140. 380 bealdlice eode ofer ða byrnendan gleda, *unforbærnedum fotum* (or attributive?).—Other examples: 162. 255, 452. 175.

AELFRIC'S DE VETERE ET NOVO TESTAMENTO (1).

A. *Preterite Participle* (1):

1. Dative absolute (1):

De N. Test. 13. 42 astah to h. . . . *gewunnenum sige*.

AELFRIC'S HEPTATEUCH (3).

A. *Present Participle* (1):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1):

Exod. 22. 3 Gif he *sunnan scinendre* ðæt deð = *Quod si orto sole hoc fecerit*.

B. *Preterite Participle* (2):

1. An A. S. dative absolute occurs without a corresponding absolute participle in the Latin (2):

Gen. 14. 16 *gewunnenum sige*. So: Judg. p. 263, l. 10, Epilogus.

AELFRIC'S COLLOQUIUM (3).

A. *Preterite Participle* (3):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (3):

90b *ac geiukodan oxan and gefæstnodon sceare and cultre . . .*
ælcæ dæg ic sceal erian = sed iunctis bobus et confirmato vomere
et cultro . . . omni die debeo arare.—101a *swa swa byrgels,*
metlum ofergeweorce, wiðinnan ful stence = sicut sepulchrum
depicto mausoleo intus plenum fetore.

AELFRIC'S BEDE'S DE TEMPORIBUS (2).

A. *Preterite Participle* (2):

1. Dative absolute (2):

11a *us is neod ðæt we ða halgan eastertide be ðam soðan regole*
healdan, næfre ær emnihte, and oferswiðdum ðeostrum.—18b
gebigedum cneowum gebæd.

AELFRIC'S INTERROGATIONES SIGEWULFI.

No example of either participle.

BASIL'S ADMONITIO AND HEXAMERON.

No example of either participle.

THE GOSPELS (66).

A. *Present Participle* (25):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (21):

Mat. 17. 5 *Him ða gyt sprecendum* [H. *sprecende*], and soðlice
ða beorhtwolcn hig oferscean = Adhuc eo loquente, ecce nubes
lucida obumbravit eos. So: Mk. 5. 35, 14. 43; Lk. 8. 49, 22. 47.
 —Mat. 1. 20 *Him ðencendum = eo cogitante.* So: Lk. 3. 15.
 Similarly: Lk. 3. 15.—Mk. 16. 20 Soðlice hi ða farende æghwær
bodedon, drihtne mid-wyrcendum and trymmendre spræce = Illi
antem profecti praedicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante &
sermonem confirmante (trymmendre for trymmendum through the
 influence of *spræce*?).—Mk. 14. 18 *him twelfsum sittendum and*

etendum [H. *sittende and etende*] sæde se h. = *Et discumbentibus eis & manducantibus*, ait J. So: Mk. 14. 22.—Other examples: Lk. 3. 1, 3. 21, 9. 37, 9. 43, 12. 1, 20. 45, 21. 26, 24. 47.

2. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (3):

Mat. 13. 1 *ðam Hælende utgangendum*, he sæt wið ða sæ = *exiens Jesus de domo sedebat secus mare*. So: Mk. 5. 2. Similarly: Mk. 16. 12.

3. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1 (11')):

Lk. 9. 34 and hi ondredon *him gangende on ðæt genip* = & *timuerunt, intransibibus illis in nubem*.

Note: "Crude" Forms in the Hatton MS.—The Hatton MS gives "crude" forms instead of the normal (dative) forms of the Corpus MS in the following instances (11): Mat. 17. 5; Mk. 14. 18 (2 exs.), 14. 22, 14. 43, 16. 12, 16. 20; Lk. 9. 37, 12. 1, 20. 45, 24. 47.

B. *Preterite Participle* (41):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (37):

Mat. 4. 13 *forlætenre ðære ceastre*, he com = *relicta civitate*, venit. So: Mat. 16. 4.—Mat. 6. 6. *dura belocenre* = *clauso ostio*. So: J. 20. 26.—Mat. 13. 21 *genwordenre gedrefednesse* = *facta tribulatione & persecutione*. So: Mk. 6. 2; Lk. 4. 42, 6. 48.—Mat. 15. 10 *menegum togædere geclypedum* = *convocatis turbis*. So: Mat. 15. 32; Mk. 8. 1, 8. 34.—Mk. 1. 31 *genealæcende* he hi up ahof *hyre handa gegripenre* = *accedens elevavit eam, apprehensa manu ejus*.—Mk. 16. 2 *upasprungenre sunnan* = *orto sole*.—Mk. 1. 40 *gebigedum cneowum* him to cwæð = *genu flexo* dixit ei. So: Mk. 10. 17; Lk. 22. 41.—Lk. 2. 43 *gefylledum dagum* = *consummatis diebus*. So: Lk. 3. 21, 4. 2, 4. 13.—Lk. 24. 50 *handum upahafenum* = *elevatis manibus*.—Other examples: Mat. 9. 33, 10. 1, 13. 6, 15. 12; Mk. 5. 40, 6. 5, 6. 41, 12. 20, 14. 3, 14. 26, 14. 52; Lk. 6. 10, 7. 9, 8. 29, 19. 28.

2. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (3):

Mat. 17. 14 him to genealæhte sum mann, *gebigedum cneowum toforan him*, and cwæð = *accessit ad eum homo genibus provolutus ante eum, dicens*. (Some of the Italic MSS have *genibus provolutis*.)—Lk. 1. 63 *ða wrat he gebedenum wex-brede* = *Et*

¹ In Hatton MS.

postulans pugillarem scripsit.—Lk. 17. 7 Hwylc eower hæð eregendne ðeow oððe scep læsgendne ðam of ðam æcere gehworfenum [H. ðam . . . gehworfene], he him sona segð ga and site = Quis autem vestrum habens servum arantem aut pascentem, qui *regresso* de agro dicat illi, etc.

3. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1 (10)):

Mat. 20. 2 *Gewordene* [H. *gewordenre*] *gecwydrædene* = *conventionē facta*.

Note: "Crude" Forms in the Hatton MS.—The Hatton MS has "crude" forms for the normal (dative) forms of the Corpus MS in the following instances (10): Mat. 9. 33, 10. 1; Mk. 5. 40, 6. 2, 8. 34, 14. 3; Lk. 6. 48, 17. 7, 19. 28, 24. 50.

WULFSTAN'S HOMILIES (7).

A. Present Participle (2):

1. Dative absolute (2):

193. 19 and swa him sylfum he hi geahnað, ðæt *deofle samod wyrendum* heo ðurh man geacnoð on innoðe.—201. 18 Crist astah to h. *eallum . . . mannum . . . on lociendum*.

B. Preterite Participle (5):

1. Dative absolute (5):

170. 16 sece gehwa his scrift swyðe georne and *unscodum fotum* georne godes cyrican (or attributive?). So: 173. 12.—171. 4 *aðenedum limum* sumne sealm singan. So: 181. 26.—227. 19 and æfter *eallum ðisum swa gewordenum* he gesceop A.

BENET¹ (66).

A. Present Participle (19):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (18):

10. 5 *Gode gefultumiandum* winnan and hi nihtsumiað = *deo auxiliante* pugnare sufficiunt. So: 11. 7. Similarly: 118. 13, 98. 16, 118. 15.—11. 13 *secgendum* — = *dicente apostolo* (with omitted subject, as often in this gloss). So: 2. 8b, 32. 5.—Other examples: 2. 8a, 14. 2, 28. 1, 37. 15, 40. 10, 41. 7, 44. 9, 82. 1, 88. 8a and b.

2. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (1):

6. 5 *dihtende gescad* = *dictante ratione*.

Note: An apparent example of a Nominative Absolute.—In

Benet 118. 6 (oððe la hwilc boc haligra rihte fædera ðæt na sweg mid rihtum rine we *becumende* to urum scyppende? = . . . ut recto cursu perveniamus ad creatorem nostrum) *becumende* appears to be used absolutely with *we*; but the scribe has simply run the copula and the participle together, and we should read either *beon* or *beoð cumende*.—In 10. 11 (*gangende*) there is an ellipsis of the copula in A. S. as in the Latin.

B. *Preterite Participle* (47):

1. An A. S. dative absolute corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (43):

11. 5 *ðisum forlætenum* = *his omissis*. So: 58. 16, 75. 15.—36. 3 *gefæstnodum gesyhðum* = *defixis aspectibus*. So: 36. 7.—38. 8a *ðam gesungenum* = *quibus dictis*. So: 41. 11, 74. 16. Similarly: 38. 8b, 41. 6, 66. 17, 41. 13, 75. 1.—39. 12 *utasyndredum ðæt*, etc. = *excepto quod*. So: 45. 5.—40. 4 *utasyndrodum sealmes* = *excepto psalmo*. So: 49. 12, 83. 15, 105. 8.—50. 17 *gedihtenre endebyrdnysse* = *digesto ordine*. So: 51. 4.—53. 13 *gewordenre tacne* = *facto signo* (false concord here, but correct in the following): 55. 3. So: 82. 11 (with "crude" subject). Similarly: 66. 13a, 76. 8, 87. 1, 87. 8.—67. 4 *afangenre bletsunge* and *he ingan* = *accepta benedictione ingrediatur*. So: 69. 11.—Other examples: 2. 9, 3. 10, 37. 17, 40. 9 (with "crude" subject), 41. 14, 66. 13b, 71. 11, 77. 14, 78. 11, 88. 7, 89. 3, 90. 11, 99. 18.

2. An A. S. "crude" absolute participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute (4):

50. 3 *gesetnyssa gehealden* = *dispositione servata*.—71. 5 *asyn-drode oferfylle* = *remota crapula*.—75. 2 *eallum becomen togædere* = *omnibus in unum occurrentibus*.—98. 9 *geworden sylene* = *facta donatione*.

SALOMON AND SATURNUS, KEMBLE.

No example of either participle.

II.—*In the Poems.*

GENESIS (1).

A. *Preterite Participle* (1):

1. Dative absolute (1):

1585

Hie ða raðe stopon,
heora andwilitan in bewrigenum
under loðum listum.

See Vulg. Gen. 9. 23, though there is no Latin there exactly corresponding to the A. S. clause. Cf. Hofer,¹ §28, by whom also the above example is cited.

RÄTSEL (1).

A. *Preterite Participle* (1):

1. Dative absolute (1):

60. 14 Ne mæg ðære *bene* [to ðæs beages dolgum]
 æniges monnes *ungefullodre*
 godes ealdorburg gæst gesecan,
 rodera ceastre.

Grein (Dichtungen der Ags., 2, p. 237) translates: "Wenn das Flehen [zu den Wunden des funkelnden Ringes] bleibt unerfüllt," etc., and construes *ungefullodre* as a dative absolute; so does Delbrück, l. c. p. 44. Possibly we have an absolute participle, only it is to be observed that a half-verse is lacking in the text and we cannot be sure of the reading.

Note: Examples in the Poems of Participles hitherto cited as Absolute:

1. Dative absolute:

- Beow. 1479 Geðenc nu . . .
 . . . nu ic eom siðes fus,
 . . . hwæt wit geo spræcon,
 gif ic æt ðearfe ðinre scolde
 aldre linnan, ðæt ðu *me* a wære
forðgewitenum on sæder stæle!

K. Köhler² (p. 69) cites this as an example of a dative absolute, and translates "*me defuncto*"; but the participle is really appositive, and the words underscored are properly translated "*mihi defuncto*." Heyne, in the glossary to his edition of Beowulf (4th Aufl.), under *forð* translates thus: *me . . . forð gewitenum mir dem hinweggegangenen, dem Verschiedenen*. Garnett translates the phrase in the same way (Beowulf, Transl. by J. M. Garnett. 2d ed., Boston, 1885).

¹ Hofer, O.: Der Syntakt. Gebrauch des Dativs u. Instrum. in den Caedmon beigelegten dichtungen, in Anglia, VII 355-404.

² Köhler, K.: Der Syntakt. Gebr. des Inf. u. Particips im "Beowulf." Münster, 1886.

a predicate participle after *wæs* understood, the two together making a periphrastic preterite; while under *andsaca* he writes: "*fylde helle* (acc. absol.) *mid ðam ands.*" *Helle* is most probably an accusative here, since it is not cited as a nominative elsewhere. Körner (Einleitung in das Studium des Ags. I, Notes, p. 251) construes *fylde* as the preterite indicative and *helle* as its accusative object, supplying *man* as its subject from the preceding line; as do Bouterwek¹ and Napier² (p. 63, note to 30').

Gû. 1011 ne bið ðæs lengra swice,
 sawelgedales, ðonne seofon niht
 fyrstgearnarces, ðæt min feorh heonan
 on ðisse eahteðan ende geseceð
 dæg scriðende.

Grein, in a foot-note, says: "1011) *dæg scriðende* Acc. abs.: wenn der Tag heranschreitet (vgl. 1265 ff.)," and, in his Glossary, under *dæg*: "*= die appropinquante*, Kurz vor Tagesanbruch." March (l. c. §295 (6)) suggests that we have here a nominative absolute, as does Koch (l. c. §158), who translates, "wenn der Tag schreitet." Zupitza translates, "mit tages-anbruch?" *dæg* is probably a scribal error for *dæge*; and *sriðende* is attributive rather than absolute: it is descriptive rather than predicative.

Ps. C. l. 97 Ne aweorp ðu me, weoruda dryhten,
 fram ansione ealra ðinra miltsa
 ne ðane godan fram me gast haligne
 aferredne, frea ælmeahtig,
 ðinra arna ealne bescerwe!

The corresponding Latin in Ps. Th.³ is as follows: *Ne projicias me a facie tua, et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.* Grein, in a foot-note, says: "96-97) Acc. abs. (Dietr.);" but *aferredne* is probably an error for *aferre ne*. If the line is emended thus, *aferre* is coordinated with the two other imperatives, *aweorp* and *bescerwe*, a construction closer to the Latin original and far more natural to the A. S. language than the abridged sentence.

3. Participles in the dative after *be*.

For convenience of reference we give here a

¹ Bouterwek, K. W.: *Cædmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen.* 2. Teil, Glossar. Elberfeld, 1849-1851.

² Napier, A.: *Über die Werke des ae. Erzbischofs Wulfstan.* Weimar, 1882.

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLES IN
ANGLO-SAXON.

Work.	Total.	Pres. Ptc.			Pret. Ptc.			
		Dat.	Inst.	"Crude."	Dat.	Inst.	"Crude."	
Bede ¹	100	45	1	5	43	5	1	
Boeth. ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Greg. ¹	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
Oros. ¹	5	5	...	...	...	...	...
Ps. Th. ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chron.	8	4	...	...	2	...	2
Laws	3	1	...	...	2	...	...
Benedict ¹	21	8	...	...	13	...	...
Bl. Hom.	7	4	...	1	1	...	1	
Aelf. Hom.	42	9	...	...	33	...	...
Aelf. L. S.	12	...	...	...	12	...	...
Aelf. Hept.	3	1	...	...	2	...	...
Aelf. : Minor Pieces	6	...	...	...	6	...	...
Gospels {	Mat.	15	3	...	[1]	11	...	1[2]
	Mk.	23	9	...	[6]	14	...	[4]
	Luke	27	12	...	1[4]	14	...	[4]
	John	1	1
Wulfst.	7	2	...	...	5	...	...
Benet ¹	66	18	...	1	43	...	4	
Salm. Kembl.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poems	2	...	...	...	2	...	...
		121	1	8[11]	204	6	9[10]	
349		130			219			

II.

USES OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

The uses of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon correspond closely to those of the ablative absolute in Latin; and since the latter are well known, the former are here treated with the utmost brevity.

1. *Temporal Use*.—By far the most frequent use of the A. S. absolute participle is to indicate relations of time, a fact that is not surprising, since in Latin all the uses of the ablative absolute sprang from the temporal use of the ablative (Gildersleeve's *Lat. Gramm.*, §408, Rem.). As a rule, the present participle denotes that the action of the chief verb is contemporaneous with that expressed by the participle itself (a); the preterite participle, that it is subsequent thereto (b). In the case of translations, the A. S.

participle in (a) answers to the Latin present participle and in (b) to the Latin perfect participle of a transitive verb.

Since the A. S. language had no preterite participle with an active signification, the translator was puzzled to know how to translate the perfect participle of a Latin deponent verb. Sometimes the present participle is used (c), sometimes the preterite (d); while in several of the examples one MS gives the one and another the other (e).

In three instances (Bede 536. 9 (114. 38), 585. 27 (160. 18), 622. 17 (190. 24)) an A. S. present participle translates the perfect participle of a Latin transitive verb; but in the first example the participle is used attributively, in the second modally, while in the third the present participle is doubtless a scribal error for the preterite participle. Conversely, an A. S. preterite participle occasionally translates a Latin present participle (f), the Latin representing the actions denoted by participle and verb as contemporaneous, while the Anglo-Saxon represents the one as slightly subsequent to the other.

Examples:—(a): Bede' 479. 39, 575. 13 (see above, p. 320); Chron. 616 E (above, p. 323), Bl. Hom. 153. 32 (above, p. 325); Aelfr. Hom. I 296a (above, p. 325); Mat. 17. 5 (above, p. 327); Wulfst. 201. 18 (above, p. 329); etc.—(b): Bede' 557. 15 (above, p. 321); Chron. 560 A (above, p. 323); etc.—(c): Bede' 478. 10 (46. 27), 506. 2 (83. 22); Oros.' 34. 1; Aelfr. Exod. 22. 3.—(d): Bede' 539. 12 (117. 2), 560. 2 (137. 26), 563. 6. 7 (141. 6. 7), 566. 15 (143. 34), 566. 24 (143. 42), 573. 37 (149. 35), 621. 17 (189. 2); Mat. 13. 6; Mk. 16. 2.—(e): Bede' 550. 19 (125. 4), 550. 33 (125. 15), 505. 10 (82. 16).—(f): Bede' 474. 24 (41. 45), 544. 22 (120. 24); Benedict' 33. 1 (410 B), 35. 15 (436 A); Benet 75. 2.

2. *Modal Use*.—Again, the absolute clause denotes the manner in which an action is done or the means by which it is executed. The modal use of the absolute participle stands next in frequency to the temporal. Examples: Bede' 596. 4 (above, p. 320); Greg.' 39. 22 (above, p. 322); Aelfr. Hom. I 50b (above, p. 326); Wulfst. 171. 4 (above, p. 329); etc.

3. *Causal Use*.—Less frequently the absolute clause denotes the cause or ground of the main action. Examples: Bede' 567. 7 (above, p. 321); Oros.' 34. 1 (above, p. 323); Aelfr. Hom. II 262a (above, p. 326); Luke 9. 34; Benet 2. 8; etc.

4. *Conditional Use*.—Still less frequently does the absolute

clause denote a condition. Examples: Bede¹ 533. 7 (above, p. 321), 571. 11 (147. 10); Benet 39. 12 (above, p. 330); etc.

5. *Concessive Use*.—Rarely the absolute clause is used concessively. Examples: Bede¹ 544. 20 (above, p. 322); Aelfr. Hom. I 230a (above, p. 326), I 230b, 440b, 458b; Aelfr. Col. 101a (above p. 327); John 20. 26.

6. *Final Use*.—Very rarely does the absolute clause denote a purpose or the end in view. Example: Benet¹ 71. 11.

Notes.—Several matters that seem worthy of notice, but that do not come properly under any of the above headings, may be mentioned here by way of an appendix to the same: (1) In six instances an absolute participle occurs in Anglo-Saxon without a corresponding participle in the Latin original; see above, pp. 322, 323, 325, 327.—(2) Occasionally an A. S. absolute participle answers to a Latin appositive participle: see above, pp. 323, 328; once to a Latin ablative of quality: p. 325.—(3) Sometimes one A. S. participle turns two Latin participles: Bede¹ 596. 4 (170. 1), 478. 29 (46. 47); Benedict¹ 33. 1 (410 B); or, conversely, there are two participles in A. S. to one in Latin: Bede¹ 643. 34. 35 (216. 32), 644. 18a and b (217. 7).—(4) Occasionally the A. S. absolute clause is incorrectly joined to the chief sentence by a conjunction: Oros.¹ 52. 18; Aelfr. de Temp. 11a; Mat. 17. 5; Benet¹ 2. 9, 67. 4, 69. 11, 90. 11. The same phenomenon appears in Middle English (Einenkel,¹ p. 77) and in Gothic (Lücke,² p. 34).—(5) Sporadically the subject of the A. S. absolute participle is the same as that of the chief verb (a) or its indirect object (b), both constructions that occur exceptionally in Latin (Gildersleeve's Lat. Gramm., §409. 3) and are found in the Latin original of two of our examples. (a): Oros.¹ 34. 1, 52. 18, 80. 23, 112. 27, 244. 16; Mat. 13. 1; Luke 9. 34 (in Latin also), 6. 48; Chron. 792 E.—(b): Mat. 10. 1; Mk. 5. 2, 16. 12; Luke 9. 37 (in Latin also); cf. Gering,³ p. 403.—(6) Twice the subject of the absolute participle is a clause, each time in imitation of the Latin original: Benet¹ 39. 12, 45. 5.—(7) The subject of the absolute participle is sometimes omitted, chiefly in glosses: Luke 24. 47; Bl. Hom. 245. 30; Chron. 792 E; Benet 11. 7, 11. 13, 38. 8b, 49. 12, 71. 11.

¹ Einenkel, E.: Streifzüge durch die Mittelnegl. Syntax. Münster, 1887.

² Lücke, O.: Absolute Participia im Got. u. ihr Verhältn. zum Griech. Original. Magdeburg, 1876.

³ Gering, H. Über den syntakt. Gebr. der Participia im Gotischen, in Z. f. d. Ph. V, 1874, pp. 294-324, 393-433.

III.

ORIGIN OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

Two distinct theories have been proposed and are at present held as to the origin of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon. According to the one, the construction is a native English idiom; according to the other, it is an importation from the Latin. So far as I know, no specific attempt has been made to prove either theory; but it will be well, perhaps, to gather together the little that has been said upon the subject either directly or indirectly.

Grimm holds that the absolute construction is a native Teutonic idiom and, of course, that it is native to Anglo-Saxon. In discussing the use of the absolute participle in Old Saxon, he thus expresses himself (l. c. p. 905): "absolute participia stehen aus dem ganzen Hel. nicht nachzuweisen, die alliterierende poesie, überhaupt die poesie, kann sie wenig brauchen; sie eignen sich, ihrem wesen nach, für die verschlingungen der prosa"; and in the next paragraph: "auf ähnliche weise verhält es sich damit bei den Angelsachsen. die gedichte werden wenig beispiele liefern, . . . voll davon ist aber die prosa." In substantiation of this statement two examples of the absolute participle are quoted from the A. S. poems and a number from the Laws and the Gospels. Koch, in the section headed "Die Abs. Participialconstruction" (l. c. §158), expressly claims that the idiom is genuine Anglo-Saxon: "Die-selbe ist dem Ags. eigen," and likewise cites examples. Mätzner¹ seems to be of the same opinion (l. c. p. 76): "Das abs. Particip des Präsens ist in älterer Zeit verhältnismässig nicht häufig, während es im Ags. sehr oft anzutreffen ist"; and on the following page: "Das Ags. macht häufig von einem abs. Dativ des Particips Gebrauch."

Several scholars notice the correspondence of the A. S. dative absolute with the Latin ablative absolute, but do not express an opinion as to its origin. Their statements deserve to be quoted, however, since they correct at least one of the errors in the preceding quotations. Rask² (§408) merely says: "The two ablatives in A. S. correspond accurately to the two ablatives in Latin." March (l. c. §304(d)), after defining the absolute participle and stating what case is used in the different languages, adds: "The Teutonic languages use this construction seldom." And, in the

¹ Mätzner, E.: *Engl. Gramm.* Bd. III, 2 Aufl., Berlin, 1875.

² Rask, E.: *A Gramm. of the A. S. Tongue.* Transl. by Thorpe. Copenhagen, 1830.

introduction to his grammar (§5), the following general statement is made as to the influence of the Latin language upon the Anglo-Saxon: "The Anglo-Saxon was shaped to literary use by men who wrote and spoke Latin and thought it an ideal language; and a large part of the literature is translated or imitated from Latin authors. It is not to be doubted, therefore, that the Latin exercised a great influence on the Anglo-Saxon: if it did not lead to the introduction of wholly new forms, either of etymology or syntax, it led to the extended and uniform use of those forms which are like the Latin and to the disuse of others, so as to draw the grammars near each other." Müller¹ (p. 250) is more definite and distinctly denies the frequency of the absolute participle in A. S.: "Wenn das Part. zur Satzverkürzung dient, so lehnt es sich entweder an das Subjekt oder an ein Objekt des Hauptsatzes an, oder es hat sein eigenes Subjekt. In diesem letzteren Falle steht es mit seinem Subjekt im instrumentalen Dativ. Das ist die abs. Participlekonstruktion, die der des lat. Abl. abs. entspricht. Doch ist hinzuzufügen, dass die Verwendung der Participien zur Satzverkürzung im Ags. eine ziemlich beschränkte ist, namentlich die Verwendung des abs. Particips."

Finally, more or less distinct claims of the influence of the Latin ablative absolute upon the A. S. dative absolute have been made since 1876, when Erdmann² declared the absolute participle in Old High German an imitation of the Latin absolute construction. Thus, in 1882, Owen³ (pp. 60-61) ascribed the number of absolute participles in the A. S. Gospels to the influence of the Latin original; though apparently he does not mean by this to claim that the absolute construction is not native to Anglo-Saxon, since just after considering its use he adds: "Most of these usages are familiar, possibly none of them a total stranger to the native syntax of our ancestors." Hofer, in 1884, came out clearly in favor of the Latin origin (l. c. §28): "Über die ausdehnung und entstehung des abs. casusgebrauches wird sich auch für das Ags. der von Erdmann für die entwicklung der ahd. literatursprache angegebene einfluss des häufigen lat. abl. abs. wirksam erwiesen haben." In the following year Flamme spoke as follows of the absolute participles occurring in the Bl. Hom. (Flamme, l. c. §11(d)): "Es liegt

¹ Müller, Th.: Ags. Gramm. Göttingen, 1883.

² Erdmann, O.: Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids. II. Halle, 1876.

³ Owen, W. B.: The Influence of the Lat. Syntax on the A. S. Gospels, in Transactions Am. Phil. As., 1882, pp. 59-64.

nahe, bei der Häufigkeit dieser Erscheinung an möglichen Einfluss des ähnlich gebauten und gleichbedeutenden Abl. abs. der lat. Vorlage der Bl. Hom. zu denken." In 1887, Breck¹ wrote thus of one of Aelfric's translations (p. 13): "There are numerous anomalous cases of imitation of Latin constructions, especially of the ablative absolute." In the same year, Einkenel (l. c. p. 74), in discussing the Middle English nominative absolute, speaks of the absolute construction in A. S. as 'die dem Lat. nachgebildete A. E. abs. Dativ-Construction.' Lastly, Prof. Napier appears to consider the A. S. dative absolute as borrowed from the Latin, inasmuch as he ascribes the occurrence of two absolute datives in the Old English Life of Holy Chad to its Latin original (*Anglia*, X 133).

Which, then, of these two theories is to be adopted? Even a casual reading of the statistics given above will show, it is believed, which is the more probable; while a closer study, it is hoped, will enable us to arrive at a definite answer to the question proposed. To the statistics, then, we briefly direct our attention.

The earliest of the prose monuments are, it is well known, the translations that bear the name of King Alfred. Whether Alfred's first work was Gregory¹, as Wülker² thinks (l. c. p. 394), or Orosius³, as Ten Brink³ holds (l. c. p. 74), matters little so far as we are at present concerned: it is enough for us to know that both of these, together with Bede⁴ and Boethius⁵, must have been written before 901, the year of Alfred's death. What of the absolute participles occurring in these ninth-century works? To begin with Bede⁴, a reference to the statistics shows that for every one of the 100 examples of the absolute participle in the A. S. translation there is a corresponding ablative absolute in the Latin original, with only one exception, viz., 544. 20; where, though no ablative absolute occurs in the Latin, one of the A. S. MSS gives a "crude" form of the absolute participle. It is to be observed, however, that an appositive participle in the ablative case does occur in the Latin, and this may have suggested the absolute participle to the A. S. translator in this instance, as it certainly did in others. But one absolute participle occurs in Gregory¹, and this is a translation of a Latin ablative absolute. Of the five absolute participles in Orosius¹, one is a translation of a Latin appositive participle,

¹ Breck, Edw.: Aelfric's Transl. of Aethelwold's *De Consuetudine Monachorum*. Leipsic, 1887.

² Wülker, R.: *Grundr. zur Gesch. der Ags. Lit.* Leipzig, 1885.

³ Ten Brink, B.: *Early Eng. Lit. I.* Transl. by Kennedy. New York, 1883.

while the remaining four have no exact equivalent in the Latin of Oros.² In all four examples, however, the same participle is used (*him ofðyncendum*), and in the Latin to two of these (52. 18, 244. 16) an ablative absolute occurs, which, though not corresponding in sense to the dative absolute of the A. S., most likely suggested the form of the latter. The formula, once adopted by the translator, seems to have struck his fancy and so was used in the other instances also. Aside from this, *ofðyncan* is a verb that takes a dative as its object, a fact that may have had some bearing upon the choice of the dative absolute. At any rate, the five examples of the dative absolute in Oros.¹ are unhesitatingly to be ascribed to the influence of the Latin ablative absolute, not present in each specific example but occurring on every page of the original Latin.

The Chronicle may be next considered, since a considerable portion of the oldest version of it, MS A to the year 891, received its present form in Alfred's reign (Earle,¹ l. c. p. vii). The first example of the absolute participle in the Chron. occurs in MS. A under the year 560, but it is an interpolation of a twelfth-century reviser, whose additions Earle denotes by italics (ib. p. xxiii). This example of the absolute participle appears in only one other text, MS E, written about 1121 (ib. p. xlv). The construction, then, could have been learned from Alfred's translations, the A. S. Gospels, or Aelfric's works, all of which had appeared before this time and must have been accessible to the redactor. But Earle (p. viii) shows clearly that Bede² was used occasionally in the composition of the Chron. from the year 449 to 731; and it is more probable that the A. S. dative absolute here is due to Bede², since it answers so exactly to Bede's ever-recurring *eo defuncto*. Its correspondence with the frequent *him forðferdum* of Bede¹ will also be noticed. The second example, 616 E, is to be explained just as the preceding was: Earle (p. viii) distinctly states that 616 is taken from Bede². Here, too, the correspondence with Alfred's *cyninge rixiendum* is at once apparent. This passage occurs in none of the other MSS except F, a bilingual chronicle of the twelfth century (ib. p. liii), and is there "crude." The third example occurs in 797 A, which portion of A Earle characterizes as "highly ecclesiastical" and believes was written in the earlier half of the ninth century, though our copy, of course, belongs to the latter half of the same. The clause *Gode fultumiendum* is one that an ecclesi-

¹ Earle, J.: *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*. Oxford, 1865.

astic could hardly fail to use, since *Deo juvante, prolegente*, etc., occur so often in the Vulgate and in Greg.¹, both of which books must have been in the possession of every monk. This A. S. absolute participle occurs, too, in Bede¹ (641. 12); and the editor of A could have gotten it from any one of these sources. The clause occurs time and again in the A. S. Gospels, in Aelfric, etc. It is found in all the other MSS of the Chron., being copied into them from A. The fourth example, 792 E, occurs first in 792 D,¹ which portion of D (the MS belongs to the first half of the twelfth century,) was written, according to Earle (p. xl), by Weresferth, Bishop of Worcester, 873-915. Bishop W. was one of Alfred's chief literary friends and helpers and is believed to have translated Gregory's Dialogues into Anglo-Saxon. In the capacity either as helper of Alfred or an independent translator he must have lived with Gregory and other Latin authors and thence have learned the absolute construction. The next example, 913 C, appears first in 913 B, which version was composed in the latter half of the tenth century, while our MS belongs to the eleventh century (Earle, l. c. p. xxvi). Expressions similar to this occur frequently in the Vulgate and in the A. S. Gospels, and our participle is doubtless due to one of these works. The next example, 917 D, first in 917 B, is to be explained just as the preceding was. It has already been remarked that this is a favorite clause in A. S. translations. Finally, the two last examples occur only in MS E, under the years 1086 and 1090. The clause is to be found in Alfred and in the A. S. Gospels; from either of which sources it could have been borrowed for the present occasion. In a word, then, the absolute participles in the earlier part of the Chron. can be traced to a Latin source; while those in the later part can be from a Latin source either directly or indirectly through extant and accessible A. S. translations from the Latin. Only certain favorite words are used absolutely; in no sense can the absolute construction be looked upon as organic or natural in the Chron.

The Laws may follow next, as one of the most interesting of the sets collected by Schmid proceeded directly or indirectly from King Alfred. The first example is in Wihtr., Introduction. Enacted in 696 (Schmid, §7), it is not known when these laws assumed their present form, since they are preserved in only one

¹ The double reference is due to the fact that Earle's edition does not in these instances give the earlier MS, from which alone the source of the absolute participle can be determined. The earlier MS is accordingly cited from Thorpe's edition of the Chronicle, London, 1861.

MS, Codex H of Schmid, and that belongs to the twelfth century. The absolute clause is one that occurs often in Bede² and in Bede¹, in the latter only when a corresponding Latin absolute participle is in the former. Such being the case, I think we are warranted in assuming a Latin origin for the expression in the present instance, although unable to trace it definitely to such a source. The second example is in Alfr. c. 42, §7, enacted in the latter part of Alfred's reign and preserved in a MS of the tenth century, Schmid's Codex E. If, as some believe, these laws were composed by Alfred himself, the use of the absolute participle is at once explained; if by some ecclesiastic, as is possible, it is also explained, since *clausis ostiis* and similar expressions must have been familiar to a reader of the Vulgate. The expression *bety-nedum durum* is found several times in the A. S. Gospels. The last example is in Athelr. VII, §6, enacted in 1009 and preserved in a MS of the middle of the eleventh century, Schmid's Codex D. The participle, it will be observed, is really more attributive than predicative. However, *extensis membris* occurs frequently in the Latin formularies drawn up for the instruction of monks, and *æenedum limum* is most probably a translation of some such expression. The writer translated the direction as to the hymn but gave its title in the original Latin. *æenedum limum*, it may be added, is frequent in Aelfric and in the A. S. Gospels.

Benedict¹ was composed about 961 (Schröder, l. c. p. v), but the oldest MS, A, belongs to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. All the absolute participles in this MS have a corresponding absolute participle in Benedict². In the fragment given by Schröder of MS F (end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century) one absolute dative, *gesealdum beacne* 137. 30, occurs without a corresponding ablative absolute in Benedict²; but the expression occurs several times in the earlier part of Benedict¹, and each time as the translation of an ablative absolute in Benedict².

Slightly later than Benedict¹ are the Blickling Homilies, the MS of which bears the date 971. The sources of these homilies have not been made out as yet, but they are generally taken to be free translations from the Latin. It has already been mentioned (p. 338 above) that Flamme attributes the absolute participles in the Bl. Hom. to Latin influence; see Flamme, l. c. pp. 1, 9, §11(d). For the rest, it may be said that several of the absolute participles are identical with those previously used by Alfred, and that his example may have influenced the Blickling homilist.

Aelfric began his literary career about a quarter of a century after this homilist. Between 990 and 996 he wrote his *Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* (Wülker, l. c. III, §§529, 537); which, according to his own statement, are translations from the Latin: "Ic Ælfric munuc awende ðas boc of Ledenum bocum to Englisum gereorde" (Aelfr. Hom. II 2); and: "Hunc quoque codicem transtulimus de Latinitate ad usitatam Anglicam sermocinationem" (Aelfr. L. S. p. 2). Among his authorities Aelfric names Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, and Haymo. His translations are so free, however, and his sources so numerous that a comparison of his translation with the originals was impracticable. That the man who was so wedded to the Latin that he apologizes for writing in English (cf. Aelfr. L. S. p. 2), should use the absolute construction is but natural. It is to be observed, moreover, that in many of the examples cited from Aelfr. Hom. and L. S. the participles are attributive rather than predicative, a fact noticed also by Schrader¹ (§105. 5). Just after this, between 996 and 999, Aelfric translated the *Heptateuch* and *Job*. In these, three examples of the absolute participle occur without any corresponding Latin, but in all the same participle is used. Aelfric's minor pieces (Aelfr. de Temp., etc.) it seemed unnecessary to compare with their Latin originals, since only five absolute participles occur in them all.

. Either just after or just before Aelfric's translation of the *Heptateuch*, the Gospels were translated into A. S. The oldest MS, the *Corpus*, Prof. Skeat puts at about 1000 A. D. (Pref. to Mk., pp. v-vi). Not a single absolute participle occurs in the A. S. Gospels without a corresponding absolute participle in the Vulgate or, in several instances, an appositive participle.

The *Homilies* of Wulfstan followed close upon the Gospels, Wulfstan holding the archbishopric of York from 1002 to 1023 (Napier, l. c. §1). Some of the homilies ascribed to Wulfstan are extant in Latin as well as in A. S. (ib. p. 6), while others are mere compilations from older collections, as the *Bl. Hom.* and Aelfr. Hom. (ib. p. 8). From any one of these sources, then, could have come the seven absolute datives in Wulfst. In several of the instances cited the participle is attributive rather than predicative.

Finally, along in the first half of the eleventh century appeared the *Rule* of St. Benet (Benet¹, p. xxxix, §1), an interlinear version of the *Regula S. Benedicti*. In this every dative absolute is the translation of an ablative absolute of the Latin.

¹ Schrader, B.: *Studien zur Aelfricschen Syntax*. Jena, 1887.

Let us look for a moment at the absolute participles occurring in the poems. The first is in Genesis 1585. Hönncher¹ (p. 84) has shown that the Vulgate Genesis is in general the direct source of the A. S. poem, and that in some cases the Latin has been followed word for word, while in others it has been loosely paraphrased and in others neglected altogether. Ebert, moreover, has demonstrated, he thinks, that the author of the Genesis, whoever he was, must himself have read the Bible and have had it constantly before his eyes (Wülker, l. c. III, §25). If this is true, then it is not surprising that an absolute participle should occur in the A. S. Genesis, although no absolute participle occurs in the corresponding verse of the Vulgate. The other example occurs in the Riddles (60. 14), written by Cynewulf, who was born about 720 or 730. The MS is much later and belongs possibly to the beginning of the eleventh century. Cynewulf read Latin authors and sometimes wrote Latin verses (Ten Brink, l. c. p. 51). Again, it has been shown that in the composition of the Riddles the Latin collections of Aldhelm, Symphosius, Eusebius, and Tatwine were read, especially in the composition of the first half of them, in which our example is found (Wülker, l. c. III, §§72-78). It is not to be wondered at, then, that Cynewulf availed himself of an idiom that he must have daily met with in his Latin readings. It must be added, however, that no Latin riddle exactly corresponding to the A. S. one in question has been found. It has already been stated that a half line is missing in the riddle and that we cannot be sure of the reading.

To sum up the matter, a study of the statistics reveals the fact that no absolute participle occurs in Anglo-Saxon without having a prototype in Latin, either directly or indirectly; in most cases directly, a Latin ablative absolute lying immediately before the eyes of the A. S. translator. Even here the A. S. absolute participles consist mostly of certain *formulae*, as *cyninge rixiendum*, *him forðferdum*, etc.; which seem in some way especially to have struck the fancy of the translator. So in the less dependent literature, as in Aelfric, we have in the main only certain favorite phrases, as *gebigedum cneowum bæd*, *upahafenum handum bletsode*, etc.; in which, moreover, the participle is now absolute and now attributive.

This, however, is but half of the truth. A glance at the table

¹ Hönncher, E.: Über die Quellen der ags. Genesis, Anglia, VIII 41-84.

given above (p. 334) and at the one below¹ will show, that in the more independent literature, as in the poems, the absolute construction is practically unknown; that, notwithstanding the comparative frequency of the absolute dative in some of the translations, as in Bede¹, the A. S. translator in most instances avoided the use of an absolute participle in his rendering of the Latin absolute clause; that sometimes, as in Boethius¹, he refused to use the construction at all, although the absolute participle occurred on every page of his Latin original; and, finally, that in the latest work considered not known to be a mere translation, Wulfstan, the absolute participle is hardly more used than in the two centuries earlier Orosius¹.

Such are the facts in the case as revealed by a detailed examination of the statistics. The conclusion, it seems to us, is irresistible: the absolute participle of the Anglo-Saxon was borrowed from the Latin, but it failed to commend itself to our forefathers and never acquired a real hold in their language. What Aelfric wrote of English and Latin syntax in general, is pre-eminently true in regard to the absolute construction; "ðæt Leden and ðæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on ðære spræce fandunge."²

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

¹ *Comparative Table of the Absolute Participles in the A. S. Translations and their Latin Originals.*

Work.	Abs.	Ptcs. in
	A. S.	Lat.
Bede	100	558
Boeth.	0	64
Gregory *	1	100
Orosius	5	318
Benedict	21	85
Hept.	3	157
Mat.	15	81
Mark	23	54
Luke	27	70
John	1	12
Benet	66	85
Total	262	1584

* The whole passage is worth quoting, since it gives us an insight into Aelfric's method of translation. It occurs in his preface to Genesis (Aelfr. Hept. p. 24) and runs as follows: "and we durren na mare awritan on Englisc, ðonne ðæt Leden hæfð, ne ða endebirdnisse awendan buton ðam anum, ðæt ðæt Leden and ðæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on ðære spræce fandunge. Æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe tæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa, ðæt ðæt Englisc hæbbe his agene wisan: elles hit bið swiðe gedwolsum to rædenne ðam ðe ðæs Ledenes wisan ne can."

NOTES.

AVESTA *pairi-aētrəuš* (sic), *nərəuš*, *strəuš*.

At Vd. 9. 38 a description of the fees presented to the priest for cleansing from defilement, is given as follows: 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the lord of a house for the value of a ploughing (?) cow; thou shalt cleanse *vaēsəušca pairi-aētarəušca* (so Westergaard reads) for the value of a draught (?) cow; thou shalt cleanse a little child for the value of a young lamb.'

The reading of Westergaard, *pairi-aētarəuš*, is commonly explained as genitive singular of an *u*-stem *pairi-aētaru-*, and dependent upon *nāirikəm* (a harsh ellipsis here) to be supplied: thus, 'thou shalt cleanse (the wife) of *v. p.* for the value of, etc.' The best MS authority, however, shows that the *a* is merely anaptyctic, and that the form is *pairi-aētrəuš* or *pairy*^o—the *-tr-* as in *trəfyāf*, *ātrəm*, etc. The word is, then, none other than the Skt. *paryēdr-*, RV. I. 27. 8; 6. 24. 5; 7. 40. 3; we have, therefore, to do with an *r*-stem, not an *u*-stem.

As to form, *pairi-aētrəuš[ca]* is not genitive at all, but is accusative plural, precisely like the peculiar forms *strəuš[ca]*, *strəuš*, *nərəuš*. We thus have to admit for the *r*-stems a few accusatives plural in *-əuš*, where *əu* is apparently an erroneous expression for nasalized *ə*, observe especially YAv. *nərəuš* beside GAv. *nərqš* Ys. 45. 7, 40. 3, or *aməšə spəntə* Ys. 21. 2, etc., beside *aməšq spəntq* Ys. 42. 6, et al. The development is apparently this: the good MS K₁ reads *pairi-aētrəš[ca]*, probably nasalized *ə*. To the *ə* an irrational *u* was then added in writing, just as the irrational *ə* was sometimes attached to *ə* by the scribe;¹ cf. *əənu* (Ys. 32. 16), *əədu* (Ys. 35. 6), *əəvā* (Ys. 29. 7)—thus giving *-əuš[ca]* of the manuscripts. In exactly the same way *strəuš[ca]*, *strəuš*, *nərəuš* (Ys. 71. 9, 2. 11; Vd. 18. 12, 5. 27, etc.) present admirable MS variants in *-əš[ca]*, *-əš*. Therefore, *pairi-aētrəuš* stands as accusative plural like *strəuš[ca]* (*strəš[ca]*), *strəuš* (*strəš*), *nərəuš* (*nərəš*), for orig. theoretic **-tr-n*s; cf. GAv. *mātə-rqš[cā]* Ys. 38. 5, *nərqš*—thus *əu* = *ə* = *q*.

¹ See elsewhere the relationship between *ə* and *u*, often parallel, as it were.

In like manner the MS reading to be chosen for the preceding word is *visāśca* (Westergaard K.) or *vaēsāśca* (Spiegel c)—the MSS often fluctuate between *aē* and *i*. This is also acc. pl.—observe the connection *-ca, -ca*. It is likewise a form in *-ās[ca* for *-as[ca*—but this time of the *a*-declension—like the accusatives plural *amāṣās[ca spāntā* beside *amāṣas[ca spāntā*, or *varāsās[ca*, etc., all from *a*-stems. This new explanation of *vaēsāśca* as acc. pl. of an *a*-stem forms a pretty confirmation of the reading *vaēsō* nom. sg. Vd. 13. 46, which thus becomes regular; Westergaard's suggested emendation, *vaēsūś*, in that passage is therefore no longer necessary. We have now a stem *vaēsa-* or *visa-* established beside the stem *vaēsu-*; cf. gen. *vaēsāuś* Vd. 13. 46.

Moreover, the suggestion to make *vaēsāśca pairi-aētrāuśca* accusative plural does away with the harsh omission of *nāirikam* and places the two words *v. p.* in parallel construction with the following accusative *apārānāyūkām*: 'thou shalt cleanse *v. p.* for the value of a cow, thou shalt cleanse a little child for the value of a young lamb.'

As to signification, *vaēsāśca pairi-aētrāuśca* seem to form a pair similar to that in Ys. 29. 6 *fṣuyāṇṭācā vāstryācā*, probably originally distinct individuals; thus *vaēsa-* (*visa-*) is the more general designation, *pairi-aētar-* the more specific. If *visa-* or *vaēsa-* really be like Skt. *vāṣyā-*, then *pairi-aētar-* (Skt. *paryētdr-* 'winner, gainer'), by derivation from *pairi* + *√i-* 'go around, compass, gain, acquire,' would refer specifically to the business-like qualities of the class, i. e. the *vaēsa-* who is *pairi-aētdr-*; therefore, both together would be about equivalent to 'merchant, seller'—mercatoresque cauponesque. Perhaps, however, *vaēsa-*, lit. 'vicinus,' combined with *pairi-aētar-* is another expression for 'a serving man'—'laboring rustics,' i. e. *pairi* + *√i-* following the other line of development of meaning, 'go about, work, serve.'

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

IPOMEDON, in drei englischen bearbeitungen. Herausgegeben von EUGEN KÖLBING. Breslau, Verlag von Wilhelm Köbner, 1889, pp. clxxxi, 484.

In the above-named volume we have an edition of one of the most important Middle-English romances that have been published. The three versions exist each in but a single MS, and the second is the only one that has been heretofore published in full, it having appeared in Weber's *Metrical Romances*, Vol. II, 1810. But the first version is by far the most important, and is contained in MS 8009 of the Chetham Library at Manchester. The second version is found in MS Harl. 2252, and the third in MS 25 of the library of the Marquis of Bath. They will be designated, after Kölbings, as A, B, and C. These are all translated, or paraphrased, from one French original, written by a certain Hue de Rotelande, which will soon be edited by Kölbings as a supplement to the present volume. The French original remains in two MSS and a fragment of a third, the two first in the British Museum, Cotton Vesp. A VII, of the thirteenth century, and MS Egerton 2515, of the fourteenth century, and the third (but 162 verses) in the Bodleian library. The authors of the English versions are unknown. In a very full introduction Kölbings treats of the MSS and editions, the contents of the four versions, including the French original, the relations of the three English versions to the French text and to one another, the method and style of the English translators, the language and metre, and finally, the arrangement of the present edition.

Lack of space forbids any summary of the contents, which will not be found to differ materially from a host of other romances of the same kind. The ardent knight, who serves *incognito* as cupbearer to his lady-love, and who must seek distant adventures to become worthy of her; his return to a widely proclaimed tournament, the prize of which shall be her hand, and his wonderful victories during three successive days, arrayed each day in different colored armor in order to preserve the *incognito*; his further adventures and exploits and return in the nick of time, in the disguise of a fool, to preserve the aforesaid lady-love from falling into the hands of a giant, or rather three of them, all of whom he vanquishes; his final declaration of himself and espousal of the lady—all of these are detailed (in the first version especially at inordinate length) in the usual romance style, and are interspersed with sundry episodes. It is not, however, the contents that make the work of value to us. It is as an example of M.-E. literature in three different forms, all based on one original, that the work is worthy of preservation, and this increases the obligations of all English scholars to the learned editor. A is written in the strophe form and consists of 751 twelve-line stanzas, riming normally *aabccbddbeeb*, but some of the stanzas are defective, so that we have 8890 lines all together. The *cauda b* should be iambic trimeter and the other lines iambic tetrameter, but the MS is so carelessly written and full of errors that it would puzzle Bentley himself to

emend the metre satisfactorily. The omission of the first thesis is so common that it is manifestly intentional. This license is commented on by Professor Skeat as an admissible variety in the pentameters of Chaucer's Legend of Good Women (ed. Skeat, p. xxxvi), and instances are also cited by him from the tetrameters of the House of Fame, but here we find numerous examples anterior to Chaucer. The following stanza, the third, may suffice as a specimen :

"In Cessyle sumtyme wonyd a kyng,
That holden was *wyth* old and ynge
Off poynttes wythe owten pere ;
He was worthy, were & wyse,
Ouer all he wan losse and pryce,
Men callyd him Mellyagere ;
He had bounden to his hande
In Fraunce & many other lande
Douȝty dukes and dere ;
He gatte neuer chyld, his eyre to be,
But a brother son had hee,
That was his newov nere."—(25-36.)

B is more condensed, and hence ~~much~~ shorter, consisting of only 2346 iambic tetrameters, of which the following may serve as examples :

"Hys name was Kyngge Ermones,
He hated wronge & louyd pees.
His quene was bothe bryght and shene ;
Moche goodnesse was hem bytwene,
To god they preyd after an eyre ;
He sent theym one, bothe good and feyre ;
Feyre he was of flesshe and blode,
They thankyd god *wyth* myld mode ;
To chyrche they bare the chyld thonne
And crystenyd hym Ipomydon."—(15-24.)

Kirschten, in a Marburg dissertation (1885), "*Überlieferung und sprache der mittenglischen romanze, The lyfe of Ipomydon*," has discussed this form of the poem, and Kölbing abridges his remarks on the phonology, inflections, metre, and dialect.

C is a prose form of the romance, defective by two folios and at the end, and also much condensed in comparison with A. It occupies thirty-five pages in the volume, averaging about fifty lines each, so that we have some 1750 prose lines, reading as follows :

"Som tyme there was in the land of Cecile a king, that was called Mellia-gere, the which was the wysest and the most iuste king, that men knowe euer ouer all [*owhere*, notes] in his tyme, and also the grettest conquerour, that myght be, so farforth, that all the lordes aboute him were vndre his suggestion and did him homage. Such honour and grace god sent him, that all his lyve he gouerned his roialme in rest and peace."

The above is written *literatim et punctatim*, but the punctuation throughout is

incomprehensible. Whether it is that of the MS, the editor, or the printer, is not stated, but if of the MS, it is useless for any purpose.

Kölbing treats at great length the relation of the three versions to the French text and to one another, and the method and style of the English translators, devoting forty pages to such minutiae as the forms of alliteration seen in A, more labor than the subject seems to deserve. Suffice it to say that he regards A, C, and the French text as closely connected, the last being the source of the others, and having been written about 1190, say the time of Richard I. There is no ground for assuming any other original than the one that we possess composed by Hue de Rotelande. There is no trace of any French prose romance of Ipomedon. The authors of A and C had, then, before them the French original, and the author of C may have had before him a MS very similar to MS A of the French original. B stands in a somewhat different relation to the original, and its author, thinks Kölbing, wrote from memory, not having a MS at hand; he must have been a minstrel, not a priest. So much for the relations of the several versions.

Of much more interest than the nearly one hundred pages on the method and style of the English translators, are the twenty pages on the language and metre of the several versions. Of these A, as it rightly deserves, occupies the chief place. A synopsis of the phonology and of the inflections, based on the rimes, and some brief remarks upon the metre, are here given. It appears that the writer did not hesitate to rime syllables containing long and short vowels, so that the older quantity was plainly disregarded. The carelessness of the scribe has much corrupted the metre, and though Kölbing gives a list of verses in his opinion corrupt, I think the list might easily be increased. He purposely takes no account of the silence of final *e* in inflectional syllables, or of its addition to make the metre smoother. It would seem as if the writer paid no attention to it. In the lines quoted above, *kyng* rimes with *ynge* (pl.), and it is a question whether final *e* is to be pronounced when written in both riming words, or even when necessary to the rhythm within the verse. In the lines quoted from B, its pronunciation in *name* and *quene* would help the rhythm, as would also its addition in *myld* and *chyld*, but should we undertake such emendations there would be no telling where to stop. From his study of the dialect Kölbing decides that A belongs to the Midland district, and, indeed, to the West rather than to the East Midland, for it has many characteristics common to the North, so that he fixes upon North Lancashire as the home of the author. As to the date of this version, Kölbing assigns it to the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier.

The grammar of B is, as stated above, abridged from Kirschten, but Kölbing does not agree with him as to the dialect of B. Kirschten had pronounced it to be East Midland, with Northern marks, and Kölbing had formerly agreed with him, but he now prefers to call it West Midland, chiefly by reason of the use of *s* once in rime in 3 pers. sing. of the present tense:

"In to the stable he hym ledis
There as stonde his goode stedls."—(1297-8.)

I find no suggestion made as to the date of composition of B, but I infer that Kölbing regards it as contemporary with A, hence written in the fourteenth century.

The dialect of C is treated very briefly, but one page being assigned to it. Kölbing thinks that criteria are wanting for the determination of the dialect of the author, and that that of the copyist is of quite secondary interest (p. clxxviii). He notes particularly the Scotch addition of *i* to other vowels, as *laidie*, *heides*, and its omission, as *maden*, *fened*, and remarks that "we have to do with a Midland dialect; *s* of 3 pers. sing. present looks to the West or North; *s* of pres. pl. to the North; *ing* of pres. partic. and *o*, for O. E. *a*, to the South. Specially noteworthy is the Scotch addition and omission of *i*. It is scarcely to be assumed that such a mixture of dialects as is here presented was ever spoken anywhere." The only notice of the date of C is the assignment of the MS to the end of the fourteenth century, but the grounds for this decision are not given. It is in respect to C that I think exception may be taken to Kölbing's views. A careful reading of it leads me to place it much later than Kölbing does, not earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, and I regard its dialect as much nearer standard English of the time than that of either B or C. It seems to me to be a later form of the East Midland, and the version to be composed after the E. M. dialect had become standard English. The language is certainly later than that of Chaucer, and I see no reasons for distinguishing between the dialect of the composer and of the copyist, or for regarding it as a mixed dialect in any other sense than standard English of the fifteenth century is a mixed dialect, for while the latter is chiefly East Midland, it embraces some features of other dialects. One point connected with the vocabulary that deserves attention is the ease with which the writer uses Norman-French words as an integral part of the language, as fluently as does Sir Thos. Malory. It would be interesting to analyse the Romance portion of the vocabulary of C, if space and time permitted, and I think the result would be a valuable contribution to the history of English prose.

As to forms and phrases, we find *theire* and *theim* where Chaucer would have written *here* and *hem*; *hire thought*, *theim thought*, *him thought*; *him had ben leuer . . . haue been there*, omission of *to*; and *levere hire were to goo*; *to he come*, where *to* = *till*; *see* = pret. *saw*; *if it like hire*; *neuer the latter* as well as *neuertheles*; *the storie telles*; use of *wonder* as intensive, as in modern German, *woundre-wroth*, *woundre-semely*, *wondre-long*; *whan she umby thought hire*, but also *she bethoght hire*; as *they satten*, a rare example of the plural in *-en*; *toke leve at and toke leve of*; *went streight to bedd*; *conged me to goo*; *me longes so sore home*; at *theire departing* (= parting); of *his sodayn removing*, verbal nouns; *answering*, *supposing*, *hering*, pres. participles; *tithinges* and *tithandes*; *whene*, *whene* and *whens* = whence; *fro thens*; as *hire ought to doon*; *ye ar*, sing., and *all that here bene*; a *answere* as well as an *answere*; *ye wit*, sing., and *ye wot*, pl.; *this ilk erle that was ever the most agaynes the ladie*; *on the ladie behalf* & *theirs both*; a *cosyn of his*, an *othre squiere of hires*; *the quene luf*, the *quene derling*, *drwe lay roigne*; *if it liked him*, *if it liked unto him*; *on the modre side*, *the erle hors*; *childre*, *brethre*; *hors*, *yere*, pl.; & *cause why*; *the most worthiest*; *he smote him of on his hors*, *it flew of on his heid*; *wenes thou*; *it am I*, repeatedly; *for hire sake that sent him it*; & *had not his men comen* & *rescued him*, *the white knight had taken him presonere*; cf. & *shuld have taken him presonere*, *had not the reid knight bene* & *come* & *rescued him*, almost equal to the modern illiterate phrase "*been and gone and done it*"; & *toke the erle his stede agayn* & *made him*

worthe upon him, a late use of the verb *worthe*; *hire ought to be right glad*, compared with *him must be up be tyme*; *desired to have a doo with, durst to have to doo with*, on the same page; *him was leuer iust with him*, cf. *supra*; *a goode stede that he come riding on*; *a knight that come prikking toward him*; *the which was liker a fende than*; *myn handes*; *thou fond . . . felt thou*; *a more fole than he*; *in his fole wyse*; *hire must goo elles where*; *ouergate* = *overtook*; *a richman, thogh he be noght worth an haw, he shal be worshipped for his riches*; *they harboured theim in an village, where theim must all thre by in oon hous*; *she had levere haue had him than all the world*, cf. *supra*; *hire must nedes be deid*; *thou art fals & fighes*; *I am the gisawnt & haue won the ladie, I hight Leonym & has here won the ladie of this land*.

But these examples must suffice as illustrations of modern English in the making. The whole cast of phrase and turn of expression seem to me post-Chaucerian, to say nothing of the more modern forms of spelling. The mingling of Northern forms with a dialect which is in its general features East Midland would simply point to the northern border of the East Midland district as the locality of composition. This does not exclude the supposition that an East Midland scribe may have worked over an earlier West Midland version of the romance, and neglected to change certain forms; he may even have inserted such a form as *saith*, met with in the formulas *the wise man saith*, *the boke saith*, for the more common *sais*. However it may be, the chief value of C lies in supplying us with a *prose* version of *later* composition than A or B, and thus helping us to trace the formation of English prose. Had Mr. Kingston-Oliphant known of this version, it might have been of service in working up his "New English." He refers to Weber's text of B (I 188). It remains for some scholar to give us a complete analysis of the grammar and vocabulary of this version, now that Kölbing has so well supplied the text.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Geschichte der alten Philosophie von Dr. W. WINDELBAND. Separat-abdruck aus dem Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft. Nördlingen, Verlag der C. H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1888.

Readers of Windelband's History of Modern Philosophy will be somewhat disappointed in this volume. The book is a well composed, lucidly arranged repetitorium of the external facts of Greek philosophy, which will doubtless be very serviceable to young German candidates who have no time to read their Zeller. But to those who read for insight it offers nothing comparable to the masterly account of the intellectual history of Kant in the author's Modern Philosophy, or to the chapters on Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, in the generally ignored or disparaged work of Mr. Alfred Benn. And the reason is plain. The author does not appear to possess the intimate first-hand familiarity with the text of the Greek philosophers which we have a right to expect in one who claims a hearing on this well-worn theme. This deficiency is least felt in the earlier chapters, where the literature to be mastered comprises only a few fragments, and in the summary survey of Hellenistic and Roman philosophy with which the book concludes. I doubt whether the study of the pre-Socratic philosophies admits of any satisfactory compromise between the exhaustive

erudition of Zeller and the picturesque sampling of Mayor. But our author's philosophic acumen makes his arrangement and reflections suggestive and worthy of the student's attention. He knows more about the necessary relations of the brilliant *aperçus* that have come down to us from these early thinkers, and more about the 'wissenschaftliche genossenschaften' of early Hellas than a sceptical critic of our authorities would admit. But this is perhaps in part owing to the desire, natural in a professor, of recognizing with due courtesy the 'scharfsinnige combinationen' of friends and colleagues. Among the chief features of his arrangement may be mentioned: 1. The discrimination of Heraclitus from the Ionian philosophers of nature, and the emphasizing of the fundamental philosophic antithesis between Heraclitus and the Eleatics. 2. The grouping of Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, and the Pythagoreans as mediators between these two opposite poles of thought. The claim of Anaxagoras for special recognition on account of his overvalued doctrine of *νοῦς* is denied, and the Pythagoreans are forced into line as 'vermittler,' apparently because there was no other convenient place for them. 3. While Leucippus is relegated to the 'vermittler,' the philosophy of Democritus is distinguished from that of his *ἐταῖρος* as a post-sophistic development of Protagorean relativism, and as the first and greatest system of consistent materialism is declared to possess 'historische ebenbürtigkeit neben dem Platonismus' (p. 90). There is doubtless a measure of truth in this. Platonism and materialism constitute the fundamental antithesis in the history of philosophy. The exaggerations of Bacon and Lange were perhaps needed to rescue the great name of Democritus from unmerited obscurity. But we know too little of Democritus to take him as the representative of a consistent philosophic materialism. The seventeenth century materialists may have derived their cosmogony from him through Gassendi and Lucretius. But the psychological half of their doctrine—the psychology of Hobbes—is taken directly from Aristotle. We have no sure criterion for distinguishing Democritus from Leucippus, on the one hand, and from Epicurus, as reported by Lucretius, on the other. It is possible that the gravitation of the atoms is a blunder of unknown Epicureans not attributable to Democritus (p. 189), but as we have only secondary authorities divided among themselves, it is idle to affirm it dogmatically. In general it may be said that Aristotle's accounts of the rationale of previous philosophies are infected with his own terminology to an extent that almost destroys their value as evidence. And our author's evident reliance on the neat and convenient outline of early Greek philosophy given in Met. I 6 is a weakness.

Again, there is no reason for making the philosophy of Democritus an outgrowth of the Protagorean relativism except the exigences of the parallel with Plato. There is nothing in the atomistic theory that is not sufficiently accounted for in Windelband's own acute sentence (p. 52): "Wer der Willkürlichkeit der Vierzahl der Elemente bei Empedokles entgegen wollte, musste, um dieser Lehre eine konsequente Theorie entgegenzustellen, von den qualitativen Bestimmtheiten der Dinge entweder behaupten dass sie sämtlich ursprünglich seien, oder dass es keine von ihnen sei." Democritus accepted the second alternative and Plato both. He was led to do so by the same necessities of thought that force modern scientific thinkers, after affirming in their analysis that the atoms and their motions alone exist *ἑρῆν*, to turn sud-

denly round and admit, with Mill, that the ultimate laws of nature cannot be fewer than the perceivable differences in our sensations and thoughts. It is by no means certain that the "author of the *Parmenides* and *Sophistes*" makes no reference to atomism. The *δύκοι* of the *Parmenides* and the material substance of *Sophistes* 246c, which the dialecticians shiver into elusive fragments, may well be interpreted as an allusion to atomism. The theory of the elements in the *Timaeus* is essentially atomistic—a reduction of quality to quantity. The Pythagoreanism of the dialogue is purely literary and ethical surplusage. But Plato saw that the elimination of qualities, though scientifically convenient to the physicist, is, as Windelband himself says, a philosophic impossibility. Hence, what our author calls the 'zweiweltheorie,' the superposition of that other parallel immaterial world which Democritus refused to see, but which profounder thinkers are always forced to recognize in one form or another.

The chapter devoted to Plato is the least satisfactory in the book. German science has long since excerpted and indexed the most striking passages of the dialogues. German philosophy has invented concise formulae to express the philosophic import of each of the greater dialogues. Nothing is easier than by skilful combination of these ready-made materials to hit upon new and original views with regard to the genuineness and order of composition of the works in the Platonic canon, and the growth and significance of the Platonic philosophy. It is easy to say that Plato could not have composed both the *Politicus* and the *Republic* because he would not have written twice upon the same theme; that the *Sophistes* cannot be by Plato because in the *Phaedo* (this is Windelband's strange interpretation of *Phaedo* 100 D) Plato declares that he insists more on the fact of the existence of ideas than on the problem of their relations to things, which is the problem of the *Sophistes*; that the *Parmenides* cannot be Platonic because the *Philebus* dismisses in cavalier fashion the main problem of the *Parmenides* (Windelband is apparently unacquainted with the arguments of Dr. Jackson), and Plato was bound like Aristotle to reopen any question whenever he met it. But no one who has really studied these dialogues will ever say these things, or for one moment balance such infinitesimal plausibilities against the immense improbability that the Greece of Plato's time contained an unknown genius capable of producing such masterpieces, and that the products of two distinct minds could reveal the countless subtle affinities of thought and feeling which the faithful student detects linking these dialogues to the Platonic corpus as a whole.

Much the same may be said of our author's affirmation with regard to the order of composition of the dialogues. There are two views of the Platonic compositions, says Professor Windelband: 1. That they were composed in execution of a predetermined plan. 2. That they represent the 'entwicklungs-phase' of Plato's mind at the time when they were severally written. There is a third view—perhaps the true one—that the actual composition of the dialogues was determined by factors of literary impulse and opportunity not now ascertainable in detail, and that they present, not a pedantically predetermined system, but different aspects of a thought that had in the main reached its maturity before it was offered to the public. Professor Windelband assigns the *Phaedo* to the later period of the *Philebus* and *Timaeus* for pre-

cisely the reasons that lead Dr. Jackson to regard it as an early phase of Platonism. These philosophic necessities may be left to devour one another. But when our author asserts that Plato was very late in becoming acquainted with the philosophy of Anaxagoras as expounded in the *Phaedo*, one wonders what conception he forms of the intellectual development of a youth like Plato in the Athens of the Peloponnesian war.

It is somewhat surprising, after Thompson's edition of the *Phaedrus*, to find that there are scholars who still cling to the old fancy that the dialogue was a 'schulprogramm.' Were this the place, I might show that in addition to the rich and elaborate diction noted by Professor Campbell, the dialogue shows a remarkable affinity in thought with the *Laws*. Professor Windelband's preface vindicates the originality of his view of the *Republic*, which has been presented for years from the professorial chair. His students, it would appear, are taught that the *Republic* is wanting "in artistic and philosophic unity." The deeper psychological justification of the banishment of the poets, which obviously could not be introduced before the analysis of pleasure and the conception of a city in which pleasure and pain were not to be lords, is pronounced a disturbing digression. The admirable dramatic prelude in which Plato resumes the methods of the tentative ethical dialogues before advancing to a deeper study of the problem, is treated as a separate dialogue on justice. The remainder of the work is divided into two sections, a later insertion (487-587) on the idea of the good and the various degenerate forms of government, and a "hauptstock" (367-486 and 588 to end) contemporaneous with *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, which develops the theory of the ideal state as the embodiment of justice. It is idle to argue against such arbitrary assertions. Nobody can prove that the composition of the *Republic* was absolutely uninterrupted, or that portions of the manuscript were not read at Athens before the whole was given to the public. If we should say that the words (588 B) *ἐπειδὴ διωμολογησάμεθα τό τε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαια πράττειν ἦν ἐκάτερον ἔχει δύναμιν*, obviously refer to the comparison of the three types of life, and the portrayal of the true inner state of the tyrant soul and city, Professor Windelband would probably be ready to assert that the *πολλὰ λοιπὰ* which 484 A declares necessary to the explanation of *τὶ διαφέρει βίος δίκαιος ἀδίκου*, are sufficiently set out in 484-7. And if we called his attention to the words *ἐγὼ μὲν ἦα τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐρῶν ὥς μοι ἐφαίνοντο ἕκασται ἐξ ἀλλήλων μεταβαίνειν* of 449 A B, in which Socrates announces that discussion of the forms of government which is supposed by the theory to be a late result of Plato's Sicilian experience (p. 110 n.), the answer would doubtless be that the paragraph was written by "der alternde Plato" to effect a transition. Truly *τό γε ἀμφισβητῆσαι οὐ χαλεπόν*.

As for the interpretation of the Platonic philosophy as a whole, I have elsewhere said that it is in the main an effort to rescue the Greek mind from the confusions of logical scepticism and the pernicious consequences of the disintegration of the moral and religious sense in the Greeks of the Peloponnesian war. There is a partial and formal recognition of this in Windelband's characterization of Platonism as 'ethischer immaterialismus,' but he does not bring us face to face with the real human conditions involved, and he habitually treats what are at least in large measure logical problems as metaphysical.

It was Hegel rather than Plato who undertook "aus dem aufgestelltem

Begriffe alle Konsequenzen zu ziehen." Plato developed the consequences of a λόγος or proposition (Phaedo), or in illustration of the ambiguity of the copula of the εἶναι or μὴ εἶναι of a concept (Parmenides).

Plato does not call the idea the cause of the 'erscheinungswelt' in the Phaedo (p. 116), nor does he there identify the ideas with 'zwecke.' He distinctly says that, unable to find a satisfactory statement of physical or teleological causation, he falls back upon the ideas as a safe surrogate of either or both. This error, however, will be repeated by every student of the Phaedo who does not take the pains to distinguish the *causa sciendi* from the *causa fiendi* and the *causa agendi*, and then proceed to inquire what bearing the statements of Plato have upon the distinction. To a similar confounding of logic and metaphysics is due the acceptance of Zeller's identification of the μὴ ὄν and the ἀπειρον with matter. The Philebus distinctly states that the ἀπειρον is a mere concept including the most disparate things. The relations of the μὴ ὄν and the ἀπειρον are as distinctly stated in the Sophist, p. 256 ε, *περὶ ἑκάστον ἄρα τῶν εἰδῶν πολλὸν μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ὄν ἀπειρον δὲ πλεῖσθαι τὸ μὴ ὄν*. Material objects and the concepts of untrained minds are said in the Republic to be no more *ὄντα* than μὴ ὄντα. But mere Cartesian matter or extension is explicitly called an *αἰεὶ ὄν* in the Timaeus, and it is quibbling to identify it with the logical μὴ ὄν. Lastly, it may be observed that "the author of the Sophistes" does not define *ὄντως ὄν* as *δύναμις* (p. 116). He says *δύναμις* is sufficient to constitute *ὄντως ὄντα*, and he does not employ this definition as the basis of his criticism of the ideas, but offers it by way of challenge to the materialists.

The pages devoted to Aristotle offer, of necessity, little more than a summary outline (mainly after Zeller) of the terminology and subject-matter of the Aristotelian treatises, from the Logic to the Politics and Poetics. It is permissible to rank Aristotle higher than Plato if one values the theory of the syllogism and the Natural History above the composition of works like the Republic and the Symposium. But it is not permissible to assert Aristotle's superiority as a philosophic and original thinker. The interpreter of Aristotle has, outside of the theory of the syllogism and the Natural History, just two tasks: first, to show how Aristotle reduced the dialectical and ethical suggestions he found in Plato into a systematic body of analytic doctrine where too often 'fehlt leider nur das geistige Band'; and, secondly, to point out in detail how, failing to work out consistently his rejection of the Platonic realism, Aristotle was driven back upon a theory which is exposed to every objection he has urged against the ideas. Aristotle's doctrine of an independent external world of *πρῶται οὐσίαι* is, as Mill somewhere suggests, a form of realism. And the main interest which the student of speculative philosophy finds in the Aristotelian system consists in tracing the inevitable process by which the realistic assumptions latent in Aristotle's logic forced him, when he came to the problems of psychology and metaphysics, back upon the Platonic doctrine in a worse form. Our author shows some perception of this in his reference to the 'uebernommene Doppelbedeutung von εἶδος,' p. 151, his criticism of the shifting and elusive conceptions of matter and form, and of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*, and his remarks on the dualism which ancient thought never overcame (p. 154). But he should have placed these things in the front of his argument, should have brought out more clearly the fundamental antithesis between

οὐσία and the other categories taken as a whole, and should have subjected to a searching criticism Aristotle's 'letzte Objekt der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis' (p. 150), which he tells us is "weder das Einzelbild der Wahrnehmung, noch das Schema der Abstraktion sondern das Ding, welches in der Flucht seiner sinnlichen Erscheinungsformen sein begriffliches Wesen aufrechterhält," and should have endeavored to make plain to us what sort of an 'unding' such a thing is. He would then have seen that the difference between Plato and Aristotle (p. 146) is not that Plato started from the concept, Aristotle from the judgment, but that Plato begins with the perceivable unit of consciousness, be it sensation or idea, Aristotle with the external reality known to the layman as a thing and to Mill as a real kind.

In matters of detail I note that the doubtful phrase *τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι* . . . *τὸ πρῶτον*, which occurs, I believe, only in the quibbling proof of the unity of the heavens, can hardly be taken absolutely, and without further explanation, as a synonym of the deity (p. 152). There is a similar application to the 'weltgott,' on page 38, of a Parmenidean phrase (*τὸ γὰρ πλεον ἔστι νόημα*) torn from its context, which would be likely to mislead a student. The distinction of *ὁμοιομερῆ* and *ἀνομοιομερῆ* (p. 159) was probably suggested to Aristotle by Protagoras 329 D and 333 A. 'Einheitliche konzentration' as a translation of *μεσότης* in *De an.* II 12 (p. 160) is, I think, an error of Zeller's. Plants are without sensation not because they have no 'einheitspunkt des seelenlebens' (Zeller), for this argument would prove too much and deprive some lower forms of animal life of sensation. The true reason is that plants are composed of the one element, earth, and the sense of touch requires an instrument like the flesh of animals, compounded of all elements, and capable, as an indifferent mean (*μεσότης*), of judging and comparing the extremes of the qualities of all. Hearing is the most precious sense only *κατὰ συμβεβηκός* as facilitating the representation of thought by conventional signs. Absolutely the preeminence belongs to sight, as in Plato. The explanation of the *κάθαρσις* of art (p. 169) as "nur dadurch möglich dass die Kunst . . . den Gegenstand in das Allgemeine erhebt" is not, I think, justified by Aristotle's words. He does not connect the two thoughts.

The survey of Hellenistic and Roman philosophy offers, perhaps, all that could be expected in so brief a compass. More space should have been given to Cicero. But I suppose it is idle to expect that scientific scholars will allow themselves to be influenced by what Teuffel naively calls the "accidental circumstance that an author's works are or are not extant."

PAUL SHOREY.

REPORTS.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von Otto Behaghel. Wien, 1888-9.

With the second number of this volume the management of the *Germania* will have passed into the hands of Dr. Otto Behaghel in Giessen. The death of the accomplished scholar, Dr. Karl Bartsch, who for nearly twenty years so ably filled the editor's chair, was lamented not only on the continent of Europe, but also by a large circle of English and American scholars who looked up to him as an authority second to none in his special department of learning.

Heft 1.

In the opening article of this number, "Zur mythologischen Methodik," the author (L. Beer) examines the investigations upon the field of mythology since the days of Jacob Grimm. B. holds that a most dangerous tendency of this science has been, to explain without hesitation German traditions by analogies in the Edda, by similar Greek and later by Vedic traditions. To this we would add, and in no science has enthusiasm been more mischievous. It has led to a display of unfettered fancy with some investigators, and the maze of strange notions in which they frequently appear to have become entangled has aided not a little in bringing mythology as a science in disrepute. Beer's article is to the point. The difficulty and uncertainty which at best must always attend investigations into so obscure a subject as the mythology and sagas of a certain people, will make it necessary to sift with scientific minuteness and explore with the greatest diligence of research the traditions in saga and custom, in belief and superstition, found among that people—distinguishing well between derivation and independent parallel expressions of a common human sentiment.

"Der nordische Tristanroman und die ästhetische Würdigung Gottfried's von Strassburg," by O. Glöde, makes emphatic objection to the conclusions reached by Kölbing (since the publication of the *Tristrams saga ok Isondor*) as to the position of Gottfried among the classical writers of the Middle H. German period. "Gottfried ist, ebenso wie Hartmann, ein feinsinniger Übersetzer," says Kölbing, which simply means that the poet whom the literary critics were fond of honoring above all, is to be relegated among the translators. This is unjust. Since the appearance of Kölbing's text of the northern prose saga, we know, perhaps, how closely the poet followed the subject-matter of the lost French original (of which *Tristram ok Isondor* is likewise a version), and whilst this may detract from the originality of Gottfried's story, it cannot lessen our admiration of the poet's melodious verse, picturesque diction, and the skill with which he has treated the sub-

ject. Besides, the number of beautiful incidents, among them some of the most charming in the epic and unquestionably Gottfried's own, that are interwoven with the story, will always place him among the foremost poets of his time. The whole matter reminds one of the criticisms of the Old Saxon "Heliand" after the appearance of Sievers' edition.

Karl Hartfelder's paper, "Eine deutsche Übersetzung von Cicero's Cato aus der Humanistenzeit," discusses the authorship of the German translation of Cicero's Cato found on the first ninety-seven pages of a paper MS (Cod. Pal. Germ. 469) in the University library of Heidelberg. Until recently it was generally considered the work of the well-known Schlettstadt humanist, Jacob Wimpfling. H. surmises that Johann G. von Odernheim, Primarius of St. Catharine's at Oppenheim, was the real translator. A MS which contained a number of Johann v. Odernheim's translations, among them one of Cicero's Cato, was disposed of at a public sale in 1835 at London, but has since disappeared, probably hidden away in some obscure English library. If Hartfelder is right—which, of course, can only be shown when the original MS in England turns up—we should have in the Heidelberg translation a copy of the oldest German version (1491) of Cicero's Cato, and this would call for a correction in Degen's work, "Versuch einer vollständigen Litteratur der deutschen Übersetzungen der Römer" (I, 89), which quotes as the oldest (printed) translation that of Johann Neuber (1522), Augsburg. Hartfelder prints the close of the Heidelberg version.

F. Pfaff, "Zu Reinolt von Montelban," furnishes some details regarding the *sack*, a garment mentioned in lines 1223-28 as worn by King Louis at the coronation ceremony. For *kantele* and *kautiel* in lines 14004 and 14829 Pfaff proposes *kantele*, *kanteil*, Old Fr. *chantel*, *cantel*, *cantiel*. The word *lyniere*, in verse 14829, he changes to *lymiere* = *visor*. A second paper by Pfaff, on the same poem, is mainly a reply to Dr. Kochendörffer's criticisms of Pfaff's edition of Reinolt (Anz. f. d. Alt. 253-256). P. concludes by saying, "Ich übergebe nun die Sache dem Urtheile gerechter und parteiloser Richter, die es verstehen Tadel und Hohn einander fern zu halten, und sage meinerseits: Hiermit genug."

G. Ehrismann announces the discovery by Rector Schmid and Prof. Einert of an additional fragment belonging to the Paulinzell Renner MS. It contains the lines 22959-23401. Between 23072 and 73 are inserted the verses 21843-56 and 19769-70. Prof. E. Einert prints the lines 1-72 of a fragment of "Pfafe Amis," which served as the cover of an old rent-roll of Klingen (Schwarzb. Sond.), and F. Grimme continues his "Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Minnesänger." Among the minstrels spoken of we find: Brunwart v. Augheim (thirteenth century), Bruno v. Hornberg (beginning of fourteenth century), Henricus der schuolmeister v. Ezzelingen (1280), Goldener (end of thirteenth century), Pfeffer (1246), Ulrich v. Sachsendorf (1249), Hardegger (1227-85), and Meister Heinrich Teschler (1284).

F. Grimme, in a short article, "Zu Iwein," speaks of the Eastern derivation of some of the stories in our mediaeval poems. It has been held for some time that much of the marvellous in the courtly epics of the Middle

Ages is of Eastern origin; that it was brought from the Orient to the Occident by the returning crusaders. We are indebted to the student of Oriental literature, who furnishes us with editions of Arabian and Persian writers, for having made this more and more clear. Grimme calls attention to some Eastern parallels of the story of the miraculous well in Hartmann's Iwein (l. 553), found in Mohammedi filii Chondschahi vulgo Mirchondi Historia gasnevidarum persice ed. Wilken, Berlin, 1832, and in the work of Ferischthah.

K. Schröer writes "Erinnerungen an Karl Bartsch," and R. Bechstein reviews the life and work of the deceased. These papers will tend to increase the respect already felt for the memory of that admirable scholar. J. Ehrismann publishes a list of the works of Bartsch, and F. Neumann treats "Karl B. als Romanist."

A chapter on literature has "Recensionen" and book notices by the late K. Bartsch and Anton Nagele.

Heft 2.

K. v. Bahder gives a full account of Johann von Soest's "Dy gemein Bicht," a rhymed confession in the Heidelberg library. Soest was not credited with the authorship by Bartsch in the description of the Old German MSS in that library. "Us bewerter schryfft tzu rym gesetzt," says Soest, and this "bewerte schryfft" seems to have been principally the popular Modus confitendi of Andreas de Escobar. Soest tries to write in the Palatinate dialect, but as he spent some time in Holland in his youth, the Dutch will come out. Bahder gives a short sketch of Soest's language and versification, and prints the poem with valuable annotations.

B. Wyss, "Zu Steinmar," sends a suggestion as to the meaning of *dermel* in Schweizer Minnesänger, p. 171, ll. 24, 25:

gense hüener vogel swin
dermel pfawen sunt dâ sîn.

Bartsch translates *dermel* by darmwurst. In the dialect of the canton Solothurn (the home of Wyss) *därmlî* means a weasel. As we have never noticed *weasel* on the bill of fare of our forefathers, we go with Bartsch. *Wurst* is natural.

K. Euling furnishes the text of a MS of the fifteenth century (Univ. library, Leipzig) containing epigrams, and emends his own edition of "Priameln."

F. Liebrecht gives a description of the superb and costly photographic reproduction of the Parisian MS (Manesse) made under the guidance of Kraus, through the liberality of the government of Baden, and presented to the University of Heidelberg on the occasion of her great festival, August 3d, 1886. The copying process throughout seems to have been a complete success, so much so that some words that had become blurred in the original are easily made out in the photograph. Only three copies were taken besides, of which two, by first agreement, went to the Paris National Library and

one to the Grand Duke of Baden. The negatives remain with the ducal government. Germany has since succeeded in acquiring the valuable original, and once more this most extensive collection of the fatherland's mediaeval "minnelieder" is within the walls of Ruperto-Carola.

A second paper by Liebrecht discusses the antiquity of "Narrengesellschaften," of which he finds the earliest trace in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* A. D. 230 (ed. Casaubon, L. XIV, p. 614). Two more contributions by L. treat of the sagas and reports concerning the sudden and mysterious appearance of sea-water accompanied by other phenomena in temples and holy places far removed from the seacoast, and a "Volksvers." The last paper compares a number of variants of a little rhyme referring to lovers, familiar through the words of Gretchen in the garden scene in Goethe's *Faust*, "Er liebt mich—er liebt mich nicht."

The origin of the legend of St. Alexius, the time of its appearance in Western Europe, and its relation to the most important Alexius MSS, is the subject of a lengthy article by M. F. Blau. From the mass of facts and suggestions brought forward by B., chiefly in contravention of the opinions of Maszmann and Brauns, we select two points for notice.

The name *Alexius* occurs for the first time in the Occident in a Roman deed of gift of the year 987, in which some land is transferred to the convent of St. Bonifacius. During the following twenty-five years the Alexius cult rapidly develops in Rome, as is shown by records and reports of miracles that must have been written down at that time. The Alexius cult in the West does, therefore, not date prior to the last decade of the tenth century. The legend itself is probably based upon the true story of a pious person who voluntarily resigned wealth and honor to lead the life of an ascetic. Its sequel was worked up from the legend of Johannes Calybita.

R. Sprenger's paper, "Zu Reinke de Vos," adds some more notes to those already furnished by F. Prien in Paul's edition of *Reinke* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, Niemeyer, Halle, 1887, and F. Peters prints two pretty fairy stories from C. Reiszner's charming book, "Aus Lothringen, Sagen u. Märchen," Leipzig, 1887. Albert Bachmann reports the thirty-ninth meeting of German philologists and teachers at Zürich (sec. deutsch-roman.), 28th September to 1st October, 1887, and the literary portion of the number offers book notices and reports upon journals by the late Karl Bartsch.

In the Miscellany, F. Liebrecht continues his "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Frauen." The curious customs recorded are better read than reported upon. The editor of the *Germania*, Dr. Otto Behaghel, closes the number with a reference to some MSS, containing matters German, in Gustav Becker's "Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui" (Bonn, 1885).

Heft 3.

In the St. Gall paper MS 643, immediately after Boner's fables are written a number of stories and jests which have never before been published. They are now printed (21 in all) by J. Baechtold, and furnished with references to works that bear upon them.

J. J. Baebler sends a "Tagelied" copied from an old city ledger of Aarau (Switzerland). The official entries in the book cover the years 1492-97. The author had evidently a dash (if it was a mild one) of something like genius in him.

Anton Jeitteles, "Altdeutsche Glossen aus Innsbruck," supplies and annotates the rest of the valuable material contained in the MS (355) formerly in possession of the Cistercian convent of Stams in the Tyrol, now in the Innsbruck University library. The MS belongs to the fourteenth century, and the German points to Austria as its home. The first parts of this MS, it will be remembered, were made known by Jeitteles in the Germania, Vol. XXIX, p. 338, and by Mone in the "Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deutschen Vorzeit," Vol. 8, p. 99.

In a short paper, "Zur Legende der heiligen Kutmernus oder Wilgefortis," J. H. Gallée expresses his belief that K. Rehorn's article on this saint (Germ. XX, p. 461) by no means makes further investigation needless, especially as R. starts with the supposition that it is only in the Alpine valleys of the Tyrol that we can obtain anything like proper information concerning the cult. He also questions Rehorn's etymology of the name Wilgefortis (from the Goth. *faiguni* (Berg), hence a *berg-frid*), and rather goes with Kern and Sloet (*de heilige Ontkommer*, etc., M. Nyhoff, 1884), who have *Wilgifortis* = *Reginfredis*; *Wilgi*, Old North *Wilgi* (sic?) and *Regin* = *sehr, gross*. We fail to see the improvement on Rehorn.

A short communication from Dr. Karl Haas tells us that the *schelch* in the Nibelungenlied 937, 2 (ed. Bartsch) is not a *tragelaphus*, a prettily built species of antelope, but the extinct *riesenhirsch* (*cervus megaceros*). To readers of the Nibelungenlied this is nothing particularly new. We dare say they never took the *grimmen schelch* for anything else than some large species of stag, notwithstanding the confusing terms "bockhirsch," "tragelaphus," "riesenhirsch," etc., with Lexer, Müller, and others. Müller, in the M. H. D. Wörterb., has "bockhirsch," "riesenhirsch"; Schade explains: Eine vielleicht dem Elentiere ähnliche Hirschart, bockhirsch; Wackernagel prints "bockshirsch" (evidently a misprint, but bad for a fifth edition); Bartsch has simply "riesenhirsch," and so has Schultz (Höfisches Leben, Jagdbare Thiere, p. 354). Dr. Haas further informs the reader who may not be up in zoology, that the "auerochs" (*ür*), now extinct, should not be called "wisent," a different animal, still found in Russia. The student of Middle H. Germ. who meets both *ür* and *wisent* in his texts will hardly make the mistake; the verses show him that there is a difference between the two (cf. Iwein, l. 411, Nibelung (Bartsch) 937, 2), but we think it likely that the general reader may fall into the error, when a justly famous work like the Brockhaus Encyclopaedia (11th ed.) has the following: *Auerochs—der Wisent der alten Deutschen . . .*

R. Köhler, in a paper supplementary to his article in the Germania, Vol. VI, on the quaint old verses:

Ich leb und waisz nit wie lang,
 ich stirb und waisz nit wann,
 ich far und waisz nit wohin,
 mich wundert, das ich frölich bin.

haec magister Martinus in Bibrach. 1498.

corrects a mistake in J. v. Radowitz' *Devisen und Motto des späteren Mittelalters*, Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1850, where these lines are quoted as the epitaph of Magister Martinus in Heilbronn, while in reality they were copied by Mone from an old book-cover and published by him in his *Anzeiger f. Kunde der deut. Vorz.* IV (1835). The error has found its way into other books and articles. The large collection of variants from MSS and books of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Köhler's paper tells the great popularity of the rhyme, and a comparison with the English and Latin versions throws some light upon the probable mediaeval Latin sources that inspired both the English and German poet.

F. Peters continues his "Märchen aus Lothringen," and H. v. Wlislocki sends some stories current (among peasants and gypsies) in Transylvania and Hungary, of which parallels under the heading "Der verstellte Narr" were published by F. Liebrecht (*Zur Volkskunde*, p. 141). Wlislocki's stories are peculiar "und entziehen sich der Besprechung."

"Die Reimbrechung in Gottfrieds v. Strassburg *Tristan*," by O. Glöde, may be read with profit in conjunction with the same scholar's paper, "Der nordische *Tristanroman*," reported upon in the first number. This contribution to the Gottfried literature shows, by examples drawn from the epic, with what consummate skill, artistic freedom and taste Gottfried treated that subtle feature, revived by the courtly poets of the Middle H. German period from our oldest alliterative poetry, of letting the sense not run with the rhyme, but rather alternate with it.

G. Ehrismann sends emendations to text and notes of Joseph Seemüller's edition of "Seifried Helbling," and Ed. Damköhler closes the third number with further suggestions as to certain readings in "Reinke de Voss," ed. Prien (Halle, Niemeyer, 1887).

Heft 4.

J. Hornoff opens the fourth number with an article on the minstrel Albrecht von Johansdorf and his works. Little is known of the life of this knight, but judging from allusions in his poems he probably took part in the third crusade under Leopold of Austria. The article is not finished.

F. Grimme treats of the titles *her* and *meister* as given to the minstrels in the large Paris (now again Heidelberg) MS. It has heretofore been generally taken for granted that minstrels who bore the title *her* in the MS were knights, while those mentioned as *meister* were simply citizens. Grimme, upon further investigation, in which he subjected the coat of arms and pictures that often accompany the minstrel's name, to special scrutiny, comes to the following conclusion: *Her* pointed to a knight of the lower order

who lived, outside of cities, in his castle, while *meister* referred to a minstrel, irrespective of rank, who dwelt within a city.

"Die Wielandssage und die Wanderung der fränkischen Heldensage" is a well written article by W. Golther on the origin, history and migration chiefly of the Wielandsaga. The key-note of the clever essay is sounded in the sentence, "Es war ein durchaus verfehelter Versuch aus den nordischen Quellen die deutschen erklären und berichten zu wollen." The story of "Lame Wayland the Smith" is treated connectedly in the *Þiðrekssaga* and the *Volundarkviða*; in the former in a clear and simple manner; in the latter, decked with the Eddic paraphernalia of valkyries and swan-maidens, it is often so contracted as to become almost unintelligible. From Golther's lengthy paper we will notice a few points that may be novel, even to those who have read Bugge's studies on the origin of some of the northern sagas: The Wielandsaga was not in the beginning common to all Germanic peoples. It started with one people, the work of one gifted person among them, at a certain time and place—and that people were the Franks. A Frankish poet, by blending the two antique sagas of Vulcan and Daedalus, as they existed at his time in short, easily remembered Latin fables, produced the saga of Wayland the Smith, which, therefore, *has not a trace of primitive Germanic myth in it*. The Northmen became acquainted with the saga when they appeared upon Frankish soil, and in all probability carried it thence *directly* to Iceland, where it received its additions of Eddic myths. This makes the *Volundarkviða* date from about the end of the ninth century. The introduction of the Wielandsaga from France into England is placed by Golther in the course of the seventh century, and its origin among the Franks perhaps in the sixth. We may not be prepared just yet to agree with all the views expressed by Herr Golther in his excellent paper regarding our Heldensage generally, but surely his opinions deserve all consideration.

E. Damköhler, in a short communication, verifies the statement of Grimm Wörth. and Lexer M. H. D. Wörth., as to the occurrence of *ader* with the force of *aber*, from the old Brunswick school regulations (to 1828), Koldewey, v. I, and some record of 1513 in the Ilsenburg record-book No. 511.

K. Stieff, "Mittheilungen aus der Kön. Univ. Bibliothek Tübingen," supplies some German texts of the years 1500-1526 for Weller's repertorium typographicum, and prints a "Spruch" which is perhaps the oldest version of the pretty and popular German hymn, "O Herre Gott, dein göttlich Wort." The authorship of this hymn, which was assigned, by a forced interpretation of the initial letters appended to the verses, to Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, is now given by Stieff, for better reasons, to the Saxon Councillor Anark, Herr zu Wildenfels, etc.

In "Gerhard (dechant) von Minden," Fab. II, 4:

de vos ne hât is nicht gesein
men *horen* scrigen unde lêp
do na dem arne.

E. Damköhler resolves *horen* into *hór ên*. Sprenger (Germ. XXXII 460)

suggests *hore en*, *hore* being a contraction of *horde*. As D. did not find any examples in Middle Low Germ. of the dropping of *d* after *r*, he was loath to use the form *hore*. Since then he has found in the "Koker" (a collection of Low German adages of the time of Reinke de Voss) an illustration, "*de kauher(de) und de swen*," in which not only *d* but *de* is dropped, which proves, as he thinks, that the law according to which in the living representatives this assimilation takes place, already existed in the Middle L. Germ. This would place the spoken dialects of that time much nearer to their present representatives than can be gleaned from the M. L. Germ. MSS.

M. Hermann publishes a letter, from the Augsburg codex 220, of a certain Andreas Baurus to Albrecht v. Eyb, and a reply of Reinhold Bechstein to Schönbach's criticism of "Frauendienst," and some minor communications close the XXXIII volume.

C. F. RADDATZ.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. XLIII.

Pp. 1-20, 220-235. K. Lugebil. The accentuation of Greek words and word-forms. I. Our knowledge of Greek accentuation is very uncertain, and we cannot rely on the Alexandrian tradition, as regards either position or quality of accent, unless supported by other evidence. The Alexandrian scholars could observe and determine the actual pronunciation of the contemporary language only. But even here we have reason to doubt in every instance the completeness and correctness of their observations. Position and character of accent were recognized by ancient scholars as early as the end of the fifth century B. C., but the notation of accent was not introduced before the Alexandrian period, and written accents used only *πρὸς διάκρισιν τῆς ἀμφιβόλου λέξεως*. In the Alexandrian period only the obsolete and less frequent words were at first accentuated, later the whole mass of Greek forms. The manner in which Aristarchus determined the accent of single words serves us as a model for all the other grammarians. They could not avoid making many blunders and mistakes. Nevertheless, we must pay attention to the Alexandrian tradition, as L. shows in a discussion of *ἵππος*. But while we may not flatter ourselves that we are able to determine or find out by grammatical combination the accent of the great mass of words, we may succeed in case of single words or whole groups of analogous forms. II. The tradition is equally unreliable in the case of words that were obsolete in the Alexandrian epoch, and in the case of post-Alexandrian words. The grammarians had no positive, reliable knowledge of the accentuation during the pre-Alexandrian period, but simply more or less probable conjectures. Yet the result of these conjectures is open to still graver doubts than that of their immediate observations. As for the accentuation in post-Alexandrian time, even if it had been determined correctly by the Alexandrians, there must have been a conflict with the spoken accent, and hence the whole accentuation was mere conventionality.

Pp. 21-28. C. Wachsmuth. On Statius' *Silvae*, I 6. An annotated edition is greatly needed and would be very instructive. l. 94, retain *inemptas = quae emi non possunt*. Between ll. 77 and 78 is probably omitted a line, mentioning peacocks and cranes, perhaps *quas Ganges lavat (alit) ac palus Scytharum*.

Pp. 29-59. Th. Kock. Lucian and Attic comedy; a continuation of his article in *Hermes* XXI (1886) 372 ff. K. establishes the correct method of recovering lost verses of poetry from several parallel quotations. He proves it by restoring some lines of Menander, comparing *Ter. Andria* V 5, 3 with *Aristides* I 592 Dind., and again, *Ter. Phormio* III 2, 21 with several Greek parallel passages. This principle once established, K. applies to the writings of Lucian. Of course we do not count *Aristaenetus*, who borrowed from Lucian, but in the case of *Alciphron* the agreement is due to the use of a common original. In this way Kock restores a number of fragments of comic poets, some to the extent of 40 lines, by comparing *Alciphron* III 50, 1 and 2 and *Luc. Toxaris* 15; cf. *Herm* XXI 391, No. 117; *Alc.* III 62, 2 and *Luc. Toxar.* 13; *Alc.* III 55 and *Luc. Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαπίθαι* 14, 18, 31, 44. But even without the help of parallel passages fragments of comic poetry may be restored, and K. resurrects, from *Luc. Ἀλεκτρυών* 29, twenty-one lines of the *Φάσμα ἢ Φιλάργυρος* of Theognetus, of which a fragment numbering 10 lines is preserved in *Athen.* III 104b. In *Luc. Timon* the expressions are largely drawn from a comedy of the character of *Aristoph. Plutus*. The story of the *Icaromenippos* may have been taken from a play like that of the *Pax* of *Aristoph.* In *Luc. Dial. Meretr.* the substance is taken from a comedy; cf. the dialogues in 9 and 13; 4, 4 and 5, and 8, 3.—Pp. 621-622. In reply to a remark of Ivo Bruns on p. 196, K. justifies himself for not having entered into a discussion of the relation between the *Icaromenippus* of Lucian and *Menippus*.—Another long article on the Greek *Voltaire* is found on

Pp. 86-103, 161-196, by Ivo Bruns, entitled *Lucian's philosophical satires*. I. The *Vitarum auctio* and *Piscator* are complementary of each other. They are a satire on the philosophers of his time. As in *Bis accusatus* and the *Fugitivi*, so in these two essays Lucian ridicules and exposes the false representatives of philosophy. The sale of the *βιοι* leads to a trial, but Lucian is acquitted. II. B. traces the development of Lucian's anti-philosophic vein. In his fortieth year L. wrote several satires against the philosophers, the last of which is the *Bis accusatus*. To these belong, among others, the *Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*, and *Hermotimus*. In *Bis accusatus* we are told why Lucian broke with the rhetoric of his time. The following year witnessed the first public reading of the *Auctio* and *Piscator*. Side by side with still more violent attacks on the pseudo-philosophers, we notice a regard for the true and genuine representatives of philosophy, a tribute to the merits of some of his friends among that class. The third great polemic dialogue is the *Fugitivi*. The *Piscator* was written before 165 A. D.

Pp. 60-72. L. Jeep, in a paper on the lost books of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, combats Michael's theory that *Ammianus* wrote two historical works, one continuing the histories of *Tacitus* from *Nerva* to the death of *Emperor Constantine*, and the second from that time to 378 A. D., and that we possess only books XIV-XXXI of the second work. J. denies the existence of the first work, and maintains that the lost 13 books contained a condensed summary of historical events from *Nerva* to the death of *Constantine*.

Pp. 73-85. H. van Herwerden. *Ad hymnum in Mercurium*. A. Gemoll, in his edition of the *Hymni Homerici* (*Lipsiae, Teubn., 1886*), has overlooked

many conjectures of H. v. H., published in 1876 and 1882. These are now reprinted and new emendations added.

Pp. 104-122. J. Beloch. Financial history of Athens. Continued from XXXIX 259.¹ VII. *ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος*. B. supports Thuc. I 96 against the attacks of Kirchhoff (Hermes XI 1-45), and holds against K. that all the states—those of the Aegean islands included—formed themselves into the Athenian confederacy from the very beginning, and that the annual levy even at that time amounted to 460 talents, and not only after the battle of the Eury-medon. VIII. The Psephisma of Kallias mentioned in CIA. I 32 = Dittenb. 14 is to be dated, with Boeckh, 419-18 B. C., against Kirchhoff's date 435-34 B. C. The similar decree on the reverse of the same stone dates 418-17 B. C.

Pp. 123-127. C. Frick. Joseph Justus Scaliger and the Excerpta Latina Barbari. The apographon of these excerpts, preserved in the city library of Hamburg, is a careless copy of Cod. Paris. Lat. 4884, Saec. VII-VIII, made by two scribes. Only the marginal notes are the work of Scaliger.

Pp. 128-135, 557-563. F. Bücheler. I. Two Oscan votive tablets from Capua; facsimiles, with commentary. The alphabet used is the later Oscan with some slight differences. Attention is called to the great number of abbreviations, some of which are explained. The tablets were dedicated by Sepis Helevi(s), Lat. Seppius Helvius, at different times. II. Two other inscriptions of like character, also found in Capua and published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, Dec., p. 570, are examined and explained.

Pp. 136-141. F. Marx. De aetate Lucretii. The poet was born 96 B. C. and died 54 B. C.

Pp. 142-160. J. Toepffer supports Harpocraton's statement (s. v. *φαρμακός*) that the human sacrifices in early Athens were offered annually on the Phargelia, against Stengel's view (Hermes XXII 86 ff.) that such sacrifices were made only in times of public distress and calamities.—J. E. Kirchner has some notes on the Code of Gortyn.—H. Usener examines an old Attic inscription, Saec. VI B. C., found on the Acropolis of Athens. It runs:

Ὁνήσιμος μ' ἀνέθηκεν υ λ υ - υ υ λ υ
ἀπαρχὴν τῶθιναίᾳ υ λ - λ - λ λ
ὁ Σμικέθου υἱός λ λ υ υ λ υ.

It is the first occurrence on Attic soil of this ancient type of verse with four irregular beats. The same writer calls attention to the fact that the rhetor Anaximenes is referred to by the side of Choerilus in a Herculanean papyrus, and so probably also wrote an Alexandrian epos. He adds, on p. 320, that an epic poem by Anaximenes on Alexander the Great is mentioned Pausan. VI 18, 6.—F. Bücheler]. Nicasicrates, the philosopher, was a contemporary of Philodemus, not an Epicurean, but probably a Stoic.—G. Heidtmann arranges Terence Adelphi 191-249 as follows: 200, 206; 207, 202-4, 208, excising 201 and 205.—E. Hoffmann transposes in Caesar de bell. civ. I 25 *has quaternis . . . moverentur* and *has terra . . . impediretur*.—J. Klein. M. Asinius Sabinianus, CIL. VI 1067, is the same as Ἀσιν . . . Σαβεινιανός in Bull. de corr. Hell. XI 97.

¹ See A. J. P. IX 232.

Pp. 197-202. O. Crusius. The Σύμπυκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι of Pherecrates were anapaestic tetrameters, but with certain feet replaced by pauses. The words of Hephaestion in the chapter *περὶ ἀντισπαστικοῦ* and c. 15 have to be scanned in the following manner: *ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νῆυν* υ υ - | υ υ *ἰξευρήματι* *καίνῳ* | *συμπύκτοις ἀναπαιστοῖς* υ υ - | υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - |. Pherecrates probably did not use the catalectic Glyconeus, and the later name Glyconeus seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding.

Pp. 203-219. O. Apelt shows that the testimony of Pseudo-Aristoteles de Melisso, etc., c. 586, on the work of Gorgias *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἢ περὶ φύσεως* is more valuable and correct than that of Sextus Empiricus *Math.* VII 65-87.

Pp. 236-257. H. Nissen. The date of Arrian's *Anabasis* can be determined from the polemic references of Lucian and Arrian to one another, and from allusions to contemporary events. The *Anabasis* was written in Athens. Lucian composed the tract, *How to write history*, in 185 A. D.; the following year he wrote *περὶ τοῦ οἴκου*, and in the same year Arrian composed *Anabasis* I-III. 167 A. D. Lucian edited the *Dialogues of the Dead* and the *Peregrinus*; and 168 A. D. *Anabasis* IV-VII were completed.

Pp. 258-267. R. Ellis. De codice Priapeorum Vaticano 2876, Saec. XV. Collation of this MS, the Aldina of 1517 A. D., and Vatic. 3269, with critical notes and emendations.

Pp. 268-290. F. Blass. *Studies in Demosthenes*. B. defends, against H. Lipsius, his theory of rhythmic law in Demosthenes as a factor in critical emendation. His article is an elaboration of the principles laid down in his edition of Vol. I of Dindorf's *Demosthenes*.

Pp. 291-297. F. Bücheler. *Coniectanea*. Emendations to Nonius, pp. 88, 320; Arusianus Messius; the tract *περὶ ὕψους*; the scholia of Persius Sat. I 56, II 41; Juv. X 311, and Propertius *Arethusa* IV 3, 55. The *Exempla elocutionum* of Messius were written before 387 A. D.

Pp. 298-302. F. Schöll. The model of Plaut. *Rudens* probably was the *Πήρα*, mentioned as by Diphilus in a scholium cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 676. Epicritical remarks in reply to O. Seyffert's review of Schöll's edition of Plautus' *Rudens* in the Berl. philolog. Woch. VII, No. 52, Coll. 1625 ff.

Pp. 303-320. E. Rohde treats of the Greek versions of the popular legend which lies at the basis of the Aesopic fable No. 88 (Halm); cf. Babr. 32 (*Γαλή ποτ' ἄνδρὸς*). It is to this legend that the comic poet Strattis alludes in the proverb *οὐ πρέπει γαλῇ κροκωτῶν*.—O. Crusius. De inscriptione Imbria versibus inclusa. Another proof for the iambo-anapaestic tetrapody mentioned by H. Usener in his book on Greek metres.—C. Wachsmuth. A new reference in cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 676 to the *διαβάθρα* in Alexandria. See XIII 464 ff. It is the name for the region connecting Pharos with the continent, called Heptastadion by Strabo.—E. Wölfflin. The titles of the Atellanæ and Mimi. On the suffix -arius, and the use of class names in the singular.—G. Amsel. Notker (†1022) mentions Catullus in his translation of Boethius de consolatione philosophiae III 4.—B. Barwinski. De Dracontio Catulli imitatore. Drac. lived about 100 years after Macrobius and Martianus Capella; he had

read at least the Epithalamium Thetidis. Parallels are quoted to prove this.—M. Hertz. L. Voltacilius Pitholaus. Pitholaus is the name of the first freedman among Roman historians. Refers to Suet. Rhet. 3 and Macrobian Sat. II 2, 13.—R. Hirzel. The work of Asconius, mentioned by Suidas s. v. Ἀπίκιος Μάρκος, was a symposium on the model of that of Plato. Its object was a praise of the τέχνη παλαιστρική.—B. Bunte. Tacitus Germ. c. 40 nuitones is corrupt for uitones. Due to w being written uu.—Th. Aufrecht. Probus = pro-bo, ὡς, the same as in profecto, profectu-; cf. sense of Skt. pra-dhā-na, the best, most excellent.—Th. Vogel. Vestibulum = vesti-stibulum = Vesta + stabulum; cf. Ovid. fast. VI 301; Nonius and Servius Aen. II 469, stipendium, from stipi-pondium, fastidium from fasti-tidium, and ἀμφορεῖς from ἀμφο-φορεῖς.

Pp. 321-346. E. Klebs. Of the two principal parts of the Vita of Avidius Cassius, the one comprising VI 5-IX 4 is undoubtedly a second-hand extract from the biography of Marcus by Marius Maximus. The rest is a fabrication compiled probably by Lollius Urbicus, who lived about 250 A. D.

Pp. 347-354. K. Thurneysen attempts a translation of the inscription of Corfinium. The sense is partially elucidated and some words explained. A peculiarity of this inscription is the occurrence of ḡ = palatal d' from an older j or i. This explains e. g. viḡad > *vijād, abl. to via or vijā, road; afḡed > *afied = Lat. abiit, etc.

Pp. 355-359. F. Dümmler thinks that the picture on the vase reproduced from Museo italiano di antichità classica II, tav. I 4, is of interest for the origin of the drama. The picture probably explains the meaning of the word *ἱκρία* for the oldest stage. The Thespian cart was a *currus navalis*.

Pp. 360-375. J. de Arnim. Philodemea. Additions and emendations to Phil. τῶν περὶ θανάτου, I, IV, ed. S. Mekler. Col. VIII, IX 1-14, XII 1-15, 26-34, XIII 1-37, XX 1.

Pp. 376-398. F. Marx. *Studia Cornificiana*. 1. De codicum ratione. On the value of the MSS. 2. De codice Corbeiensi, now in St. Petersburg. It is of the greatest importance for determining the readings of the original MS. 3. De Archetypo. This was written probably in the sixth century, with half-uncials and cursive letters without word-division. The Corbeiensis has preserved most of the scholia and glosses of this archetype. 4. Towards the end of the fourth century the work of Cornificius was attributed to Cicero, owing, perhaps, to the influence of Donatus, who was the first to enumerate it among Cicero's works. 5. Critica et hermeneutica. On p. 640 M. states that the emendations on page 376 attributed to Scaliger are due to Kayser.

Pp. 399-404. K. Brugmann prints Latin etymologies. 1. sinister, ὡς, to be successful; cf. Gr. ἀ-νύω, ἀ-νύω; scae-vo-s = σκαῖ-ος (*σκαῖ-φο-ς); laevo-s, ground-form *slai-uo-s, weak, feeble; cf. λαιώ-ς > *λαι-φο-ς. 2. reciprocus is a dvandva compound of *ve-co-s and *pro-co-s (turned backward and forward), with Idg. suffix -go = Lat. co-. We should expect a form like *proci-recu-s. Suffix -co is frequent in Idg. languages; cf. e. g. νῖ-κά-ω, to defeat, properly to make low, to down one; Skt. ni, downward, below. Procul is a fossilized accus. neut. sing. of adj. *pro-cu-lus (cf. paul-lus > *paur-lo-s) like simul.

P. 404 B. acknowledges that this etymology was found by Corssen, *Krit. Nachträge*, 136 f., that he had not known this when he wrote the article. 3. equifer, ovifer are compounds with *ferus*, wild.

Pp. 405-418. L. Cohn. Unpublished literary remains of Greek Atticism. Report on Cod. Vat. graec. 2226, which is of the greatest importance for Phrynichus, and still more so for the *περὶ ἡμαρτημένων λέξεων* and *Φιλέταυρος* of Pseudo-Herodianus.

Pp. 419-442. F. Scholl has a paper on interpolations, lacunae, and other corruptions in Cicero's *oratio de Domo*.

Pp. 442-460. R. Reitzenstein. The recension of Hesychius' *Lexicon*. The Cyrillic Glossary, Cod. Vallicellianus E 11, Saec. X, is partly the source of the *Lexicon*. There are four sections of importance for its history. The first contains the results of the early Alexandrian period and those of the Graeco-Roman school from Didymus to Pamphilus. The chapters *περὶ γλωσσῶν* and *περὶ ὀνομάτων* contain, with additions, the collections made until that time. The second period begins with Hadrian. Rhetorical dictionaries revive old Attic words and forms; the earlier collections of glosses are abridged for the use in schools. The work of Pamphilus gives way to its recension by Diogenianus. From the middle of the fourth century these works of the second period are condensed and combined into one collection. At this time Hesychius worked over the collection of Diogenianus and attempted to enlarge it considerably. The second half of this period gives birth to the glossary generally attributed to Cyrillus. In the fourth and last period, i. e. since the latter part of the ninth century, a number of excerpts from earlier literature are loosely combined in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Suidas, Photius, etc. The Cyrillic Glossary was then incorporated into Hesychius by an ignorant Byzantine lexicographer.

Pp. 461-466. O. Crusius defends Plutarch's authorship of the didactic poem, extracts from which are found in Galen's *Προτρεπτικός ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας*, and of the treatise *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι παροιμιῶν*, against the objections of Gercke, *XLII* 470, and Heinze, *Burs. JJ.* 1885, p. 125. See *XXXIX* 581-606; *A. J. P.* IX 239.

Pp. 467-471. E. Rohde publishes emendations to Apuleius *Metamorphoses* IV-VI.

Pp. 472-480. A. Ludwig restores the fragment of seven lines of the *Cypria* of Stasinus in Cod. Med. LVII 36 (M), and prints variant readings of five other MSS.—W. Schneid defends *ὄβο μῆνας* in Thuc. II 2, 1, changes *ἐκτῷ* into *δεκάτῳ*; considers *τοῦ αἵτου* before *ἀκμάζοντος*, II 19, 1, as a gloss, and strikes out in V 20, 1 the words referring to the *ἐσβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν*. Pp. 628-631 he reads Thuc. II 15, 4 *καὶ παλαιῶν θεῶν*; 29, 3 retains *τε* after *βασιλεὺς*; 38, 1 reads *ἱεροῖς δὲ καὶ κατασκευαῖς*.—E. Rohde, *Galen VIII*, p. 698 K, shows that the *βιβλίον* in prose contained at least *ἐπη πλείω τῶν χιλίων*, i. e. more than a thousand lines of 15-17 syllables each.—O. Crusius. A citation in Du Cange's glossar. ad script. med. et inf. graec., index auctorum, p. 28, referring to the *Adagia* of Hermodorus Rhegius and on Byzantine *Paroemiographi*. See his article *XLII* 398.—F. B[ücheler]. Old Latin, continued from *XLII* 589. Col-

lifanus = *πρόβατα* *lepà* in Philoxenus' Glossary, p. 41, 27 Vulc. and pagus Agri-fanus near Nola, CIL. X 1268, are compounds of *collis-*, *ager* and *fanum*, *fanare*. Root *fana-*, also in *fanaticus*. Siat *οὔρει*, *ἐπὶ βρέφους*, Philox. ib. 197, 22 is identical with German 'seichen, seich,' Slavic *sicati* *mingere*; *siat* is confirmed by ib. p. 199, 13 *sissiat* *κάθηται*, *ἐπὶ βρέφους*; cf. *tinnit* and *tintinnit*. There is no connexion with *sessum*.

Pp. 481-485. R. Kekulé. A plate from Kameiros represents the contest between Menelaos and Hector over the body of Euphorbus. We should expect this episode in Il. II, but we find only a few fragments of the original narrative.

Pp. 486-493. J. Freudenthal believes, with Zeller, that the New-Platonist Proclus lived from 410-85 A. D. Recent investigations by the astronomer Prof. Galle, in Breslau, prove that the dates of Marinus in the biography of his teacher Proclus are incorrect.

Pp. 494-504. C. Wotke and C. Hosius send a number of extracts from Persius found in six florilegia. They are of no critical value.

Pp. 505-511. R. Foerster. De Loxi physiognomia. F. attempts to separate the property of Loxus in the compilation of Loxus, Aristotle and Polemo, edited by Val. Rose, Anecd. I 59. Loxus probably lived in the second half of the third century B. C.

Pp. 512-523. E. Graf. *Νόμος ὁρθιος* simply means the high, clear tone in music, not connected with a certain metrical system. *Νόμος ὁρθιος* and *λαμβος ὁρθιος*, so often confounded, are to be kept entirely apart.

Pp. 524-540. G. Oehmichen has critical and exegetical notes to passages in Vitruvius, containing the particles *ita* and *sic*.

Pp. 540-556. E. Oder. The hoopoo (*ἐποψ*) came into connexion with the Tereus legend in Megara not earlier than the fifth century B. C.; he became a fixture in Greek mythology in the time of Sophokles. According to the early belief Tereus was changed into the sparrow-hawk, *κίρκος*.

Pp. 564-568. A. Ludwich prints emendations to the Homeric hymns: II. *εἰς Ἑρμῆν*, l. 109; III. *εἰς Ἀφροδίτην*, l. 253; and IV. *εἰς Ἥλιον*, l. 14 ff.

Pp. 569-582. C. Trieber. The legend of Romulus was shaped by Diocles of Peparethus on the model of the Tyro of Sophokles.

Pp. 583-596. H. Rassow examines and emends several passages of Aristotle's Rhetoric, Politics, and the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics.

Pp. 597-604. F. Rühle. The interview of Vopiscus with Tiberianus, which turned the attention of the former to researches into contemporary imperial history, took place after 303 A. D. The Vita Probi was written between 322 and 323 A. D., i. e. before the outbreak of the final contest between Constantine the Great and Licinius.

Pp. 605-621. Th. Kock. It sometimes happened that scribes omitted one or more verses in their copies. When this was noticed, they were added or inserted often in a wrong order. K. gives three instances where such disorder has occurred. They are fragments of poets belonging to the

New Comedy, and are preserved in Athenaeus. 1. Fragm. of Euphron, Athen. IX 379d, where l. 9 has to be placed before 8; after l. 10 is a lacuna. 2. Fragm. of Sosipatros, Athen. IX 377 f. Kock arranges as follows: ll. 10-12, 20-23, 13 (ὁ λέγω, τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἡμεῖς σφίζομεν.), 14, 17, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24. 3. Fragm. of Damoxenos (poet of the Old Comedy) Σύντροφοι, Athen. III 101, 2; read 1-5, 62-67, 6-42, 55-58, 43-48, 59-61, 49-54, 68.

Pp. 623-640. O. Crusius has notes on Theognis 19-24, 159 f., 601 f., 341-5, 245-250.—R. Hirzel. *Εὐπατρίδης* means not only one of a noble father, but also one who has acted nobly towards his father. So in Sophocl. El. 106 the chorus praises Orestes as being *εὐπατρίδης*. The same is the case with *εὐπατρις* ib. 1080. The Athenian Eupatridae, who, be it noted, were excluded from the worship of the Eumenides, are the descendants of *εὐπατρίδης Ὀρέστης*.—C. Weymann. The use of Catullus's poems on the part of later authors.—W. Ribbeck. The song of the chorus in the Phaedra of Seneca 767 ff. refers to the marriage of Messalina and C. Silvius. H. J. Müller. —æque in Livy occurs only in II 33, 7, XXI 39, 2, and XLI 23, 6.—F. Becher has a note on Quintil. inst. or. XI 1, 51.—J. Werner prints variant readings to the Periegesis of Priscian, from the Cod. Turic. c. 78-451, Saec. IX.

W. M. ARNOLT.

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Fascicle 7.

58. Zu Sophokles Oidipus Tyrannos. Th. Plüss, Basel. A new conception of vv. 216 and 275, without textual alteration.

(24). Zu Sophokles Antigone. F. Kern, Berlin. Textual emendation in lines 392 and 855.

59. Zu Pindaros. E. Hiller, Halle. On the sixth Pythian ode, lines 37 ff.

60. Zu den griechischen florilegien. Reasons for believing that Clemens Alexandrinus and Stobaios made use of a common original. This is by the same as the preceding article.

61. Zu Euripides Andromache. K. Busche, Ilfeld. Critical contributions.

(43). A note on Lysias 21, 25, by Paul Müller, Merseberg.

62. Zu den Aristophanesscholien und Parömiographen. O. Crusius, Tübingen. A few corrections on the article of Zacher's in the Jahrb. for 1887, p. 529.

63. On the prosecution of the indictment against Theocrines, by P. Trenkel, Zerbst.

64. Zu Cicero De Natura Deorum. A. Goethe, Glogau. Critical contributions.

65. Zu Catullus. H. Magnus, Berlin. Critical note on the 112th epigram.

66. Reasons for excluding from the fragments of Livius two of the fragments which purport to be such, by H. J. Müller, Berlin.

67. Critical notes on Quintilian, by M. Kiderlin, Munich.

68. A note on "Demosthenes Olynthische reden," by J. Richter, Nakel.

Fascicle 8.

(13). Zur geschichte und composition der Ilias, by K. Brandt. This concerns the 18th book alone, and holds that vv. 1-367 belong to the original *ᾠνυς*, and that vv. 368-617 are the work of a second author or compiler.

69. Der Kykeon des Hipponax, by W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. On fr. 43 in Bergk's collection.

70. Dionysios Periegetes und der imbrische Hermesdienst, by O. Crusius, Tübingen. In reply to G. F. Unger (Jahrb. 1887, pp. 53-61). Crusius explains the first words in the acrostic (vv. 513-532), *θεὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ* as an address to the god Hermes.

71. Der Hyacinthienmonat, by G. F. Unger, Würzburg. Unger maintains that this is the month of May, corresponding to the Attic Thargelion and the early part of the Spartan Hekatombeus.

72. Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos. On Ant. Rom. II 5 and 6, touching the inauguration of Romulus as king, by P. Regell. Also on VI 1 ff., by L. Sadec. Critical notes.

73. Zu Thukydides. Discussion of his use of *ἀναίθημι*, by A. Weiske, Halle.

74. Zu Plutarchs Symposiaka. Critical notes, by E. Graf, Meiszen.

75. Zwei Festvorlesungen des Lukianos, by A. Thimme. The *προλαλία* δ *Διόνυσος* serves as an introduction to the second book of the *Ἀλ. ἱστ.*, while the *προλαλία* δ *Ἡρακλῆς* serves as such for the first. These introductions were read to the public on two special occasions at an interval of a year. Apart from these, all non-rhetorical works of Lucian that are not in the form of dialogue or letter are not genuine.

76. Zu Horatius Episteln, by G. Falтин. On I 11 against Lehrs' hypothesis and analysis of the epistle (Jahrb. 1863, p. 540). Falтин takes it thus: 1-21, in der ferne findest du das glück nicht; 22-30, suche es in dir selbst.

77. Zum Dialogus des Tacitus. C. John, Urach.

Fascicle 9.

78. Die Hexametrischen überschriften zu den 48 Homerischen rhapsodien, by H. Schrader, Hamburg. The verses of Stephanus on the Iliad are not composed as a connected poem, but as separate and independent superscriptions to the several books; the *ἐπιγραφαι*, found in the MSS since the eleventh century, owe their origin to an imitation of Stephanus and form a complete order themselves. As regards the verses on the Odyssey, Schrader gives certain variations from the text of Ludwig, on the basis of three newly collated MSS. The article closes with a study of the dactylic verses of Theodoros Prodromos and John Tzetzes.

79. De hiatu debili qui dicitur Homericus, by J. Draheim, Berlin. This metrical freedom, confined originally to the first foot, made its way gradually into the other feet.

80. Zu Diodoros. G. Zippel, Königsberg. Critical note on XXXIV 36 Ddf.

81. Zu Polybios. E. Lammert, Leipzig. An attempt to do away with the eight instances of the use of τοῦ with the infinitive expressing purpose, and to substitute χάριν τοῦ in view of the 73 occurrences of this latter construction. Emendations are also proposed in several passages where the text seems to have been disturbed by attempts at restoring lost words and lines.

(21). Zu Vergilius Aeneis. Critical contributions, by Th. Maurer, on I 108, 113; VI 604, 792-806.

(35). A word on Aris. Achar. 988, by A. Müller, Flesnburg.

Fascicle 10.

82. Zu den griechischen tragikern, by O. Höfer, Dresden. Critical notes on Soph. El. 636; Oed. R. 7; Eurip. Hec. 451, 489; Hippol. 860 f.; Alc. 898; Fr. 154.

83. Zu Tyrtaios, by F. Blass, Kiel.

84. Die grosse responsion im Rhesos und einiges andere, by J. Oeri, Basel. The peculiarly Sophoclean character of this play was noticed and felt in antiquity. Oeri, by an analysis of the method of composition of Sophocles, brings out this same character for a number of his late plays. This is a continuation of Oeri's "die grosse responsion in der spätern Sophocleischen tragödie" (Berlin, 1880).

85. Zu Pratinas, by F. Blass, Kiel.

(46). Zur nautik der alten, by F. Rühl, Königsberg. Fresh reasons for believing in Öhler's explanation of λογῶνες. See preceding number of the Am. Jour. (X 251).

86. Zu Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis. H. Stadtmüller, Heidelberg. A critical analysis of the speech of Achilleus, vv. 919, 974.

87. Zu Archilochos, by F. Blass, Kiel.

88. Kritische bemerkungen zu Aristotles rhetorik, by H. Schütz, Potsdam.

89. Zur anthologia latina, by M. Manitius. Variations of reading found in codex Dresdensis Dc 183 saec. IX-X. These are in lines 678, 679 Riese.

(76). Critical and exegetical notes on II 1 of the Epistles of Horace; *dossenus* is of Punic origin and means "the fat person," and is used in II 1 as a humorous characterization of an Epicurean.

90. Zu Cornelius Nepos, by A. E. Anspach, Cleve. A continuation of the critical notes published in Jahrb. 1887, pp. 563-566.

91. Lexicographische notiz, by Th. Stangel, Munich. An addendum to Boethius de syllog. categor. I prooem.

(27). *Ac* und *atque* vor consonanten, by M. C. P. Schmidt, Berlin. An extension to Curtius Rufus of the rules as deduced by Stamm (see preceding No. of Am. Journ. X 250) from Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, and Livy.

92. Zu den rhetores latini minores, by Th. Stangel, Munich. On p. 64, 28 Halm.

93. Studien zur geschichte Diocletians und Constantins. I. die reden des Eumenius, by O. Seeck, Greifswald. The last eight speeches of the Mainz codex stood originally in a separate MS and are an independent collection, whose author is to be understood to be Eumenius.

94. Zu Tacitus Annalen, by F. Walter, Munich. Critical notes.

Fascicle II.

95. Theognis Vaterstadt, by J. Beloch. An attempt to identify Megara, the native city of Theognis, with the Sicilian Megara.

96. Critical and exegetical notes on the Homeric Hermes-hymn, by A. Ludwig, Königsberg.

97. Solon und Mimnermos, by F. Blass, Kiel. Lines 1059 and 1060 of Theognis are to be joined to the sixth fragment of Mimnermos; to these the 20th and 21st fragments of Solon answer; these two fragments are to be joined as one.

(58). Critical notes on v. 1512 of Oedipus Tyrannos, by F. Weck, Metz.

98. Xenophontische studien, by J. A. Simon, Düren. I. ἀρχι and μέχρι; the first is hardly Xenophontean, and is to be displaced by μέχρι in all genuine passages except II 3, 2, an imitation of the dialect of Clearchus. I. Übergänge (transitional summaries) bei Xenophon und den grammatikercitate. These stiff and pattern-like passages in the Anabasis and other works of Xenophon cannot be charged to him, but to the later Alexandrine grammarians whose citatory style they agree with.

99. Zur textkritik Platons, by K. J. Liebhold. These emendations are confined to the Apologia, Kriton, and Protagoras.

100. Review of Dr. K. Manitius's "des Hypsikles schrift Anaphorikos" (Dresden, 1888), by H. Menge, Mainz. The notice is a favorable one.

101. A critical note on Plautus' Aulularia, by E. Redslob, Weimar. On v. 735.

102. A critical note on Plautus' Miles Gloriosus, v. 223, by A. Cohn, Berlin.

103. Zur lateinischen grammatik und stilistik, by P. Stanim. A number of corrections of certain assertions as made especially in the Antibarbarus: 1. zur syntaxis convenientiae. 2. ipse. 3. etiam. 4. cor. 5. unus—alter, alter—alter. 6. veritas. 7. tum primum. 8. primus, primum. 9. per and a. 10. ubi. 11. (in) hoc libro. 12. place of the negative. 13. place of the possessive pronoun. 14. use of tenses in dependent irrealis. 15. praeter enim quam quod.

(65). A critical note on Catullus (c. 36), by A. Teubner, Eberswald.

(53). Zu Horatius, by H. Düntzer, Köln. Critical and exegetical notes on Epod. 9, Carm. IV 7, I 4.

104. Die Constantinischen indictionen, by F. Rühl, Königsberg. Attempted explanation of the origin of the statement in the Chronicon Paschale, I, p. 522.

Fascicle 12.

105. *Culturhistorische forschungen zum Homerischen zeitalter*, by M. Hecht, Gumbinnen. I. Bemerkungen zu einer darstellung der cultur der Griechen im Homerischen zeitalter. This points out the fact that Homer gives us in his descriptions copious though not complete material for the study of the history of early civilization. II. Die sittliche cultur der Griechen in Homerischen zeitalter.

(78). Zu den *ἐπιγραφαὶ* der Odyssee, by J. Sturm, Würzburg. Supplementary to Schrader's work on the superscriptions of the Odyssey (see report on fasc. 8 above). This gives a new reading of the 24 hexameters taken from the Vatican gr. 1898. They are given in full in this article.

106. Zu Aineias Taktikos, by E. A. Junghahn, Berlin. J. holds to his ausfürungen in den Jahrb. 1887, p. 748 ff., in spite of A. Bauer's criticism and attack (see A. J. P. X 251).

107. Critical notes on Xenophon's Hellenica, made by J. A. Simon, Düren.

108. Zu den fragmenten des historikers Timaios, by H. Kothe, Breslau. This aims to establish the titles of two parts of the *ἱστορίαι*: of the first *Ἰταλικά καὶ Σικιλικά*; of the second *Ἑλληνικά καὶ Σικιλικά*. The article also gives an arrangement of the books in their proper order.

109. A word on "Achilleus und die lesbische Hierapolis," by K. Tümpel, Neustettin.

110. Zu den römischen Tagen, by W. Soltau. This is an attempt to clear away certain disputed points concerning the character of the days of the Roman calendar before Caesar, for the purpose of removing every uncertainty involved in the problem of the number and distribution of the dies fasti in the different epochs of Roman history. Soltau treats (a) of the different designations of the dies nefasti; (b) of the dies fasti subsequent to the decemvirate; (c) of fictitious (fictive) dies fasti.

111. *Adnotatiunculæ criticae in libellum satiricum qui nunc vulgo inscribitur APOCOLOCYNTOISIS*, by M. C. Gertz, Hauniae.

(42). A critical note on Livy IX 7, 13, by H. J. Müller, Berlin.

112. Verstärkung und ablösung in der cohortenlegion, by F. Giesling, Dresden. Giesling agrees with Delbrück and Fröhlich (*Hist. Zeits.*, neue folge XV, p. 239 ff.) that an arrangement of the cohorts with intervals cannot be proved in or from Caesar, and that the first line of battle fought as a phalanx. He does not agree with Fröhlich, however, that the relief, when necessary, was effected from the flanks, but holds that without preserving their order (*taktische einheit*) the reserves were thrown in where it was necessary. The method of strengthening the battle line and of relieving the defessi is discussed in a general way.

113. A critical note on Cicero's Cato Maior, by H. Steuding. On §53.

(80). *Lactorates*, by W. Schmitz, Köln. A supplementary note to Zippel's "Zu Diodoros," fasc. 9.

114. *Genera usitata epistularum*, by L. Gurlitt. G. holds that the following is the ancient scheme for grouping the letters of an author: (1) *epistulae quibus certiores facimus absentes*; (2) *genus familiare et iocosum, quo secundis rebus uti solemus*; (3) *genus severum et grave, triste et miserum*: (a) *promissio auxilii, cohortatio*; (b) *consolatio doloris, rationes offeruntur, quibus a molestiis abducatur*; (4) *epistulae commendaticiae*. He illustrates from *ad Atticum*, Book V.

(103). *Zum irrealis praeteriti*. A. Procksch. Criticism of Stamm's "Zur lat. gram. und stil.," fasc. 11.

Register der im jahrgang 1888 beurteilten schriften.

Sachregister.

Berichtigungen.

W. E. WATERS.

HERMES, 1888.

I.

M. Rothstein (*Caecilius and the treatise on the sublime*) discusses the passages in Longinus where the influence of the Sicilian rhetorician may be traced, e. g. in chapter 32 as to the proper limitation of metaphors: *καὶ περὶ πλῆθους δὲ μεταφορῶν ὁ μὲν Καικίλιος εἰκοε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς δύο ἢ τὸ πλείστον τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ νομοθετοῦσι τάττεσθαι*. This use of *καὶ* seems to refer (p. 6) to discussions of Caecilius on the accumulation of figures, discussions with which the readers were familiar. Figures and tropical diction, together with the general introduction, seem to be the main parts of the *περὶ ὑψους* treatise, in which the author has followed closely the lead of Caecilius.

A. Otto. Exegetical notes on Propertius.

H. Matzat. Which was the first day of Caesar's reformed calendar? M. takes it to have been = Jan. 1, 45 B. C., not Jan. 2, as August Mommsen and Holzapfel would have it. After Caesar's death the pontifices for 36 years made a leap-year once in every three years instead of once in every four years. Subsequently Augustus (*Macrob. Sat. I 14, 14*) remedied the matter by providing for the suspension of intercalation for twelve years.

E. Maass (*Διόνυσος Πελάγιος* (as we must read, and not *πέλεκος*, Schol. Vict. 428, Il. 24) gathers the scattered legends connecting Bacchus with the sea; these seem to have been current in Phthiotis and on the Boeotian coast, at Tanagra, Anthedon, etc., and particularly amongst the Aeolians.

B. Niese. *Die Chroniken des Hellanikos*. H. of Mytilene probably was a contemporary of Thucydides (I 97). His *'Αρθίς* (or *'Αρθιδες*) was probably carried down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, as he spoke of the battle of the Arginusae islands, 406 B. C. He seems to have written in annalistic fashion, according to archons. The division into books was probably made by the Alexandrian grammarians. Probably there were five books, the first two being devoted to mythical times, possibly also the third, the antiquarians and grammarians whose quotations we have being chiefly interested in that department. The historical portion proper seems to have been rather short.

The other work of Hellanicus discussed by Niese is *ἔρεται τῆς Ἡρας*. This work, too, seems to have been carried down to the end of the Peloponnesian war. According to Niese's estimate, the period between the Doric invasion and the Persian wars did not comprise more than one-sixth of the whole: a significant suggestion of the scantiness of extant material for that period. Hellanicus, by the bye, deduced the Spartan constitution, not from Lycurgus, but from Eurysthenes and Procles, the first kings. The list of priestesses seems to have served merely as a chronological framework.

B. Niese. *Die Chronographie des Eratosthenes*. N. does not think that this famous work of the Alexandrian polyhistor was a general and comprehensive chronological corpus analogous to Clinton's modern work. The title given by Harpocration is *περὶ χρονολογιῶν*. It seems to have furnished a standard for dates and distances of time, acknowledged as such, e. g. by Polybius and Dionysius of H. (*κανόνες ὑγιεῖς*, *Antiqq.* I 74). Probably Eratosthenes desired to rectify the extant chronological books or systems for schools, of which the Marmor Parium may be considered a fair example—among the inaccuracies of the latter, e. g. being the fixing of time between Salamis and Leuctra as 110 years instead of 109; placing the assassination of Hipparchus in the same year as the exile of Hippias, etc. The fixing of 776 as the date of the Olympian victor Coroebus is due to Eratosthenes, also making 884 the year in which Lycurgus began to act as guardian for his nephew and established the sacred truce (*ἐκεχειρία*) conjointly with Iphitus of Argos. The framework furnished by Eratosthenes was utilized later in the *χρονικά* of Apollodorus.

R. Zimmermann (Posidonius and Strabo) traces and illustrates the employment of Pos. by Strabo in many passages where Strabo does not name him, satisfying himself with *οἱ δέ, τινές, φασί, οἱ νῦν* (p. 114), e. g. in estimating the distances along the coast of Spain, in the discourse on the Silphion belt, on the tin-islands of N. W. Europe, on Gades and Rhodes being on the same parallel, on the general outline of the western part of the *οἰκουμένη*.

G. Knaack. *Zu den Aitien des Kallimachos*. Knaack traces the influence of this work, in the instances of a legend of Hercules, in various later writers.

Wilamowitz. *Zu den Homerscholien*. Paraphrases of introductory portions of the Iliad are here edited. They represent acc. to W. virtually two MSS of the so-called Didymus-scholia of the third or fourth and of the fifth centuries. These papyri contain lexical material substantially derived from Aristarchus.

Th. Mommsen (z. den Römischen Zahl- u. Bruchzeichen) expresses his dissent from Zangemeister's work on the same subject.

Th. Mommsen. *Pompeianische Geschäftsurkunden*. These bills of sale were published by de Petra in *Notizie degli scavi* of 1887, and are of date 61 A. D. A freedwoman, Poppaea, sells two slaves to Dicitia Margaritis. The three documents are interesting from a legal point of view, and the spellings Poppaea and *hac* may be noted.

II.

M. Kiderlin. *Critical notes on Quintilian X 1.*

M. Wellmann (Dorion on the list of fishes in Athenaeus VII 277 sqq.) finds a large number of definitions in Hesychius agreeing with Athenaeus, and concludes that Athenaeus and Hesychius both used Pamphylus, the latter in turn having used a compiler Dorion *περὶ ἰχθύων*, who probably lived in the second half of the first century A. D.

F. Spiro. Prolog und Epilog von Lykophrons Alexandra. Lycophron of Alexandria composed this iambic poem as a prophecy uttered by Cassandra. Introduction and conclusion of this poem have been declared spurious by some critics. Spiro defends their genuineness.

Th. Thalheim. Der Process Demons gegen Zenothemis. A. Hug, in 1871, declared this private speech of Demosthenes spurious. Thalheim here shows that the speech does indeed exhibit two distinct expositions of fact (*διηγῆσαι*), but that this is simply a further proof of the trickiness of the contestant, Demon, and of the weakness of his case, besides being characteristic as illustrating the assurance of a certain class of litigants before an Attic jury.

Jo. Schrader's Emendations on Silius Italicus, published by J. S. van Veen.

Blass on the Greek and Latin MSS in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople. Blass gained access to these MSS through the German ambassador in 1887. Of Greek MSS there have been found thus far 34, many grammatical and lexical books, some on biblical geography, Byzantine historians; of classical Greek writers, Hesiod's Theogony, Hippocrates, Galen, Ptolemy, Dionysius Periegeta, Xenophon's Cyropaedia, Arrian's Anabasis. These MSS have been described before by Dethier and others. To these are now added by Blass some further MSS, Byzantine of course: fables, compilations on military science, history of Roman and Byzantine emperors, a commentary on the Psalms, zool. writings of Aristotle, books on astronomy, mathematics, etc. In Latin there is a Seneca, several missals, a Latin translation of Ptolemy, etc. Some fifteen MSS of this collection were purchased in 1687 through Louvois for Paris. Very many of the Latin MSS have been returned to Hungary as having originally belonged to the collection of King Matthias Corvinus.

F. Spiro. Der kyklische Dactylus u. die Lesbische Lyrik. Spiro does not believe in the cyclical dactyl, nor in the application of musical notation, pauses, etc., to the analysis of metres, nor does he accept irrational quantities in spite of Dionysius Hal. de compositione verborum, c. 17.

H. Kühlewein continues his studies on Hippocrates, "Zur Ueberlieferung der Hippocr.-schrift *κατ' ἱημερίον* . . .", which is very poorly preserved in the MSS, and acc. to K. very imperfectly edited, even by Littré and by Petrequin.

G. Kaibel. Scenische Aufführungen in Rhodos. In the Marucellian Library at Florence there is a copy of an inscription, made by Bonarrotti, giving a list of actors who gained victories or second place in dramatic contests. The inscription records dramatic exhibitions held in Rhodes, but the complete list probably included records of other places. We learn that there an actor was assigned (*νέμεσθαι*) to a *φυλή*, probably in accordance with Attic precedent. The former contest was probably between different *φυλαί*. The portion of the ins. best preserved states that the actor Alkimachos (probably an Athenian)

appeared in four dramas, the first by Sophocles (name of play obliterated); the second play, *Ὀδυσσεύς*, probably by Sophocles. The third is called *Ἰβηρες*, also probably by Sophocles, and finally, a satyr-drama *Telephos*. All four plays were probably given in one day. We also learn that *Θρασίβουλος Ἀθήναια ἐνίκα*, probably in comedy.

H. Diels (*Atacta*), critical notes on *Eugamon* (a verse of whose *Telegonia* he supposes to have been preserved in *Athen. X 412 d*: γέρων τε (ὦν) ἥσθιν ἀρπαλέως κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδί), *Archilochus*, *Hipponax*, *Epicharmus*, *Solon*, *Theognis*, *Plato comicus*, *Herodotus I 200* (ἐδει *Ion.* = ἐσθίει for ἐχει), *Thucyd. IV 128, 5* ἐξ *αναστάς* for *διαναστάς*, etc.

B. Keil. *Zum Testament der Epikteta* (*Doric inscr.*, probably of *Thera*, acc. to *Boeckh C. I. G. 2448*). The inscription is now preserved in the *Museo Lapidario* of *Verona*. (See a special treatise on this will by *Dareste*, *Paris*, 1883.) This will provided for the establishment of a certain worship in honor of the departed husband and sons of the testatrix. This society is called *Ἀνδρείος*. The language is very faulty.

In the *Miscellen* we note a little paper by *Maass*, on the *Linos-song* given in the *scholia* of *Venetus B.* on *Hom. II. 18, 569 sq.*, from which *Bergk* (*Lyrici*, *II ed.*, p. 1026) constructed his edition

ὦ Λίνε (πᾶσι) θεοῖσιν
τετιμένε, σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκαν κτέ.

But *Maass* prints in three parallel columns the *Venetus B.* scholium, that of the *Townley MSS.*, and that of *Eustathius*, and the reader easily sees that the tradition in the *Townley MSS.* and in *Eustathius* is probably the purer. In these two the *Linos-song* appears as hexametrical pure and simple ὦ Λίνε πᾶσι θεοῖσι τετιμένε κτέ.—*Wölfflin*: "How *Scipio* was saved in the battle of the *Ticinus*"—an instructive example of historical criticism.

E. G. SIHLER.

BRIEF MENTION.

Before the *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Nördlingen, C. H. Beck) has reached its completion, a new edition of the second volume, *Griechische und lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*, is found necessary. The first half, containing *Brugmann's Griechische Grammatik*, is much enlarged (236 pp. against 126), and every page shows some advance, some modification. In the department of phonology and inflexions a keen watch has evidently been kept on the paths of recent research, and while the distinguished author has renounced on principle a like completeness in the field of syntax, twice as much space has been accorded to that department as before. Many details have been introduced that were sadly missed in the earlier edition, and many changes made in conformity with the new investigations in which psychology has guided statistics and statistics have checked psychology. To record all these changes, or even the more important of them, would be useless. The student must simply lay aside his old Brugmann and take up the new, thankful for fresh light and fresh impulse, while awaiting the inevitable progress that must soon make this edition also antiquated.

In his treatment of *Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen* in *Schann's Beiträge* (Würzburg, A. Stuber, 1888), Dr. GRÜNENWALD sets out with the assumption that the infinitive as the complement of a verb is always felt as an accusative, and hence what he calls the free accusative of limitation, such a loose infinitive, for instance, as we have in *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, and similar formulae, must be considered as virtually adverbial accusatives. This is a short method with a very difficult subject. It is true that the inf. as a deorganized dative falls into the limbo of the acc., but only as all flexionless things fall into the limbo of the acc., and the possibility of a subconsciousness of the original state of things is not to be excluded in the case of old formulae, which cannot have arisen in the time of the dead inf. To my mind *τὸ νῦν εἶναι* is older than the articular inf., and it is not necessary to adduce *τὰ νῦν* side by side with *τὸ νῦν* in order to show that the article does not belong to *εἶναι* and does belong to *νῦν*. This is a sphere that requires close observation, delicate appreciation of what I would call the pudenices of language, and while I would not say with Mr. Monro that *δύναμαι δομεναι* can still be felt as 'he has power for giving' (see A. J. P. II 471), there are instances in which we must admit a lingering of the dative sense, or at all events a something that is not all accusative (see A. J. P. VII 170). In regard to the *εἶναι* constructions which Dr. Grönenwald takes up first, and especially *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, it must be noted with reprobation that he has not given a fair representation of Hermann's view of this construction. I cannot, it is true, verify his quotation from the ad Viger. of 1822, but he should certainly have consulted the last edition (1834), in which Hermann

gives what is practically the sense of all these *εἶναι* constructions, the restrictive. In his fourth ed., then, p. 886, he translates τὸ νῦν εἶναι, τὸ τήμερον εἶναι, *für jetzt, für heute*, and ἐκὼν εἶναι, not as Dr. Grūnenwald gives it, by *ut quis sponte aliquid faciat*, but *quantum quis sponte quid faciat*. The illustrious Hellenist did not make up a distinction this time, as he so often did, but reproduced, and reproduced correctly, the impression that the phrase must make on the mind of every one who studies the subject. Dr. Grūnenwald himself translates the sentence, Plato Symp. 214 E: ἐκὼν γὰρ εἶναι οὐδὲν ψεύσασθαι, 'dem Freiwilligsein nach werde ich nicht lügen,' with the same restrictive effect. Humboldt's *εἶναι* = *δύτως* (τῷ *δύτι* would be nearer) has found no favor in Dr. Grūnenwald's eyes, and yet *δύτως* with the negative produces the same restrictive effect as *γε*, and it may well be contended that in all these passages *εἶναι* serves the purposes of a larger *γε*—which particle, by the way, is absent from nearly all the passages in which the restrictive *εἶναι* occurs.

Every one is familiar with the statement that Stesichoros is the author of the organization of the chorus into strophe, antistrophe and epode, a statement which the name of the poet has helped to fix on the mind of the student. In one of the *Commentationes Ribbeckianae* Professor CRUSIUS of Tübingen has shown that this is one of the many traditions that have slipped into the history of Greek literature and Greek metric without running the gauntlet of sharp criticism. In the original edition of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca* there is no mention of it, and it appears for the first time as a modest and guarded hypothesis of van Lennep, based on the name Στρεσίχορος and the proverb οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στρεσίχορον γινώσκεις. But the true form of the proverb according to Crusius is *τρία Στρεσίχορον*, and the explanation of *τρία* as referring to strophe, antistrophe and epode is a bit of superfluous scholastic learning. The proverb means 'you do not know even three (verses) of Stesichorus,' 'three' being a typical number in proverbs (and, by the way, the most famous quotation from Stesichorus, οὐκ ἔστ' ἔννυμος λόγος οὐτός κτέ, contains just three verses). In its form the proverb reminds one of the familiar saying οὐδ' Αἰώπων πεπάτηκας (Ar. Av. 471), and Crusius conjectures that it may have had its place in the Agon of the *Δαιταλῆς*. Positive evidence then of Stesichoros's invention of strophe, antistrophe and epode seems to be lacking; but Crusius goes further, and taking up Ahrens's observation of the responsion of parts in the Parthenion of Alkman, establishes the use of the triadic structure of the great Lydian genius. The three most simple and canonical evolutions of the chorus Crusius takes to be mere abstractions from the name Στρεσίχορος and to have no authority except the 'nonsensical Pythagorean symbolism.' *στροφή* is nothing but *τρόπος*, *τρόπος* being *modus* in its more general sense (comp. German *weise*), while *στροφή* is the musical period of modern times. The word *καμπή* (*κάμπτειν*) used as a part of the *στροφή* shows that the figure is in all likelihood taken from the race-course and not from the evolution of the chorus. Why, *ἐπωδός* itself must be explained by the ellipsis of *στροφή* and the whole nomenclature is a mere recognition of the triadic structure *a a b*. Alkman's Parthenion and the Alkaic strophe are constructed on a similar plan, Alkman presenting in a fuller and grander form the same movement with Alkaikos.

CRUSIUS's mention of the supposed Agon of the *Δαιταλῆς* in the essay just summarized calls to mind a note in an article by Maass (*Hermes* XXII, p. 585). In this note Maass says that the *ἀγῶνες λόγων*, as everybody knows, passed over from the sophists to the dramatists and are found in the *Clouds* and in the *Medea* alike. Such a transfer was impossible before the middle of the fifth century, for it was not until then that the sophistic business got a firm footing in Athens. To make the *ἀγὼν λόγων* an original element of comedy is therefore a manifest anachronism. *Conclusum est contra Zielinskium*. It will be remembered by some of our readers that Wilamowitz made a similar objection of anachronism to the story of the contest between Korinna and Pindar; see A. J. P. VI 114 (cf. p. 524). But after all Maass's objection is not fatal. The popular elements of the *ἀγῶνες λόγων* are as old as the nationality, as old as the religious processions, which play so conspicuous a part in the development of dramatic art. The *γεφυρισμός*, the chaffing of the *πομπή*, only needed the organization of art to become the *ἀγὼν* of the developed comedy. The Homeric debate gives the first norm and the sophistic dispute the last.

It is to be hoped that Professor JOHN E. B. MAYOR's *Latin Heptateuch* (London, C. J. Clay & Sons, 1889) will receive in this Journal the ample notice that the wealth of its erudition deserves. The pleasure of the Latin lexicographer, whose interests have been kept steadily in view throughout the work, may be somewhat tempered by the raps which our beadle of Latinity gives those that dare nod during the service; but it is a delightful book for an irresponsible person to skim, full of anecdote and tangential remark, a book in which worthies and unworthies innumerable figure from Fabricius, of whom the Elector of Saxony said, 'Das war ein Mann, den möchte man mit den Nägeln aus der Erde kratzen,' down to the luckless dictionary-maker, needless to name, 'who everywhere assumes his own crass ignorance on the part of his public.' Nor are we left in the dark as to the editor's views of the province of philology and the proper methods of classical study. Especially welcome is his remark—the only one we have time to quote now—'on the blind and cruel folly of teaching language through the critical eye alone, not through the quickening voice.' 'Learn a living language out of books alone, you kill it; send a dead language by the way of the ear to the brain and you give it life.'

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The appearance of this number of the Journal has been delayed by the preparation and printing of the elaborate Index to Vols. I-X, which the Journal and its subscribers owe to the indefatigable diligence and generous self-sacrifice of the compiler, Dr. ARNOLT. A small special edition of this Index has been printed for the accommodation of those who do not own the set, or who, owning it, desire to have at hand a means of ready reference to the contents of the ten volumes. The price has been fixed at \$1, and until all the copies are disposed of, the number which contains the Index will not be sold separately.

B. L. G.

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WHOLE NO. 40.

I.—ON THE SENTENCE-QUESTION IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

First Paper.

INTRODUCTORY.

The most complete discussions of the interrogative sentence in Latin are by Holtze, *Synt. Prisc. Script. Lat.* II 236–285, and Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.* II 989–1024. They begin with the distinction between direct and indirect questions; on this subject Becker has now said all that is needful.¹ Sentence-questions are divided by Holtze and Kühner according to the particle that introduces them, into sentences without a particle and sentences with *ne*, *nonne*, *num*, *utrum*, *an*. Under each head are classed the idiomatic uses, e. g. under *ne*, *ilane*, *ain tu*, *satin*, *scin quomodo*, etc. These cover the special cases; for the commoner kinds of *ne* question Holtze makes no classification. Kühner employs the three-fold division into questions for information, questions expecting an affirmative answer, and questions expecting a negative answer. Questions without a particle are divided according to the presence or absence of emotion.

This system of arrangement is open to serious criticism. The tests which it relies upon to distinguish emotional from unemotional questions are entirely inadequate; written language has few

¹ *Syntaxis Interrog. Obliq.* in Studemund, *Studien*, I pp. 115–316. As the semi-indirect questions are in form and meaning exactly like direct questions, and as I have wished to include everything which would throw light upon the nature of the interrogative sentence, I have given in my lists many questions which will also be found in Becker.

signs for emotion. And even the arrangement of questions according to the answer expected is too narrow and at times actually misleading. See below the synopsis of the classification of questions according to their function, proposed by Th. Imme. The study of phrases with a view to discovering their functions should be the last step, not the first, in the inductive process. Further, Holtze and Kühner have used at the same time two systems of classification which are really distinct. Holtze, for instance, divides questions without a particle into (*a*) questions for information, (*b*) questions expressing emotion, (*c*) questions equivalent to an imperative, (*d*) *non* questions, (*e*) infinitive questions, etc., mixing form and function in entire confusion. Such a sentence as *non taces?* would come under *b*, *c* and *d*.

It was, I suppose, partly a perception of the illogical and confusing character of Holtze's system which led Draeger, I^o 333-351, to adopt a more reserved and simple classification. Under *ne*, for instance, he gives only a general statement of the meaning of the particle, and then treats the words to which it is appended. Questions without a particle, however, he classifies according to the presence or absence of emotion.

The treatment of the interrogative sentence in the Stolz-Schmalz Grammar, pp. 298-300, is necessarily brief, but is noteworthy as making no reference to the three-fold division according to the answer expected, nor to the presence or absence of emotion. Except for a brief paragraph on disapproving (*missbilligende*) questions, the discussion deals wholly with the form, and not with the meaning, of the interrogative sentence.

Concerning the other discussions of interrogative sentences nothing need be said at this point, since their arrangement is in the main that of Draeger or Kühner.¹

The history of the study of direct questions, therefore, since 1843, when Holtze issued his first program on the subject, shows a gradual abandonment of the confusing system of classification according to function, doubtless largely owing to the general

¹ P. Schrader, de particularum *-Ne, Anne, Nonne* apud Plautum prosodia Argent., 1885.—O. Wolff, de enuntiatis interrogativis apud Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium. Halle, 1883.—P. Olbricht, de interrogationibus disiunctivis et *an* particulae usu apud Tacitum. Halle, 1883.—A. Grabenstein, de interrogationum enuntiativarum usu Horatiano. Halle, 1883.—C. Naegler, de particularum usu apud L. Annaeum Senecam philosophum. Halle, 1883.—W. O. Gutsche, de interrogationibus obliquis apud Ciceronem. Halle, 1885. Also Reisig-Haase, III pp. 299-314, with Landgraf's notes.

acceptance of the principles and methods of historical philology. Nothing, however, has been done toward the substitution of a better system. The whole subject has been reduced, as in the work of Schmalz, to a study of the particles, little attention being paid to the wide differences produced by variations in the structure of the sentence.

In the following pages the attempt will be made to reach a fuller understanding of the common forms of the interrogation by carrying the analysis of the structure as far as possible, even at the risk of unnecessary subdivision, in the belief that such a course will in the end lead to the surest results. For convenience, questions with a particle have been taken up first; in treating questions without a particle, it is impossible to adhere strictly to the formal analysis, for reasons which will be stated, and some confusion will be found at that point.

It was at first my intention to include some special varieties of the *quis* question (*quis est qui, quid ais? || quid vis? quid* in repetitions, *quid si, quid ni*) for which I have a collection of examples. But these, as well as a large number of examples from Ribbeck's *Fragmenta*, I have found it necessary to omit.

The great length to which this paper has extended itself is also my excuse for printing so few illustrations. Those which are given are selected as typical cases, and I have tried to notice briefly passages in which textual variations affect the form of the question, and all cases which for any reason seemed deserving of special notice. The lists are intended to be complete except where the contrary is expressly stated; that there should be no errors in the collection of 3000 cases is scarcely to be hoped, but I do not think they can be numerous.

I. QUESTIONS WITH *-ne*.¹

A. *Ne* appended to the verb.

Arranged according to the mood, tense and person of the verb.
sumne. Merc. 588, *sumne ego homo miser, qui nusquam bene queo quiescere?* Men. 852, Most. 362, Rud. 1184, Pers. 75, 474. All have a predicate adj., with a relative clause in the indicative, *ego* is expressed except in Pers. 474, and all are used in soliloquy. Similar to these are Bacch. 623, *sumne ego homo miser? perdidit*

¹ Disjunctive and infinitive questions with *ne* are not included in these lists, but will be given separately.

me ac similitu operam Chrysalis, and Cas. II 4, 24, except that the secondary idea, explaining the main clause, is expressed in an independent sentence. Also in Ps. 908, *sumne ego homo insipiens, qui egomet mecum haec loquar solus?* the sentence is similar in every respect, except the mood of *loquar*. For this Cam. suggested *loquor* (Rit. "fortasse recte"), which brings this case into line with the rest.

Mil. 1345, *perii. sumne ego apud me?* and Rud. 865, *sumne ibi?* are different. They have no descriptive adj. and no concluding clause, and are not in soliloquy. Bacch. 91, *sumne autem nihili, qui nequeam ingenio moderari meo?* at first sight invites a change to *nequeo*, but it is unlike the other sentences in sense as well as in form, since it does not refer in the relative clause to an evident fact, as do the rest. The sense is "Am I so far gone that I can't control myself?"

Pl. 12, Ter. o.

In all the questions in soliloquy, as well as in Rud. 865, *sumne* has the effect of *nonne sum*; cf. Lor. on Ps. 908 (885 L). The cases in which *ne* produces the effect of *nonne* will be brought together later, but it may be remarked here that when *sumne* is used in soliloquy with a relative clause, the clause in all cases virtually answers the question in the affirmative. "Am I a fool? I'm bothering about politics when there are people enough to attend to them." "Am I born to bad luck? I am standing here when I ought to be running home at my best pace." So in Rud. 865, *dixeram praesto fore apud Veneris fanum: . . . sumne ibi?* the speaker was obviously on the spot, and when he asks "Am I there?" there is only one answer possible. It is therefore nothing in the form of question which requires an affirmative answer and produces the *nonne* effect; it is the fact stated in the relative clause, or, in Rud. 865, shown by the surroundings on the stage.

Other verbs with present sense are *habeon*, St. 566, Trin. 500, in the phrase *habeon (rem) pactam?* cf. Poen. 1157. These are formal questions for the conclusion of a bargain, and are asked as if for information.

vincon. Amph. 433, *quid nunc? vincon argumentis, te non esse Sosiam?* has the effect of *nonne*, because the speaker thinks he is proving his point.

repeton. Ad. 136, *irascere? || an non credis? repeton quem dedi?* Here *num* might have been used, but, as the answer is obviously in the negative, the *-ne* question produces the same effect. This case is noteworthy as helping to explain the *ne = nonne* cases.

possumne. Eun. 712, *possumne ego hodie ex te exculpere verum? vidistin . . .?* Here also there is a shade of *nonne* effect. The speaker realizes that the slave does not want to tell the truth, but is determined to get it out of him. "Can't I force the truth out of you?"

videon. Epid. 635, *satin ego oculis utilitatem optineo sincere an parum? videon ego Telestidem te, . . .?* Aul. 813 [*video* BDE, Goetz], St. 582, Eun. 724, Hec. 81, Ph. 50, 177. These are all addressed by the speaker to himself when a new character comes upon the stage, and are really meant as a kind of introduction to the audience. *teneone*, Heaut. 407, is used with the same general effect as *videon*.

Cas. III 5, 46 is best taken as a declarative sentence. Asin. 504 is given under *an*.

Pl. 6, Ter. 7.

It is important to notice how few of these, really only the two with *habeon*, have the effect of simple unemotional questions. This is not because anything in the nature of the present tense or of *ne* is emotional or inclines toward a negative, but because questions as to what the speaker is himself doing must, in the nature of the case, have an obvious answer, which seems to give the question itself a leaning toward the affirmative or the negative.

The present indicative is also used with future effect. See Lor. Most.³ 774, Brix Trin.³ 1062, Madvig, Opusc. II 40, Gram. 339, obs. 2. The commonest form is *quid ago?* See Lor. on Most.³ 368. Most. 774, *eon? voco huc hominem?* || *i, voca*. Asin. 755, Mil. 1036 (MSS *voco*), Andr. 315, 497, Eun. 434. These are answered by the imperative, if at all, but are not otherwise peculiar.

Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

It will be noticed that except *sumne*, which is peculiar to Pl., the first person pres. is used more frequently by Ter. than by Pl.

Indicative present, second person. *abin*. Amph. 857, *abin hinc a me, dignus domino servus?* || *abeo, si iubes*. Amph. 518, Bacch. 1168, 1176, Cas. II 4, 23, Merc. 756, Most. 850, Pers. 671, Poen. 160, Trin. 456, 989, Andr. 317, Eun. 861. Rud. 977, Sch., is unlikely; *abin* without *hinc, a me* or *dierectus* is literal, Pers. 671.

Pl. 11, Ter. 2.

A distinct imperative force is shown by the answer *si iubes* in Amph. 857, as well as by the general sense. That the sense of a pres. indic. and the questioning effect are not wholly lost is shown by *abin atque argentum petis?* Pers. 671, and by *abin an non?* || *abeo*, Aul. 660. The full consideration of these imperative ques-

tions must be reserved until all the forms have been examined separately; in the case of *abin* it is evident that a mere hint, such as the question conveys, would be equivalent to an order.

accipin. Pers. 412, *accipin argentum? accipe sis argentum, inpudens?* With imperative effect, in the midst of other forms of command.

ain (aisne). Brief note in Langen, Beitr. p. 119.

(a). With dependent infinitive, Epid. 717, (*ego*) *quoniam opera . . . inventast filia.* || *Ain tu te illius invenisse filiam?* || *inveni . . .* Amph. 799, Aul. 186, Asin. 851, Most. 964, 974, Poen. 961, Truc. 194, Hec. 415, Ad. 517. In Truc. 306 Schoell writes . . . *lateres si veteres ruunt.* || *Ain tu vero? veteres lateres ruere?* but, though the sense is not quite perfect as one question, there is no instance in Pl. where the infin. stands in a separate sentence after *ain*, nor could the indic. be repeated in an infin. I am inclined to think that the mark after *vero* should be omitted. Pl. 9, Ter. 2.

In these cases the infin. is repeated from a preceding statement. The full logical form of the question would be, "Do you (now) say that so-and-so is the case (as you did a moment ago)?" In the least emotional uses, therefore, the question is answered by *aio* (Amph. 799, Most. 974) or *inquam* (Most. 964). But as the emphasis is often upon the fact, the answer is frequently made to that (Epid. 717, Truc. 194, Ad. 517). and *ain* becomes only a kind of introduction to the real question. These questions all expect an answer.

(b). Followed by a question with a verb of saying or thinking. Amph. 284, *Ain tu vero, verbero? deos esse tui similis putas?* Capt. 551 (Bx. is better here than Sonnenschein), Capt. 892, Cas. II 6, 45 (Geppert has period). Asin. 485 is in a passage so confused that it may seem useless to add another to the guesses already made, but I cannot think that *ain tu?* standing alone, is correct. As the last part of 485 almost necessitates the hypothesis that a vs. has fallen out (so Fleck.), in which the Mercator charges the slaves with intending to run away, and as the speakers are uncertain, I should read, *Quid, verbero? || ain tu, furcifer? erum me fugitare censes?* giving the first part to Libanus, the second to Leonida; cf. Phorm. 510. Pl. 4 [5], Ter. o.

These differ from the preceding in that the verb of saying or thinking is a kind of substitute for and interpretation of *ain*, giving such a color to the whole as to make the preceding statement seem absurd. They imply a somewhat contemptuous rejection, which questions of the preceding class do not necessarily do.

(c). With repetition of a preceding phrase, either with or without the verb.

Without the leading verb. Amph. 1089, . . . *geminos peperit filios*. || *ain tu ? geminos ?* || *geminos*. Most. 383, 642, Curc. 323, Rud. 1095. Heaut. 1014, '*subditum*' *ain tu ?* is peculiar in having the quoted word first.

With repetition of the leading verb in the indic. Epid. 699, *lubuit* . . . || *ain tu ? lubuit ?* Pers. 29, 491, Trin. 987, Ph. 510, And. 875, Eun. 392. In the last two the added phrase is repeated from something said off the stage. Pl. 9, Ter. 4.

Editions vary considerably in the punctuation of these passages, most recent editors putting only a comma or no mark after *ain tu*. That two separate exclamations are intended in some cases is evident from the double answer in Pers. 491, *ubi nunc tua libertas ?* || *apud te*. || *ain ? apud mest ?* || *aio, inquam : apud test, inquam*. And the same thing is at least suggested by Phorm. 510, Ph. *Pamphilam meam vendidit ?* || AN. *quid ? vendidit ?* || GE. *ain ? vendidit ?* Trin. 987 must be two questions, and so all edd. Where the verb is not repeated the case is less clear, but I am inclined to regard *ain tu* here also as a separate exclamation, something like the New England phrase, "You don't say!" cf. the separate use of *quid*, e. g. Ph. 510, above. This would make this class similar to the following.

(d). *ain tu (vero, tandem) ?* without any repeated phrase. Amph. 344, *ain vero ?* || *aio enim vero*. Aul. 298, *ain tandem ?* || *itast ut dixi*. Asin. 721, 901 (but see Langen 119), Pers. 184, Truc. 609, Ad. 405, Heaut. 890, 242, Eun. 567, 803, Ph. 373.

Pl. 6, Ter. 6.

The large number of cases in Ter. points to a growth of the exclamatory use of *ain*. Pl. always uses *ain vero ?* or *ain tandem ?* Ter. has *ain tu ?* three times.

Doubtful or emended passages are rather common, owing to the easy confusion with *an*. In Aul. 538, I should follow the MSS and read *an audivisti ?* with hiatus in the change of speakers; cf. Merc. 393, St. 246. In Ps. 218 *ain* has been well changed by Lor. to *em*. In Amph. 838 *ain* is very unlikely. Goetz-Loewe read *enim*. Truc. 921, [*ain*] *hercle vero ?* || *serio*, is condemned by the fact that *hercle*, an asseverative word, is nowhere found with *ain*. Asin. 812 is emended to *an* by Ussing, with the approval of Langen, Beitr. 119. With this passage must stand or fall the precisely similar one in Phorm. 970. Bentley says, "cave vero

pro *Ain tu* cum quodam substituas *An tu*," supporting himself by Asin. 812 and Capt. 892. The latter is not parallel, and in spite of Bentley I should read *an tu* in Phorm. 970. Ritschl's conjecture, Most. 1012, *quid*, [*ain tu*] *a Tranione* ? is against the MSS and the sense of *aio*. Lor.² reads *quid, a Tranione servo* ? Rud. 1365 is added by Sch. to complete the vs.

In general it is worthy of note that *ain* never refers forward (as *quid ais* ? does) to what is about to be said, but always backward, to what has been said. As Langen remarks, it always stands at the beginning of a speech, if we change Asin. 812, Phorm. 970. When *ain tu* (*vero, tandem*) precedes a repetition, it becomes an exclamation, calling attention to what follows. In Pl. the following question is without *ne*; Cic. Brut. 41, 152 uses *ne*. Finally, when no words are repeated with it, *ain* becomes a mere exclamation of wonder, incredulity or indignation. As it is in its nature a request for a restatement, it generally inclines toward the rejection of what has been said.

auden. Mil. 232, *auden participare me quod commentu's* ? A conj. of Bugge, adopted by Ribbeck, Lor., Bx. MSS *aut inparte*.

audin. This may refer backward to what has been said, always by some third speaker, or forward to what the speaker is about to say, and these two uses must be sharply distinguished.

(a). With direct object. Amph. 755, *audin illum* ? || *ego vero* . . . And. 342. With infin. Most. 821, . . . *empti fuerant olim*. || *audin 'fuerant' dicere* ? Capt. 602, Poen. 999. With *quis*-clause. Asin. 447, *audin quae loquitur* ? || *audio et quiesco*. The same in Bacch. 861, Men. 909, Mil. 1222, Ps. 193. *quid ait* Asin. 884, Capt. 592, Pers. 655, Ps. 330, Eun. 1037. With *ut*-clause. Asin. 598, *audin hunc opera ut largus est nocturna* ? Men. 920.

Without dependent clause, but referring backward. *audin*, Most. 622, Andr. 581 (MSS Speng. Wag. *audin tu illum*), Heaut. 243. *audin tu*, Mil. 1058, Eun. 809. Pl. 17, Ter. 5.

Logically these should be in a past tense, that is, they mean "Did you hear that ?" But the same vividness which makes the dependent verb (*loquitur, ait*) present, permits the present with past reference in the main verb. When there is an answer, it is generally *audio*, sometimes assent in a different form. Sometimes no answer is waited for.

Becker, p. 270, discusses the passages in which *audin* has a *quis*-clause. He calls questions with *audin, viden, scin*, "adul-

terinae," saying that they are often used for the imperative, and quoting in proof Mil. 1314 (*audin*), Trin. 457 (*abin*), and referring to the frequency of *quin* with imperative effect, as well as to the indiscriminate use of *vide* and *viden*. He says, "is, qui interrogat, non propterea interrogat, quod aliquid ab aliquo scire vult." On nearly all these points Becker is in error. Mil. 1314 refers forward to what the speaker is about to say, and is not parallel to *audin quid ait*? All that follows from the imperative uses of *abin*, *viden*, *quin* is that certain questions may have imperative effect, not that any particular question does have such effect. Finally, the sense of these questions is generally distinctly interrogative. This is shown by the large proportion which have a regular and unemotional answer, and also by a consideration of the situation, which is the same in all: A hears B saying something which he thinks C ought to notice, and therefore asks C if he heard it. In some cases he does not know whether C heard or not; in others, he uses the question form as a means of calling attention to the remark, but even in these cases the leaning toward an imperative effect is very slight.

(b). *audin* refers forward to something which the speaker is about to say.

As introductory to this class two cases deserve mention, in which *audin* refers backward to a previous command which is at once repeated. Hec. 78, . . . *si quaeret me, . . . dicilo . . . audin quid dicam, Scirte? si quaeret me, . . . dicas . . .* and Eun. 706, *concede istuc paululum: audin? etiam nunc paulum*. Hec. 78 is also peculiar in the mood of *dicam*, and for this reason Becker, p. 282, calls it a genuine question. Except as the subjunctive may be considered an indication of this it is not more interrogative than several of the *audin quid ait* sentences. Somewhat similar to these is Asin. 750, . . . *translege. || audin? || audio*, "Are you listening?" "Yes," in that it also refers forward, but without any distinct imperative force.

The other cases, referring to and introducing that which the speaker is just about to say, are the following: Asin. 116, *audin tu? apud Archibulum ego ero argentarium*, Cas. III 5, 62, Men. 254, Mil. 1088, Pers. 676 (Rit. uses period), Poen. 408, 1006, 1155, Ps. 172 (*auditin*), 665, Andr. 299, 865.

In the following some phrase expressing attention is interposed, generally *quid vis*? Cf. *quid ais*? || *quid vis*? Men. 310, *audin, Menaeche*? || *quid vis*? || . . . *iubeas* . . ., Epid. 400, Mil. 1313,

Truc. 331. Trin. 799, Poen. 407 (*quid est ?*), Asin. 109 (*ecce*), Poen. 406 (*etiam*), Merc. 953 (*iam dudum audiui*).

Pl. 20, Ter. 4.

In these cases, where no answer is expected and except for comic effect (Merc. 953) none is given, the imperative force of which Becker speaks is more distinct. Even in these it cannot be said that the question is equivalent to *audi*. But the introductory question serves its purpose without expecting a verbal answer; the increased attention is the answer. The imperative effect is especially noticeable in *atque audin ?* used generally after one imperative to introduce a second, Mil. 1088, Epid. 400, Asin. 109, Poen. 406, 407, Ps. 665, Trin. 799, Andr. 299, 865.

It will be noticed that Ter. uses, beside the peculiar Eun. 706, Hec. 78, only the form *atque audin ?* never *audin* or *audin tu* referring forward.

aufersne, an old conj. adopted by Rit. in Ps. 1315. MSS *auferre non*. V. Lor. Krit. Anh. The passage is uncertain, and *aufersne* improbable. Goetz *auferen*.

censen. With infin. Asin. 887, *censen tu illunc hodie primum ire adsuetum esse in ganeum ?* Aul. 309, Merc. 461, Ad. 579 (v. notes in Speng. and Dz.), Andr. 256, Eun. 217, Hec. 662, Ph. 875. (The last four and Aul. 309 have some form of *posse* in the infin.) In Rud. 1269, *censen hodie despondebit eam mihi, quaeso ?* || *censeo*, the indic. is used by parataxis; cf. Kühner II, p. 758, 4. Heaut. 591, *censen vero ?* is the only case without dependent verb, but is not otherwise peculiar. Aul. 315 is so vague in sense that it has given rise to much discussion. V. Langen, p. 141, Goetz *ad loc*. If it is given to Anthrax, it harmonizes fairly well with his somewhat incredulous attitude, and may then have the same sense as the other cases: "You don't really think he lives such a miserable life as that, do you?"

Poen. 730, which Langen condemns, should have *quid tum*, with A.

Pl. 5, Ter. 6.

These questions deserve especial notice from those who think that the effect of *nonne* in certain *ne*-questions is due to the original negative sense of *ne*. All the cases where *censen* is followed by the infin. expect a negative answer, and are almost equivalent to *num censes ?* There are two reasons for this: *first*, the idea expressed by the infin. is invariably one which the speaker wishes to reject, so that any neutral form of question would be forced by the circumstances into a rejecting meaning, that is, would seem to

expect a negative answer. *Second, censen* has in these questions the notion of erroneous opinion; but this lies not in the interrogative form, but in the verb *censere*.

cognoscin. Amph. 822, *cognoscin tu me saltem, Sosia?* || *propemodum.* Poen. 1130. The *nonne* effect is due mainly to *saltem*, partly to the circumstances of the question, as in Poen. 1130.

credin. Poen. 441, *credin quod ego fabuler?* Capt. 961, Eun. 812, 852. The first case is from a confused passage, so that it is not possible to determine the sense precisely, but the rest have a *num* effect, like that in questions with *censen*, and resulting from the same kind of half-ironical sense in the verb. It is noteworthy that both *censen* and *credin* are used more frequently by Terence.

dan, datin. Curc. 311, *datin isti sellam ubi adsidat cito . . .?* Asin. 712, Truc. 631. *dan* is not found in the MSS, but is read by conj. in Asin. 671, Truc. 373, 911. The MSS Pall. have *dant*, A *da*, and *dan* may be held to explain both readings. It is entirely analogous to *datin*, all cases having an impv. or future effect, like that of *abin*. Pl. 3 [6], Ter. o.

deridesne. Curc. 392, *unocule, salve.* || *quaeso, deridesne me?* Curc. 18; cf. *rogas* and similar questions below.

dicisne. Most. 660, *dicisne hoc quod te rogo?* || *dicam.* Pers. 281, answered by *dico* for comic effect. These have a tendency to impv. force.

esne. Men. 1109, *esne tu Suracusanus?* || *certo.* Pers. 581. Regular questions for information.

faterin. Capt. 317, *sed faterin eadem quae hic fassust mihi?* || *ego . . . fateor.* For information.

fugin. Aul. 660, *fugin hinc ab oculis?* *abin an non?* Andr. 337, answered by *ego vero ac lubens*. These are in all respects similar to *abin*.

haben, habetin. Bacch. 269, *habetin aurum?* *id primum mihi dici volo.* Ps. 1163, Trin. 89, 964, Truc. 680, Eun. 674. These are all regular questions, without any *nonne* or future effect. Asin. 579, *argenti viginti minas habesne?* has been changed to *habes nunc*, Müll. Pros. Pl. 642, Nachtr. 103, because of the position of *habesne*, which would be unparalleled. In the disputed and difficult passage Mil. I 1, 38 (68 Bx.¹) the evidence of the cases above favors *haben*. So far as I am aware *habes* without *-ne* is not used by Pl.

Pl. 5 [6], Ter. 1.

in (isne). Bacch. 1185, *in hac mecum intro . . .?* Eun. 651, Ph. 930. There is considerable variation in the MSS of Ter.; cf.

Heaut. 813. These also have impv. effect, though in Bacch. 1185 the questioning effect is also distinctly present. Pl. 1, Ter. 2.

iuben. Asin. 939, *iuben hanc hinc abscedere?* || *i domum.* Amph. 929, Mil. 315, St. 598. All have future or impv. effect, that is, they mean "will you order," not "are you ordering." In Eun. 389, *iubesne?* || *iubeam? cogo atque impero*, there is no impv. force: it means simply, "is it your command that I should do it?" Pl. 4, Ter. 1.

ludin. Ps. 24, *ludin me ludo tuo?* So A (Rit.); better *ludis* (A Loewe BCD and Goetz) with period.

manen (*manesne*). Most. 887, *manen ilico, parasite impure?* With impv. effect, entirely similar to *abin*; cf. *mane*, 885.

mittin. Truc. 756, *mittin me intro?* With impv. effect. In Ps. 239 (233 L.¹) *mittin* is a change on metrical grounds from *mitte* of the MSS. It is not quite parallel to Truc. 756.

negasne. Poen. 777, *negasne apud te esse aurum nec servom meum?* || *nego*. This single case (cf. *negas*, below) is justified by the formality of question and answer, which is unlike the exclamatory tone of *negas*.

perdormiscin. Men. 928, *perdormiscin tu usque ad lucem?* Regular question for information.

pergin. With infin. present. Amph. 349, *pergin argutier?* Asin. 477, Capt. 591, Poen. 434, Mil. 380, Ps. 1300, Truc. 265, Ps. 1249 (*pergilin pergere?*), Poen. 433 (*pergere*), Eun. 817, Heaut. 237, 1006, Ph. 372, 996.

Without infin., three times with *aulem*; cf. Langen, Beitr., pp. 315 ff. Amph. 539, *pergin aulem? non ego possum, furcifer, te perdere?* Curc. 196, Mil. 300, Cist. IV 1, 14, Ps. 238, Merc. 998, Ad. 853 (*pergisne*), Eun. 380, 1007. In Men. 607, *pergin tu* is a conj. of Rit. for *perge tu* of MSS. V. Bx.² Anh. Heaut. 582, Ph. 806, have *perdis* in A (*pergis* in most of the other MSS), and this is the reading of Umpf. and Dz. In Poen. 295, a passage exactly similar, BCD have *perdis*, while A appears to have *PERG* . . . This would be the only case of *pergis* without *ne*, and *perdis* with period is therefore more probable. Pl. 15 [16], Ter. 8.

Where the infin. is used, the question is almost regular, and, though emotional, is uninfluenced in its use by the emotion, that is, by a kind of sarcastic self-restraint, the speaker asks whether a certain course of conduct is to be maintained, instead of demanding that it cease. To this kind of irony it is essential that the simple form of question should be used, or else the appearance of

a polite desire for information would be lost. It is the studiously formal style of sarcasm.

When *pergin* is used alone, it degenerates into a kind of exclamation. The middle step is perhaps the feeling that it is unnecessary to specify the silly conduct which the other person is continuing, because it is so evident, and it is noticeable that most of the infinitives used with *pergin* are rather general, *male loqui*, *argutier*, *auris tundere*, etc. So instead of saying "are you keeping up your nonsense?" the speaker says, "are you still at it?" The same sort of degeneration is to be seen in the uses of *ain*, above, to which *pergin* has several points of resemblance.

praeben. Pers. 792, *fer aquam pedibus. praeben, puere?* With impv. effect.

properatin. Curc. 312, *datin isti sellam . . .? properatin ocus?* With impv. effect.

recedin. Bacch. 579, *adi actutum ad fores. recedin hinc die recte?* MSS *recede* with hiatus, *recedin* Bothe, Goetz. Future or impv. effect.

rerin. Bacch. 1127, *rerin ter tu in anno posse has tonsitari?* The verb-form is sure, the rest uncertain. An ordinary question.

reddin. Curc. 612, *reddin etiam argentum aut virginem?* is an early conj. adopted by Uss. and Kienitz on *quin*, for *redde etiam* of the MSS. Langen, Beitr. 161, points out the fact that *etiamne reddis*, not *reddin etiam*, is the Plautine form, and proposes *redde mi iam*, which is preferable.

scin. Cf. Lor. Ps. 263, Wag. Aul. 305, Kühn. II 1005, 5, Becker, 276 ff., 280 ff.

Questions with *scin* are divided according to the form of the object.

(a). With direct object in accus. Epid. 207, *scin tu istuc?* || *scio.* Ad. 581.

With infin. Amph. 1082, *agedum expedi: scin me tuom esse erum Amphitruonem?* || *scio.* Cas. II 6, 68, Poen. 879, Mil. 339, 398, Eun. 744.

With indirect question in the subjunctive. Men. 530, *scin quod hoc sit spinter?* || *nescio, nisi aureum.* Trin. 373, Eun. 437, Heaut. 820 (cf. Ad. 570). On all these see Becker, p. 282 f. In Eun. 1035, which would come here, the MSS distinctly favor *scis*.¹

Pl. 8, Ter. 4.

¹ In this case, as in some others, I have thought it better to avoid the possibility of obscuring differences in usage between Plautus and Terence, than to bring the two into conformity by changes in the text. The development of the language between Pl. and Ter. is one of the nicest problems in historical syntax.

These are genuine questions in form, and are regularly answered by *scio* (8 times), *sentio*, or by some other direct answer. In Heaut. 820 the answer is to the indirect question. There is no imperative effect, but the questions are intended to elicit an acknowledgment rather than to obtain information, and they have, therefore, an argumentative tone, which approaches the effect of *nonne*, that is, is often expressed in English by "don't you know?" But if the questioner puts himself into a more impartial and judicial attitude, he uses in English, as in Latin, the form "do you know?"

(b). *scin quid*, with the indicative. Men. 677, *scin quid est, quod ego ad te venio?* || *scio*. Men. 207, 425, 1154 (*scitin*), Poen. 1167, Ps. 276, 538, 641, 657, Rud. 773, 1216, Trin. 350, Eun. 338, Heaut. 494, Hec. 753.

The following have the subjunctive standing for a command in direct discourse, independently of the indirect question, all with the verb *facias*. Pers. 154, *sed scin quid facias?* *cape* . . . Cas. II 8, 54, Mil. 1034, Men. 947. Cf. also Men. 425, Hec. 753.

In Ad. 215 I should prefer *scis*; cf. Eun. 1035, above. Ad. 83 is still uncertain, but is not *scin*. Pl. 16, Ter. 3 [4].

These cases are distinguished from the preceding, not only by the mood of the subordinate clause, but also by its meaning. The forms used are *scin quid volo ego te adcurare, quid te amabo ut facias, quid ego vos rogo, quid est, quid te oro*, etc., which have no independent meaning like *scin quod hoc sit spinter*, but are a kind of empty form, requiring some further statement to fill them in, a kind of uncolored outline. While, therefore, some of these questions are answered (*scio, sciam si dixeris, quid? propemodum, impera quidvis, dic*), and the form of the answer in a few cases shows that some questioning effect is still felt, yet in most cases no answer is expected, and the sentence which gives meaning to the *quid*-clause follows at once. The result of the indefiniteness and emptiness of the *quid*-clause is that these questions have lost their independent meaning, ceased to be genuine questions, and become merely introductory to the following words of the same speaker. They are like *quid ais?* or the English, "I'll tell you what!" The clause which follows, being important enough to need an introduction, is often adversative or corrective, a tone which is more developed in the following classes. Where *volo* is used, the following sentence is an *impv.* or its equivalent.

(c). *scin quam, quo pacto, quo modo, ut*, with the indicative, regularly if not invariably.

Pers. 139, . . . *potest*. || *scin quam potest*? Poen. 1319. Amph. 671 and Bacch. 594 have the subjunctive. Bacch. 1178 (*quo pacto*), Aul. 47 (*quo modo*), Eun. 800 (*ut*). Pl. 6, Ter. 1.

The mood in four of these is subjunctive. Bacch. 1178 is entirely similar to *facias* above, i. e. is independent of the indirect question. The same is true of Amph. 671, where *sim* is a repetition of the impv. *es*; cf. questions of repetition, below, IV B. As to the others, Bacch. 594, Eun. 800, which Becker discusses, p. 280 f., without reaching a definite conclusion, there is apparently no reason for the subjunctive except the fact that the verbs are in indirect question. These are, however, not genuine questions, and therefore, according to Becker's law, should have the indicative. It only remains to change the text, or to say, as I should prefer to do, that the distinction between *scin* in genuine questions and in introductory questions is so slight that it does not warrant a change of text. In the transition from the indic. to the subjunct. in indirect questions, there would inevitably be some exceptional cases.

In sense these passages differ from *scin quid* by referring more clearly to what precedes, and serving at the same time to introduce what follows. The full logical expression would be, "Do you know (let me tell you) in what sense or to what degree that which you have said is to be accepted?" Then follows the explanation, which is never serious, as often with *scin quid*, but has an exaggerated tone of correction under the guise of explanation, often amounting to a threat. It is a further development of the corrective effect, which, as has been said, appears not infrequently with *scin quid*, as is attested by the common use of *at, sed*, Ps. 538, 641, 657, Rud. 1216, Trin. 350, etc.

The lack of content in the subordinate clause, except as it is supplied by repetition from the preceding, makes these questions suited to use for introduction, as in the case of *scin quid*.

(d). Three passages deserve special mention, being used in aposiopesis. Asin. 703, *adsta . . . ut consuetus es puer—scin ut dicam*? Pers. 296, *qui te di deaque—scin quid dicturus fuerim, nisi linguae moderari queam*? Ps. 1178, *scin quid loquar*? The mood appears to be subjunctive, and Becker, p. 283, is perhaps right in calling them genuine questions. Yet in all respects except the mood they resemble more nearly the examples under *b* and *c*.

(e). *scin quomodo (quam, quemadmodum, quouismodi, quid)* without a verb in the subordinate clause.

Amph. 356, *at scin quo modo ? faciam ego hodie te superbum, ni hinc abis*. Aul. 307, 832, Mil. 1162 (*quemadmodum*), Most. 642 (*quouismodi*), Poen. 438, 441 (*quam*), 376, Rud. 797, Heaut. 738 (*quid*), Ph. 111 (*quam*), Eun. 1063 (*quam*). In the last A, Umpf. read *scis*; cf. Becker, 279, n. Pl. 9, Ter. 3.

These are a further development of *b* and *c*. In those the subordinate clause is almost without independent meaning; in these it has dropped off from lack of use, only the interrogative remaining. They refer, as do the others, to a preceding speech, which they correct (*at, sed* in eight cases) by adding an exaggerated and often threatening explanation. Cases which are not threatening are Aul. 307, Mil. 1162, Most. 642.

(f). Rud. 382, *scin tu ? etiam qui it lavatum . . .* is the only example in Pl. of *scin* without object; cf. *audin, viden*. Heaut. 297 is an irregular sentence, but seems to me similar to Rud. 382, and I should read (after BCDEFP) *scin tu ? hanc quam dicit*, etc.

Upon the uses of *scin*, taken together, it may be remarked, *first*, that the *nonne* effect in genuine questions (and to some slight extent with *scin quid*) is due to the sense of *scire*, not to the form of the question or the particle *ne*. *Second*, there is a gradual decline in the importance of the object clause, until in *scin quid* ? it becomes almost meaningless. But it is not lost altogether (except in the one or two cases noticed), as in *audin* and *viden*, because with *audin* the object is easily supplied from the words which are being uttered, with *viden* from the object or action to which attention is called, while with *scin* no such object is present to the senses. *Third*, it is often said (e. g. Lor. on Ps. 263, Becker, p. 276) that *scin* here unites with *quis* into an indefinite like *nescio quis*. But it should be noticed that in nearly all these phrases, *nescio quis, nescio an, haud scio an*, there is a negative, and even if we admit the possibility of an indefinite *scio quis* (Aul. 174, *scio quid dictura's*, which Lor. quotes, is not to the point), we have still only first pers. verbs. The first person and the negative seem to me to be essential; it is the speaker's own ignorance which makes his statement indefinite, and I do not see how *nescis quis* could form one indefinite idea. Further, none of these indefinite phrases appears to be used in questions, nor does it seem possible to say *nescione quid est ?* in a sense like *estne aliquid ?* Besides, all forms of *scin* questions except *d* and *f* are occasion-

ally answered by some form of *scire* ; cf. Most. 642, *sed scin quomodusmodi ?* || *qui scire possum ?* If the meaning of the verb is still felt in a phrase so weakened as this, it cannot be that it is not perfectly clear in such a sentence as Men. 677, *scin quid est, quod ego ad te venio ?* || *scio*. The weakening of meaning in all these phrases is in the *quis*-clause, not in the verb.

sponden. Aul. 256, *sponden ergo ?* || *spondeo*. Capt. 898, Curc. 674, Poen. 1157, Trin. 1157, 1162 (*sponden* in the fifth place).

Pl. 6, Ter. o.

All are answered by *spondeo* and illustrate the formal, unemotional question ; cf. *dabin*.

slasne. Cas. III 6, 20, *slasne ? i tu iam sis*. So A (Geppert).

tenesne. Heaut. 778, *argentum dabitur ei ad nuptias, aurum atque vestem qui—tenesne ?* || *comparet ?* || *id ipsum* ; cf. *nostin* in Ter.

valen. Trin. 50, *valen ? valuistin ?* || *valeo et valui rectius*.

viden. (a). With direct object. Bacch. 834, *viden convivium ?* || *video exadvorsum Pistoclerum et Bacchidem*. Bacch. 1161, Most. 829. In Rud. 157, Eun. 836, the object is to be supplied. In a number of passages the text is more or less uncertain. Most. 832, *viden pictum, ubi . . . ?* (So Stud. Becker, 275-6. Lor.³ reads *vide tu*, omitting *pictum* as a gloss.) Mil. Glor. 376 is very uncertain, see especially Langen, p. 276. On Rud. 253, *viden amabo fanum videsne hoc*, which has been variously punctuated, Uss. rightly says, "duplex *videsne ferri non potest*."

These are all simple questions, generally answered by *video*, and not inclining in any marked way either toward the impv. or *nonne*. Epid. 221, *viden veneficam ?* is like the others in form, but entirely different in sense ; as the woman was not present, it means something like, "What a witch !" I should read *vide*.

Pl. 6 [8], Ter. 1.

(b). With the infinitive. Capt. 595, *viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis ?* Men. 828, Mil. 219, 990, Poen. 979, St. 637, Andr. 616, Eun. 241, 754. Pl. 6, Ter. 3.

These have in all cases the effect of *nonne*, produced by the fact that they ask the person addressed whether he perceives a state of things which the infin. with subject accusative in the same sentence declares to be evident. That is, logically such a sentence is equal to, "His body is spotted all over ! Don't you see it ?" If in such a case one should say in English "Do you see it ?" the mere use of the question in immediate connection with the assertion would produce the *nonne* effect.

(c). With dependent clause introduced by *ut* (*quid*, *quam*), sometimes with prolepsis of the subject of the subordinate clause.

Curc. 160, *viden ut anus tremula medicinam facit*? Asin. 149, 636 (*quid*), Bacch. 492, 1130, Capt. 557. Curc. 188, Men. 646, Mil. 1045, Most. 1172, Pers. 812, Rud. 171, 869, 1093, Trin. 847 (*quid*), Eun. 265 (*quid*), 783 (*quam rem*). Also Stich. 635, 636, Poen. 314, partly on conjecture, and Curc. 311 (*vide ut*, Goetz). In Most. 254, Mil. 1272 the MSS are misleading. Truc. 891 is entirely confused. In Most. 817, *viden vestibulum ante aedis hoc et ambulacrum, quouismodi*? the verb of the subordinate clause is omitted, as in *scin quam*, *quomodo*, etc. Pl. 20, Ter. 2.

These questions are discussed by Becker, 272-3. He concludes that there is practically no difference in sense between *viden ut* and *vide ut*, comparing St. 410 with Asin. 636, Phorm. 358 with Eun. 265, and adding, "adhortationis vocabulum est, quo alterius oculi ad rem vel personam, de qua verba fiunt, conspiciendam advertantur." While in general the correctness of this cannot be doubted, it is worth while also to note some evidences that the interrogative force is not wholly lost. In Rud. 869 the question is answered by *video*; in several passages, e. g. Capt. 557, Men. 646, the context shows that *viden* is much nearer in sense to *nonne vides* than to *vide*; the close similarity in other phrases between an infin. and an *ut*-clause in Plautus supports the idea that *viden ut* is not very widely removed from *viden* with an infin.; cf. Stich. 635, 636, *viden benignitates hominum ut periere et prothymiae*? with 637, *viden ridiculos nihili fieri . . .*? It seems plain that, though *viden* and *vide* were interchangeable, the impv. effect was very closely allied to the *nonne* effect, and the question was still felt in some cases and to some slight degree.

(d). *viden* without dependent words. Capt. 304, *sed viden? fortuna humana fingit artatque ut lubet*. Heaut. 252. In Curc. 93 the MSS have *viden ut aperiuntur aedes festivissumae*? against the metre. Goetz reads *viden? aperiuntur*, but *viden* alone is argumentative as is *scin tu?* while *vide ut* is used to call attention to a present occurrence. I should therefore read with Bothe, *vide ut*. Poen. 441 is in a passage where the speaker, in utter confusion, pours out a stream of disconnected phrases, which deserve the careful attention of the student of colloquial Latin. A has *scin quam?—videtur—credin quod ego fabuler?* BCD *vide tu*. Guyet conjectured *viden tu?* which suits the passage better than *videtur*, as Goetz and Loewe read in their admirable arrangement of these lines.

With these cf. *audin, scin tu, nostin* (Ter.) Pl. 3 [4], Ter. 1. *vin*. Arranged according to the object. (a). With accusative. Curc. 313, *vin aquam?* || . . . *da, obsecro hercle*. Cas. II 8, 61, Curc. 90 (*voltisne*), Most. 309, 846, Rud. 1328. Pl. 6, Ter. o.

The answer is generally a refusal, expressed by *quid opust, apage, dormis*, never by *nolo*. That is, the verb necessarily suggests an offer of service. The questions are simple and unemotional.

(b). With infinitive active without subject accusative. Men. 141, *vin tu facinus luculentum inspicere?* Merc. 769, Mil. 458, 535, 978, 979, Pers. 587 bis, 657, 660, Poen. 159, 161, 163, 308, 1115, 1415, Ad. 906, Heaut. 585, Ph. 807, 1052.

The answers are *volo, malo, nolo, cupio* (the most common), and the question is regular, without impv. or *nonne* effect. Mil. Glor. I 1, 38, Rud. 1011 are spoken of below.

Infin. passive with or without accus. Amph. 769, *vin proferri paleram?* || *proferri volo*. Asin. 646, Men. 653, Pers. 803, Merc. 490, Rud. 1035 (the only one without accus.), Ad. 969, Ph. 811. Bacch. 873 will be given below. Pl. 22, Ter. 6.

These are genuine questions, the answers to which frequently contain *volo* or its equivalent. Their only peculiarity is a kind of challenging effect, not unlike the offer of service spoken of above, especially with the infin. active. "Do you want to see some fun?" implies "I will show you some fun, if you will come with me." This makes *vin* with the infin., especially when *tu* is expressed, a phrase of encouragement or exhortation.¹

(c). Infin. active with accus. *me*. Merc. 462, *vin me tecum illo ire?* || *nolo*. Merc. 485, Rud. 1406, Heaut. 624, Hec. 725, Ph. 810. Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

These are separated from the other infinitives because they are closely related in sense to the following class. They present in

¹ The distinction between *vin tu* and *vis tu*, made by Bentley on Hor. Sat. II 6, 92, and generally accepted by the editors of Hor., is not supported by the cases of *vin tu* in Pl. and Ter. Men. 141, Mil. 458, 978, 979, Poen. 159, 163, 308, Ad. 906, Heaut. 585, as well as several passages in which *tu* is not expressed, have a perfectly distinct sense "orantis, hortantis, flagitantis, iubentis," which Bentley would confine to *vis tu*. They are perfect parallels to *vin tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?* except that an answer comes between the question and the following imperative, as is natural in dialogue. Whatever may be true of *vis tu* in Sen., Juv., and Mart., it is impossible to exclude *vin tu* from Hor. Sat. on the ground of sense, when it is so abundantly attested in the comedy. Cf. Cic. Fam. IV 5, 4,

themselves no peculiarity except the rather remarkable position of *me* in Merc. 485, Rud. 1406 (*vin tibi conditionem luculentam ferre me?*), which is probably not significant.

(d). *vin* with the first person of the present subjunctive. Capt. 360, *vin vocem huc ad te?* || *voca*. Asin. 647, Capt. 858, Cas. III 2, 14, Men. 614, Merc. 486, 722, Mil. 335, 1399, Most. 322, Pers. 575, Poen. 439, 990, 1226, Ps. 324, 522, St. 397, 486, 736, Trin. 59, 1091, Truc. 502, 924, Eun. 894, Hec. 787, Ph. 102 (*voltisne*). In Truc. 751 BCD have *omittes inea mitto intro*, for which Schoell reads *omitte*. || *vin eam intro?* || *ad te quidem*. The sense, I suppose, would be, "Are you willing to let me go in?" a sense which *vin* with the subjunctive nowhere has. The passage is entirely confused.

Pl. 23 [24], Ter. 3.

Beside these passages there are four in which the MSS give *vis*. On the very doubtful Mil. Gl. I 1, 38, *vis rogare?* or *tabellas vis rogare?* I will only remark that there is no parallel in Plautus or Terence to this use of *vis*; all other cases with *infin.* refer to something to be done. It may be that *vis* is the centre of error. Bacch. 873, Cas. II 3, 54 (169 Gepp.), Rud. 1011 all have *vis*, which Geppert in Cas. II 3, 54 has changed to *vin*. As the other cases are, in form and sense, entirely parallel to those given above, I should read *vin* both in Bacch. 873 and Rud. 1011.

The answers to *vin* with the subjunctive are *volo*, *cupio*, *licet*, *censeo*, and three or four times the imperative of the dependent verb. This seems to show that, while *vin* may be neglected in the answer, so that *vin huc vocem?* is almost like *eon? voco huc hominem?* its proper force is never wholly lost. The subjunctive is always in the first person (except Most. 322, *visne ego te ac tu me amplectare?* where the second person is, of course, due to the previous use of the first person), and always in the sing. except Trin. 59, Eun. 894, Ph. 102.

It appears from the foregoing that only the forms *vin facere*, *vin hoc fieri*, *vin me facere*, and *vin faciam* are in use, the passive taking the place of the third person active. Between *vin me facere* and *vin faciam* there is apparently no difference in meaning (cf. Merc. 462, *vin me tecum illo ire?* with 486, *visne eam ad portum?* and also Asin. 646, 647). But it is remarkable that while Pl. uses *vin faciam*, the paratactic construction, 23 times, and *vin me facere*, the hypotaxis, only three times, Ter. uses *vin faciam* three times (two plur.) and *vin me facere* three times.

vivisne. Rud 243, *dic: vivisne, opsecro?*

Indicative present, third person.

Most of the third persons of the present are entirely regular, differing in no respect from similar questions in more formal and later styles. They are *amatne*, Epid. 64; *cognoscitne*, Eun. 915; *daturne*, Andr. 301; *doletne*, Ps. 155; *egetne*, Trin. 330; *fertne*, Bacch. 322; *foetetne*, Asin. 928 (second word in sentence); *licetne*, Cas. II 8, 20, Curc. 401, Ps. 16 (MSS Bx. G. *licet me*), Hec. 873, Andr. 893; without infin., Mil. 501, 521, Heaut. 973; *paenitetne*, Truc. 533 (Ps. 305 is given under *an*); *scitne*, Ps. 745; *valetne*, Truc. 190; *vivitne*, Capt. 282, 989, Heaut. 660; *vivontne*, Ph. 749. On Bacch. 188 see Goetz, Langen, Beitr. 131.

The effect of *nonne* appears plainly in Amph. 526, *facitne ut dixi?* and Andr. prol. 17, *faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant*; cf. Don. ad loc. It is less distinct in Most. 622, *videturne* (MSS *videtur*). In all three cases it arises from the asking of a question the answer to which is made evident from the context or the action. In Most. 605 the MSS have *date mihi* (BC) or *daturin* (A?), for which Rit. substituted *daturne faenus?* with impv. effect. This is not supported by any analogous case in Pl. or Ter.

Pl. 17 [18], Ter. 8.

estne (*suntne*) is separated because of some special uses.

In regular questions like the preceding, Truc. 189, *estne intus nunc Phronesium?* Poen. 797, Rud. 1130, Truc. 309, Ad. 569, Eun. 361, Heaut. 454. In Pers. 310 *estne* is preceded by an unfinished question with *ecquid*. Men. 1107 *estne* (twice) is a conjecture of Rit. for *est* of MSS. See IV B. With perf. ptc., Bacch. 1023, Epid. 471. Capt. 281, Rud. 719 have *suntne*.

In a soliloquy, expressing a partial recognition of some person who has just come upon the stage. Bacch. 534, *estne hic meus sodalis?* || *estne hic hostis quem aspicio meus?* || *certe is est.* || *is est.* Curc. 230, 275, Merc. 866, Mil. 169, Most. 310, Poen. 1299, Rud. 334 (twice), Trin. 432, Ad. 78, 438, Andr. 800, Eun. 848, 974, Ph. 740. In Capt. 788, Asin. 585 the proper name precedes the verb.

In the following cases *estne* is equivalent to *nonne est*. Epid. 622, *estne ita, ut tibi dixi?* Amph. 780, Asin. 54, Bacch. 901, 986, Cist. II 1, 15, Pers. 225, Trin. 403, Ph. 896. The same effect has been supposed to exist in some of the passages where *estne* is used in soliloquy. The reason in all is the same, i. e. there is some evident fact which compels an affirmative answer, or something in the question itself, beside *estne*, which appeals to such a

fact. So *ut dixi* Epid. 622, Ph. 896, *ut (quod) dico*, Asin. 54, Bacch. 986, and some form of *hic* in nearly all the others. In the cases of *estne* in recognition, it is the presence of the other person on the stage. The large extent of this usage is explained by the fact that it served to introduce the new-comer to the audience.

Pl. 29, Ter. 10.

Indicative imperfect.

conveniebatne, Ps. 1181. Other clauses precede, but this is really the beginning of the question.

ibatne, Hec. 157.

These are regular questions. No other persons or numbers are used.

Pl. 1, Ter. 1.

Indicative future.

negabon, Andr. 612, *adibon*, Mil. 1242. The latter is extremely doubtful. For questions in regard to what one is about to do the regular usage requires either pres. indic. with *ne* (see above) or the pres. subj. The future tense, at least in questions, has a clear reference to a future time; cf. Andr. 612, Mil. 1021. The only approach to a parallel is Truc. 206, *ibo igitur intro?* which, if it is interrogative at all, asks for permission, not for advice. Leo's *adbitone?* is in harmony with Plautine usage, or as no question is absolutely required, any more than in Truc. 206, we might read *adibo*. || *minume*, but it is not improbable that the whole passage is corrupt. *auferen*, Ps. 1224. *dabin*, Bacch. 883, Ps. 117, 536, 1077, all in *stipulatio*. In accordance with the formal character of these questions, they are answered by *dabo* or its equivalent, and it is perhaps for the same reason that in two the verb comes at the end. Cas. III 6, 9 is an improbable conjecture of Geppert. *ibisne*, St. 612. Heaut. 813, *ibin hinc quo dignus es?* is a conjecture of Bentley for MSS *is hinc* or *i tu hinc*. Ter. apparently uses the future in such phrases as this, if the MSS are correct in Eun. 536, but there is no case of the fut. with *ne*, nor does it seem possible to express impv. effect in this way. *patierin*, Epid. 148, and by conj. Asin. 738, Cist. II 1, 24 (325 Uss.), *poterin*, Ph. 518 (near the end of the sentence). *reddeturne*, Most. 580. *eximesne*, Rud. 233 is a conjecture of Schoell for *eximes*. It would have impv. force, but the passage is wholly confused. Pl. 8 [13], Ter. 2 [3].

These are all genuine questions, without impv. or *nonne* effect, and with a distinct reference to a future time, beyond the immediate future.

Indicative perfect, first person.

cenavin, Amph. 823; *dedin*, Epid. 703, Truc. 935 (MSS *dedi*);

dixin, Bacch. 856, Cist. Frag. 27 (Ben.) = 251 Uss., Men. 283, 375, Ps. 489, 1227, Ad. 83, Eun. 1093, Hec. 497; *emin*, Eun. 691; *iussin*, Cas. II 2, 4, Asin. 424, 425, 426; *misine*, Bacch. 561; *scivin*, Ps. 976; *tetigin*, Ad. 178; *vidin*, Heaut. 563; *votuin*, Capt. 703. In Epid. 550, *novin ego te*? the verb is really present in sense. Epid. 539 has a large *lacuna*, but no other case in Pl. or Ter. supports the omission of *ne*, and it seems necessary to supply it with Spengel, Ref. p. 372. In Andr. 495 *edixin* is the reading (if I understand Umpf. rightly) of all MSS, and is required by the sense. Bentley's *edixi* seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the *nonne* effect, and Dz., Adn. Crit. xx, has apparently mistaken the *app. crit.* in Umpf. Pl. 17 [18], Ter. 7.

In nearly all these cases there is a perfectly clear *nonne* effect, so that we must translate "didn't I tell you so?" "didn't I know it?" "didn't I order you . . .?" Just as *scin* sometimes asks for an acknowledgment, so *dixin* does not ask for information ("did I say that?"), but demands from the person addressed an acknowledgment that a certain thing had been said or done by the speaker; cf. for similar effect *estne ut dixi*? Epid. 622, Ph. 896, where there is the same reference to an undeniable fact.

That this effect is not the necessary result of anything in the form of the question appears from Cist. 251 (Uss.), *dixin ego istaec obsecro*? which the context shows to be a half-dazed question for information, and still more clearly from Ad. 178, *tetigin tui quicquam*? This is equivalent to *num tetigi . . .*? that is, it appeals in the same way for an acknowledgment, but in this case for a negative. The presence of *quicquam* may be due to this negative demand, but does not produce it; cf. Capt. 703, *votuin te quicquam mi hodie falsum proloqui*? || *votuisti*, where, however, *quicquam* is in the subordinate clause. The perfect is aoristic in all cases, except perhaps Cist. 251, Ad. 178.

Perfect indicative, second person.

In the following passages *ne* is found in the MSS and is unobjectionable on metrical grounds.

accepistin, Truc. 791; *adduxtin*, Capt. 1016, Ph. 568; *adnuistin*, St. 224; *audivistin* (*audistin*), Amph. 748, 752, Andr. 785, Ad. 539, Ph. 612; *aufugistin*, Eun. 851; *cenavistin*, Curc. 18; *convenistin*, Ps. 1079; *dedistine*, Trin. 129; *dixtin*, Most. 552, Eun. 792, Hec. 451; *emistin*, Trin. 124; *fuistin*, Capt. 628; *inconciliastin*, Trin. 136; *intellextin*, Andr. 201, Eun. 768; *iuravistin*, Ps. 352; *meministin*, Epid. 554, Asin. 333, Ps. 1089, Heaut. 626,

Ph. 224; *novistin*, *nostin*, Bacch. 837, Curc. 423, Epid. 503, Men. 748, Poen. 1121, Trin. 905, Ad. 177, 573, Eun. 328, 349, 351, 563, Heaut. 180, Ph. 63. Also alone, after a partial interruption by the speaker, Ad. 780, Eun. 405, Heaut. 527. *perdidistin*, Curc. 584; *promistin*, Curc. 709; *sensistin*, Hec. 316; *surrupuistin*, Men. 507; *tetigistin*, Most. 457, 466; *valuistin*, Amph. 679, Curc. 16, St. 467, 586, Trin. 50; *vidistin*, Amph. 616, Merc. 720, Mil. 546, 533, St. 393, Ad. 400, Eun. 349, 713. Pl. 37, Ter. 26.

The following cases are conjectural, *ne* not being found in the MSS. *dedistin*, Curc. 345, *novistin*, Truc. 406, 726, *offirmastin*, Pers. 222, *promisistin*, Rud. 1384.

Beside these there are several places in which the MSS vary, some of which can be settled upon metrical grounds. In Trin. 420, A has *accepistin*, R¹ Bx. *accepisti* with period. In Andr. 975, Heaut. 684, 731, Ph. 577 the MSS Call. have *audistin*, A *audisti*. In Aul. 171 the MSS have *novistin*, which is metrically impossible. In Andr. 441, where all but D have *nost*, I should prefer *nostin*. Heaut. 884, Call. Dz. *nuntiastin*, A Umpf. *nuntiavisti*. Other cases where the metre decides for the omission of *ne* will be given below.

It will be seen that the MSS do not distinguish with certainty between forms with *ne* and those without it, nor does the metre afford help in all cases, especially where syncopated forms (*audisti nosti*) are possible. We must be satisfied here with a moderate degree of probability, and must depend for our text more upon metrical indications and the knowledge which can be obtained from similar passages, than upon the MSS.¹ As will be shown later, the cases where the MSS and the metre agree upon the second pers. perf. without *ne* at the beginning of a question are very few, not more than two or three.

¹ For example, in Trin. 127, 129, and 136 the MSS give *ne*. In 127 R¹ and Bx. omit *ne* on the ground that *dedistin argentum?* would be "eine ruhig gehaltene und Antwort erwartende Frage" (Bx., and cf. Rit. Prolegg. CV. adn.) But Andr. 785, Most. 552, Ps. 352, and especially Most. 457, 466 show that the second pers. perf. with *ne* may be used in a highly emotional passage. Again, in Trin. 129 and 136 Bx. regards *ne* as used "im Sinne von *nonne*." There are only two passages, Eun. 792 and Ps. 352, where the second pers. perf. has clearly the sense of *nonne*; both are verbs of saying, both aoristic, and both challenge the hearer to acknowledge a past occurrence. While it seems presumptuous to differ from such a Plautine scholar as Brix, I cannot think that the sense of *nonne* is possible either in 129 or 136, and should much prefer to follow Bergk, Opusc. I, p. 619, and read *dedisti* (129) *inconciliasti illum* (136), making both declarative sentences.

These sentences are for the most part regular and unemotional questions, though they may be used without change of form, as may any question, to express emotion. See list in note. In two cases, Eun. 792, *dixtin*, and Ps. 352, *iuravistin*, they are used with an appeal in such a way as to give the sense of *nonne*, and there is a tendency to this effect in some cases of *meministin* and *nostin*. The large number of cases from Ter. is noteworthy; they are mostly verbs of saying and perceiving, in syncopated forms, *audistin*, *intellextin*, *meministin*, *nostin*, *sensistin*, *vidistin*.

Indicative perfect, third person.

accepitne, Bacch. 250; *caruitne*, Curc. 17; *convenitne*, Mil. 1105; *fuitne*, Capt. 633, Trin. 106; *habuitne*, Trin. 330; *peperitne*, Truc. 504; *rettulitne*, Asin. 444 (last word in sentence, and cf. 432, 436, 441); *venitne*, Bacch. 247, Truc. 931, Ps. 1067.

Pl. 11, Ter. o.

Several of these, Trin. 106, Capt. 633, Truc. 931, have some *nonne* effect, though it is not absolutely necessary to take any of them so. They do not differ in form from the rest, which are questions for information.

Indicative pluperfect.

norasne, Eun. 698. Cf. Ad. 465.

Subjunctive present.

adeamne, Andr. 639; *aussimne*, Merc. 301; *loquarne*, Ph. 186; *maneamne*, Hec. 442; *possin* (*possisne*), Merc. 518. *experiarne*, Truc. 753, is an uncertain conjecture.

Pl. 2, Ter. 3.

The two cases from Pl. have the subjunct. for reasons apart from the interrogation. The cases from Ter. are, however, like those to be given later, in which the speaker asks for an imperative answer.

Subjunctive imperfect.

essetne, Capt. 714, Trin. 178; *iuberene*, Ps. 494. All conditional and all with the sense of *nonne*.

Subjunctive perfect.

noverisne, Trin. 952. Conditional.

Infinitive.

serviriri tibi postulas viros? Men. 795. V. Bx. n.

These are all regular questions.

Compound Forms.

Future participle.

abiturun, Poen. 432; *daturin*, Most. 63 (MSS *daturi* with bad

hiatus), 604. Most. 605 has been discussed under *daturne. ituran*, Eun. 462. Andr. 751 reads in the MSS and Priscian *dicturan es quod rogo?* for which Bentley from metrical necessity reads *dictura*. While there seems to be no other way of healing the verse, it should be noticed that impv. questions elsewhere require *ne, etiam* or *non*. *missurun*, Cas. III 4, 20. Except Eun. 462 all have impv. effect.

Perfect participle.

loquitatusne es, Bacch. 803; *ratun es*, Mil. 558. *visun est*, Merc. 202, *visan est* Mil. 462. Epid. 495 is doubtful; A has *mercatun* or *-tum*, Goetz *mercatus* with B. These are all deponent, with past sense; the following are passives and seem to have a present sense, as if the ptcc. were adjj. *captusnest*, Pers. 644; *coctumnest*, Bacch. 716 (cf. Beck. 127); *nuptanest*, Bacch. 852.

Participle in *-dus*.

mirandumne, Hec. 661.

Pl. 11 [12], Ter. 2 [3].

B. *Ne* APPENDED TO PRONOUNS.

Arranged according to case and person of pronoun.

Egone.

(a). With the indicative. Amph. 747, *ex te audiui* . . . || *egon istuc dixi?* Amph. 743, Bacch. 806, Men. 389, 653, Merc. 761, Ph. 999. Truc. 959 is a very probable conjecture; Hec. 875 is against A and the metre; Mil. 882, read *quin*. Pl. 7, Ter. 1.

The verb is in all cases repeated from a preceding speech, and except in Truc. 959, Ph. 999 is in the perfect indic. These questions therefore reject or deny an assertion in regard to a past occurrence, by repeating the assertion in an exclamatory way. They are closely connected with the more numerous cases of repetition without *ne*, to be given hereafter. The pronoun is expressed and put first in order to emphasize the denial, as in English, "I said that!"

(b). With verb in the subjunctive. These are further subdivided according to the construction of the preceding sentence.

Following an imperative. Most. 633, *dic te daturum*. || *egon dicam dare?* || *dic*. Curc. 119, Pers. 188, Ps. 1327, Capt. 139, Andr. 384, Heaut. 1016. After an impv. subjunct., second sing. Bacch. 1190, Epid. 574. Truc. 276 is an uncertain conjecture.

Following *volo* with infin., or other phrase equivalent to an impv. Aul. 824, *nunc volo me emitti manu*. || *egon te emittam*

manu? Bacch. 1192 a, Curc. 10, 494, Mil. 685, 1276, Most. 301, Trin. 515, Truc. 312, 443 (Sch. *egone ut*; cf. Lang. Stud. p. 87), 775, And. 584, Eun. 153, Ph. 260, 431. The suggestion of an impv. is least distinct in Most. 301, *quor exprobras?* || *egone id exprobrem . . . ?*

The repeated word is in the infin., depending upon some verb of general meaning. Ps. 290, . . . *surruperes patri*. || *egon patri surrupere possim quicquam?* So with *ausim*, Merc. 154, Most. 923, 924, Poen. 149; with *sinam*, Andr. 271, Hec. 852; *queam*, Andr. 270; *patiar*, Men. 559, Andr. 943.

With subjunctive.

Pl. 24, Ter. 10.

A full consideration of these questions must be postponed until the analogous forms without *ne* have been given; meanwhile it should be noted that all these cases differ from those with the indic. in that they repudiate the will or the power to do something, while the indic. denies a past occurrence. This appears from the fact that they repeat in an exclamatory way a command or suggestion, and from the frequent use of *possim*, *sinam*, *queam*, etc. The negative is *non*.

(c). *egone ut* with the subjunctive. Aul. 690, *egone ut te advorsum mentiar?* Asin. 884, Bacch. 196, 375, 489, Poen. 428, Rud. 1244, Truc. 441, twice (for 443 see above), Heaut. 784.

With verbs of general sense, as above. *patiar*, Asin. 810, Trin. 378, Truc. 758, Ph. 304; *putem*, Bacch. 637; *nequeam*, Ps. 516; *auderem*, Mil. 963.

Pl. 15, Ter. 2.

These are like the preceding except that they do not follow and repeat an impv. They have *non* for negative.

(d). *egone quid* (*quem*) with the subjunctive. Cas. I 1, 29, *quid tu mihi facies?* || *egone quid faciam tibi?* Eun. 191, Hec. 849. In Most. 556 all MSS give *quid nunc faciundum censes?* || *egon quid censeam?* and in Eun. 651 all but A have *quem quaeris, Pythias?* || *ehem Phaedria. egon quem quaeram?* I should preserve the reading in both cases.

Pl. 1 [2], Ter. 2 [3].

As the preceding classes deny a fact or repudiate a command or suggestion, these repeat in an exclamatory way a preceding question, and suggest that the question is absurd. There is no negative used with them.

(e). *egon* without verb. With the pronoun may be used a few words repeated from the preceding sentence. Asin. 899, *ecquid matrem amas?* || *egone illam?* Asin. 609, Cas. II 3, 27, Merc. 317, 323, Mil. 1139, Truc. 898, And. 504, Eun. 65, 757.

egone alone, answered by *tune*, *tu istic*, *tu ipsus*, or unanswered. Capt. 857, *tule facias* . . . || *egone* ? || *tune*. Amph. 575, Cas. II 3, 49, V 4, 13, Epid. 575, Mil. 439, Men. 651, 937, Most. 634, 955, Ps. 723, St. 635, Trin. 634, Truc. 586, Hec. 214, Ph. 504.

When *egone* follows a question, it is itself followed by an answer to the question. Poen. 333, *quo te agis* ? || *egone* ? *in aedem Veneris*. Curc. 664, Men. 162, Most. 1014, Rud. 1272, Heaut. 608, 740, 945, Eun. 101, 305, 778, 1026, Ph. 57, 938. (An answer or retort follows also in some of the cases above, Asin. 899, 609, Eun. 757.) In these the repudiating tone is lowered to a slight surprise that the question should have been asked. This less emotional use is more common in Ter. than in Pl. Without verb, Pl. 26, Ter. 14.

Leaving for future consideration the relation of these sentences to other forms, the use of *ut* and the mood, we may notice here that the pronoun is really, though slightly, emphatic in all cases. As in English, this slight emphasis confines the repudiation to the speaker's own conduct, as if he said "What may have happened I don't know, but I had nothing to do with it." This is the reason why in so many cases the verb is omitted; the action is indifferent, and the speaker is concerned only with his own connection with it.

The idea of repudiation or rejection, which has led some German grammarians to call *egone ut* and, e. g. *egon dicam* "unwillige oder missbilligende Fragen," is not confined to *egone* with the subjunctive, but appears more or less distinctly in all questions with *egone*. When *egone* without verb follows a question (after a question, except with *quid*, the verb is always omitted), this rejection amounts only to a slight wonder that the question should be asked, and these cases approach questions for information. Otherwise *egone* never asks for information and is never, in meaning, a genuine question. It has the verb late in the sentence, repeats the words or idea of the other speaker, and is nothing more than an exclamatory repetition, to which the interrogative particle has been prefixed.

Tune.

These resemble questions with *egone*, having only those variations which necessarily result from the different person.

(a). With the indicative. There is greater variety of tense and usage than with *egone*. Present tense, Merc. 305, *amo*. || *tun*

capite cano amas . . . ? Capt. 572, Men. 305, Rud. 1399 Sch., St. 326 twice, Truc. 609, Andr. 910, Hec. 549.

With *es*, Curc. 419, . . . *istum quem quaeris ego sum*. || *quaeso, tun is es ?* Asin. 57, Capt. 1021, Cist. 390 Uss., Epid. 556, 641, Men. 1079, Ps. 607, 978, 1010, 1143, Rud. 1055, 1377, Trin. 635 (MSS *tu* and so Bx. Krit. Anh., on ground that *tun* would be unemotional. But cf. Rud. 1377). Hec. 803 is a conjecture of Bentley, correct in form, but departing somewhat widely from the MSS.

Pl. 20 [21], Ter. 2 [3].

These partake of the nature of exclamatory repetitions in that the idea has always been expressed or implied before. With other verbs wonder and incredulity are also expressed, but with *es* the emotion is less, amounting generally to nothing more than doubt, which the speaker desires to have removed. But the order of the sentence and the fact of repetition seem to connect these questions with exclamatory repetitions.

(*b*). With verbs of saying and feeling, in the present tense. Most. 331, *madet homo*. || *tun me ais ma- ma- madere ?* Aul. 137, Capt. 571, Mil. 366, Men. 820, Truc. 586. *audes*, Amph. 373, 565, 566, Bacch. 1163, Men. 738, Poen. 271, 1310, Rud. 734. *autumas*, Bacch. 822. *dicis*, Amph. 758. *loquere*, Asin. 477. *memoras*, Capt. 577. *negas*, Amph. 758, Men. 630, 821. (The MSS give *tun* in 630, *tu* in 821; Bx.² *tu* in both, *v.* note and Krit. Anh. on 630.) *nominas*, Bacch. 253. *postulas*, Amph. 361, Rud. 709 (Sch. *i huc*). *praedicas*, Men. 515. *vituperas*, Aul. 325, Curc. 192. *vocas*, Curc. 191. *iubes*, Ad. 924. Pl. 27, Ter. 1.

As in the preceding classes, these refer to something which has just been said, only instead of repeating the verb, the general effect of the sentence is summed up in the single word, *vituperas*, *negas*, *nominas*. When the verb requires a complement (*ais*, *postulas*, *vocas*), it usually has the verb of the preceding sentence in the infin.

(*c*). Other tenses of the indicative show no peculiarity, except that they also are more exclamatory than interrogative. Imperfect, Hec. 340, Eun. 86, Ph. 945 (all *tun hic (is) eras ?* to express surprise at the unexpected appearance of some person). Future, Asin. 104, Rud. 748. Pluperfect, Ph. 613. Perfect, Amph. 717, Mil. 368, 494, Most. 369, Ps. 625, 1177, St. 373, Trin. 1179, Ad. 638. Perhaps also Andr. 742, as this is entirely like other cases with the perf. Rit. Dz. read *tu*. Cist. I 1, 88 should be *tu en umquam*. Most. 593 is entirely uncertain. Pl. 10, Ter. 5 [6].

There is an evident advance between Pl. and Ter. in using other tenses than the pres.

(d). With the subjunctive. Asin. 628, (*volo*) *hunc . . . verberare*. || *tun verberes, qui pro cibo habeas verberari?* Asin. 700, Aul. 756, Cas. I 1, 23, Mil. 497, Pers. 135, 295, And. 910, Eun. 808. These follow expressions of will or intention, *volo*, *sine* and the future, and reject the idea as do questions with *egone* and the present subjunct.

The imperfect is used in condition Ph. 932, and the perfect Amph. 818.

Pl. 8, Ter. 3.

(e). *tune* without verb. Asin. 230, Merc. 158, 888, Mil. 290 (*tulin*), Ps. 939, Ad. 127, Heaut. 343, Hec. 862. These are entirely similar to *egone* without verb. Three, Asin. 230, Merc. 158, Heaut. 343, follow a question and are followed by a brief answer.

Pl. 5, Ter. 3.

Questions with *tune* are in several ways less distinctly marked than questions with *egone*. In many cases the emphasis of *tu* is plain, in others it is less evident. It is easy to see that *ain tu* with infin. is less emotional than *tun ais*, and there is perhaps a distinction between *tun negas?* and *negas?* but it is not so clear with *tune* as with *egone* how the expression of the pronoun helps to make the question emotional.¹ In the large majority of cases, however, the pronoun is emphatic by contrast. Merc. 305, *amo*. || *tun capite cano amas?* means, "You, a grey-haired man, in love! (I could understand it in a young man, but not in you.)"

The idea of rejection or repudiation, also, while it runs through the various forms of question with *tune*, is subject to exceptions. All questions with *es* express a hesitating desire for confirmation of the previous statement. This is true even of Ps. 1177, *tune solitus es*. Men. 1079, *tun meo patre's prognatus?* Rud. 1377 and Trin. 635 are the only cases which decidedly reject.

Yet the reference to the preceding sentence, the emphasis upon the pronoun, the late position of the verb and the idea of repudia-

¹It seems probable that the tone of many forms of question is somewhat affected by the omission or expression of the personal pronoun, but it is impossible to reduce these phenomena to any law without including declarative sentences. With the two general principles that the pronoun is expressed for emphasis, and that it may perhaps be expressed or omitted to help out the metre, we do not advance very far. This subject, with the allied question of the uses of *hic*, *iste* and *ille*, in which Plautus seems almost capricious, would well repay investigation.

tion are so distinct in the large majority of cases that it seems necessary to regard questions with *tune* as exclamatory repetitions, like those with *egone*.

Personal pronouns in other cases than the nominative.

men (acc.) *men rogas*? Men. 614, Epid. 98, Heaut. 246. In Merc. 633, Mil. 426 read *me rogas*. V. Bx. Anh. Other verbs, Cist. II 3, 53, Men. 786, 1050, Cas. II 6, 29, III 5, 38, Capt. 121, Bacch. 783, Epid. 139, Poen. 399, Ad. 543, And. 908, Ph. 448. In Mil. 403 read *me . . . arbitror*. The leading verb is always in the indic., but *me* sometimes depends upon an infin. or dependent subjunctive. *men* without verb, St. 254, Trin. 69, Andr. 450, Eun. 279, Heaut. 564, Hec. 692, 748.

mene (abl.), Poen. 368.

mein (gen.), St. 334.

mihin with verb, Curc. 571, Men. 868, Ps. 472, Trin. 957. Truc. 741 is entirely conjectural. Without verb, Curc. 422, St. 635, Truc. 935 (MSS *mihi*), Andr. 476, 500, 849, 850, Hec. 523, Ph. 506. Ph. 1047, 1048 are doubtful. Pl. 22, Ter. 15 [17].

ten. With the indic., Rud. 235. With the present subjunctive, Asin. 94, *me defraudato*. || . . . *ten ego defraudem*, . . . ? Asin. 700, 669, 697. In Truc. 276 by conjecture to fill out the vs. Ps. 371, Ph. 339, with infin. are given later. These are all rejecting questions like *egon dicam*. Without verb, Merc. 504, Eun. 218.

tibine, Pers. 721, Eun. 577, Heaut. 102, Most. 925.

nosne, Andr. 804. *vosne*, St. 132, 135. Pl. 11, Ter. 4.

Possessive pronouns with *ne*.

meus, with verb, Bacch. 842, Capt. 853, Curc. 616, Rud. 839, Truc. 612, 925. Without verb, Curc. 357, Ph. 198. (Mil. 488 will be given with other infin. questions.)

noster, Trin. 512, Ad. 330.

tuos, with verb, Capt. 845, Pers. 338, 747. Also cf. Men. 792, given below, IV H. Without verb, Epid. 688, Ad. 400. As predicate of *esse*, Eun. 428, Rud. 1361, 1052, 1054. In the last two Sch. omits *ne*, and so MSS in 1054. These questions with *esse* are regular and unemotional.

suos, Andr. 932. On Most. 254 v. Lor. Anh. Pl. 16, Ter. 4.

The forms of question with possessive pronouns are similar to those with the personal pronouns, not, as might perhaps be expected, to adjectives. They have a strong tone of repudiation, because they repeat in an exclamatory way what the other person has just said. They use the same classes of verbs, *audes*, *censes*,

etc. The following have the subjunct. as with *egone*: Bacch. 842 (with *ut*), Truc. 925, Curc. 616 (with *ut*), Pers. 747, 338.

Demonstrative pronouns.

hicine. With verb in indic., either as subject, object or in other construction. Most. 10, *em, hocine volebas?* Amph. 514, Asin. 128, Bacch. 447, Most. 25, 26, 27, 508, Rud. 188 (2), Trin. 186, Heaut. 1029, Ad. 237, 709, Hec. 282, 283, 70, Ph. 1012, 1013. With *ut* and the subj., Eun. 771, Ph. 955, 992.

With *est* and infin. in predicate. Merc. 356, *hocinest amare?* Asin. 508, Truc. 893. With verbal adjunct. or phrase, Andr. 236 (twice), 625.

With *est* and proper noun or some definite phrase in predicate. Amph. 362, *haecine tua domus?* Merc. 753, Mil. 61, Pers. 545, 844, 845, Poen. 1166, Andr. 907, Hec. 771.

hicinest without predicate can be used only where the antecedent has just been mentioned. Epid. 621, Pers. 544, 830, Rud. 1143.

These two forms with *est* are unemotional and for information. Of course *hicine* is emphatic.

hicine alone, Epid. 574, Truc. 959, Ph. 509.

The adverbs *hicine*, *hucine* are found Aul. 335, Cist. I 1, 20, IV 2, 80, Mil. 181, St. 621, Trin. 1079, Truc. 359, 719, Ad. 183, in uses similar to those of the pronoun.

In non-interrogative sentences *hicine* occurs Epid. 73, 541, Mil. 309, Ad. 304, 379, 758, Andr. 478. See Professor Warren "On the enclitic *ne* in early Latin," Amer. Journ. of Philol., II 50-82.

Except the questions with *est*, *hicine* regularly introduces a rejecting exclamation. The only doubtful cases are Most. 508, perhaps Most. 10, and Ritschl's conjecture in Men. 1139. For the last Bx. and MSS have *hanc*, which is better.

hicine (the pron.) Pl. 27, Ter. 17.

isticine, in similar uses, Asin. 932, Merc. 620, Ps. 83, 847, Rud. 110 (adv.), Ad. 732, Eun. 830.

illicine, Ps. 954, Truc. 599, Heaut. 199 (MSS *illene*).

isne, Capt. 987, Cist. 288 Uss., Curc. 82, Epid. 107, 518, Merc. 598, Mil. 532, 534, St. 327, Andr. 629, Ad. 939, Eun. 415, Heaut. 616. With subjunct. Trin. 961, Andr. 263.

Other pronominal forms are *illamne*, Merc. 203; *illumne*, Eun. 356; *illine*, Ps. 205 G.; *ipsusne*, Trin. 987, 988; *ipson*, Trin. 902; *nullumne*, Capt. 154; *nullamne*, Heaut. 1006; *nullon*, Bacch. 479, Andr. 247; *nullan*, St. 260, Truc. 285; *nemon*, Hec. 323, Ph. 152; *nilne*, Amph. 933, *nilne te pudet?* same, Amph. Fragm. VIII,

Pers. 424, and by conjecture Truc. 764; with other verbs, Bacch. 315, Ps. 78, 308 (*miseret*), Truc. 542, Ad. 528. Without verb, Andr. 435. *eademne*, Bacch. 422, Amph. 805 (MSS om. *ne*); *tantumne*, Heaut. 75, Hec. 813; *tanton*, Trin. 609, 686 (MSS om. *ne*). Other forms will be given with infin., under V. B.

Pl. 38, Ter. 17.

With certain limitations, already noted in part, all pronominal questions with *ne* have the characteristics which have been pointed out in *egone* questions. They refer backward, taking up some previous idea, which may have been distinctly expressed or merely implied, and repeating it in an exclamatory way, so as to suggest that it is untenable. They use frequently a class of words which will reappear again in questions without a particle, *vis*, *audes*, *rogas*, *censes*, *postulas*, *ais*, and they have often the subjunctive with or without *ut* after an impv. or other expression of willing.

The limitations are these: sentences with *est* are regularly for information, when they are asked about some definite person or thing, especially something on the stage. Pronouns used alone (*egone* ? *tune* ? *hicine* ?) are not asked for information and are exclamatory, but they do not necessarily express rejection. Especially after questions they indicate only doubt or mild surprise. Further, the pronouns which approach adjectives most nearly, e. g. *nullus*, *tantus*, *idem*, seem to have the least rejecting force, and sometimes lack it entirely.

The explanation which has been suggested in regard to the rejecting tone of *egone* questions applies also to questions with demonstrative pronouns. It is the contrast, expressed by the emphatic pronoun, between the statement made and some evident characteristic of the speaker or some well-known fact, which helps the exclamation to take on a tone of repudiation. *egone istuc dixi* ? "I said that ! It must have been some one else." *tun capite cano amas* ? "You, an old man, in love ! Leave that to boys." *hocinest humanum factum* ? "Is *this* what you call humanity ?" "Is *this* credible ?" and so on. In every case there is an almost violent emphasis upon the pronoun, which combined with the fact that the whole sentence is exclamatory in form and tone, produces the repudiating effect. It is plain that the mood has nothing to do with it.

C. NOUNS WITH *ne* APPENDED.

As these present no difficulties or peculiarities, it is not worth while to give full lists. The word which has *ne* is emphatic and therefore stands at the beginning of the sentence.

With a verb Pl. has 19 cases (Poen. 730, Pers. 26 with subjunct. Bacch. 151, 629 with infin.) Ter. has 4 (Andr. 609 with infin.)

Without a verb Pl. has Epid. 30, Most. 972 (BCD om. *ne*). In Cas. II 5, 10 (214 Gepp.), Trin. 375, Truc. 805, Rud. 237 *ne* has been added to a noun to help out the metre. This is a large number of conjectures to rest upon a basis of two cases, and the usage of Pl. is strongly against the addition of *ne*. Cas. II 5, 10 and Rud. 237 are especially unlikely, nor is Truc. 805 satisfactory. Ter. uses a noun without verb more freely, 9 times in all. This corresponds to the more frequent use of pronouns (*hicine*, *egone*) without verb in Ter.

Pl. 21 [25], Ter. 13.

D. ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES WITH *ne*.

Questions of this form are also for the most part regular. The adj. is generally in the nomin., either subject or predicate. Of other cases Pl. has only *bonan fide* (three times), *bellan specie*, *pro lignean salute* (Ps. 47. So BC, Rit., Lor., but it is at least unusual), *tribusne*, *alienon*, *omnene* (acc.), *omnian* (acc.) twice. Ter. has *pro certon*, *multon*, *rufamne*, *duasne*, *binan*, *bonan*.

In the nomin. Pl. has *alienus*, *certum* (7), *dives*, *dignus*, *expectatus*, *insanus*, *malus*, *molestus*, *parum*, *sanus* (16), *relictus*, *tenax*, *verus*. Ter. has *certum*, *dubium*, *parum*, *sanus* (twice), *salva*.

It is noticeable that Ter. does not use the phrases *sanun es?* and *certumne est?* which are so frequent in Pl.; *esne*, *estne* with predicate adj. Pl. uses very seldom (*v. supra*) and only when the adj. is clearly unemphatic.

Pl. 44, Ter. 12.

If the two phrases with *sanun* and *certumne* are subtracted, it appears that here as in many other ways Ter. shows a tendency toward more varied forms of question than are used by Pl.

E. ADVERBS WITH *ne*.

The adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns have been given in connection with the pronouns. *iamne*, *etiamne*, *sicine* are so frequently used as to need separate treatment.

adeon. Andr. 277, 278, 469, 757, Hec. 547, Ph. 1040. The

other cases have the infin. and will be given below. These have the indic., and it is a confirmation of the explanation already given of questions with pronouns that *adeon*, which is of course demonstrative, gives the same rejecting tone which has been noticed in pronominal questions with *ne*.

Other adverbs are *advorsum* (here governing acc.), *bene* (3), *certo* without verb (2), with verb (1), *certe* without verb (2), with verb (1), see Langen, Beitr. p. 30. *facile*, *hodie*, *ilico*, *itidem*, *male*, *modo* (2, both Ter.), *numquam* (2), *nunc* (*nuncin*), *perpetue*, *plane*, *potius* (St. 698. MSS om. *ne* and are otherwise confused), *prius* (2 with *quam*), *recte*, *serio*, *tam* (*tamine*), *vero* (3), *usque* (2), *salve* (3), St. 8, Men. 776 (twice), for all of which Rit. reads *salvae*. V. Bx. on Trin. 1177. Pl. 29, Ter. 13.

sicine is remarkable only for the fact that, like other strongly demonstrative words, the questions which it introduces are all repudiating. It is found (beside the cases with infin.) Asin. 127, Cist. I 1, 115, II 3, 39, Merc. 158, Poen. 386, 512, Ps. 320, 1246, Rud. 251, 884, Ad. 128, Eun. 99, 804, Heaut. 166, 691.

Pl. 10, Ter. 5.

iamne. With verb in the first pers. pres. indic. Curc. 132, *iamne dico* ? || *quid dices* ? Curc. 214, Cas. II 8, 67 (II 6, 64 is uncertain), Mil. 1400, Eun. 492. All these except Curc. 214, the verb of which is passive, have future sense and expect an impv. answer.

With the pres. indic. second pers. Pl. uses only three forms: (a) *iamne abis* ? "are you going so soon ?" not as Geppert (Rud. 496, 584 Sch.) renders, "fort mit dir !" Men. 441, Most. 991, Pers. 50, Ps. 380, Poen. 678 (*itis*), Rud. 584, Truc. 919 (MSS om. *ne*); (b) *iamne (autem) ut soles* ? "are you still at your old tricks ?" Aul. 819, Bacch. 203, Poen. 1410, Truc. 695; (c) *iamne hoc tenetis (scitis)* ? "do you get the idea at last ?" Amph. 485, Poen. 116, Capt. 10 (MSS om. *ne*), all in prologue. Ter. uses second sing. pres. only in Ad. 186, *iamne me vis dicere* . . . ?

Also *fert* Curc. 50, *licet* Eun. 550, *comessurus es* Ps. 1126. In the perf. indic. second and third pers., Cas. III 3, 15, 16, IV 2, 15, IV 4, 13, Men. 333, 550, 876, Merc. 791, St. 251, 632, Truc. 634, Ad. 236, Eun. 914, Heaut. 848, Ph. 816. Rud. 1369 is doubtful.

The distinction between *iam* in the meaning "so soon, already" and in the meaning "so late, at last" does not affect the form of the question; cf. St. 632 with Men. 550. See also below, IV E.

Pl. 31, Ter. 7.

etiamne. Cf. Becker, p. 176 f., Langen, Beitr. 160-161, and see below on *etiam*.

In most cases *etiam* has its ordinary sense. Without time-force, i. e. meaning "also," "even," "again," Amph. 760, Asin. 40, Aul. 304, Bacch. 274, 567, Cas. III 5, 50, Merc. 751, Most. 272, Poen. 281, Ps. 1178, Rud. 1275 (the second case is doubtful. MSS *etiam*, Cam. *etiamne*, Sch. *anne*), 1277, Eun. 143, Heaut. 742, Ph. 238. With meaning "still," "yet," Most. 522 (Lor.³ compares 851), Cas. III 6, 8, Men. 710, Rud. 846, Ph. 774. Aul. 55 is useless.

In sentences equivalent to an impv. *etiamne* is found Men. 697, Most. 937, 938, Poen. 431, Rud. 467. Also with the first plu. *etiamne imus* . . . ? Cas. V 4, 8, like *iam* with first person in fut. sense, expecting an impv., and so approaching the sense of *eamus*.

Pl. 22, Ter. 4.

F. *itane*.

Langen has discussed *ita* very fully in his Beiträge, pp. 210 f., 231 ff., 330 f., the last on *itane*. I have little to add. The passages are as follows :

(a). *itane* ? alone, referring backward to what has been said. Mil. 1278, Pers. 291, Eun. 1058, Heaut. 887, Ph. 542. *itane vero* ? Curc. 725, Mil. 844, Rud. 971. With a question following, Merc. 918, 567, Truc. 292, Rud. 747, Ph. 392.

(b). With a verb, referring backward, and so having a definite standard of comparison. Most. 72 L³, Pers. 220 (twice), Mil. 66, 1120, Men. 948, Poen. 557, 660 (474 is a conjecture to fill out the vs.), Andr. 399, 909, Eun. 76, 1018, Heaut. 562, 948, Hec. 418, 847, Ph. 427, 527, 968.

(c). *itane* is followed by a clause of result which gives the standard of comparison. Bacch. 477, Trin. 642, Andr. 243, 492, 916, Eun. 240. Andr. 492 (twice) also refers backward, thus forming a connecting link between this class and the preceding.

(d). Thus far the reference of *ita* is distinct; there remain several cases, all in Ter., where the standard of comparison is so indefinite that *itane* seems to have become weakened into a mere interrogative particle. This use has no parallel in declarative sentences. Langen mentions Andr. 926, *itane vero obturbat* ? I should add Ph. 536, *itane hunc patiemur, Gela, fieri miserum, . . . ?* (*ita* does not go with *miserum*) and Ph. 315, *itane patris ais adventum veritum hinc abisse* ? Ph. 231 would also come in the

same class, but might better be punctuated *itane tandem ? uxorem duxit Antipho iniussu meo ?* In this way I should punctuate Ph. 413 and Heaut. 954. Also Andr. 643 should be *inprudens . . . || itane ? imprudens ?* Andr. 803, in aposiopesis, appears to be another case of weakened *ita*. It is possible that all these cases are analogous to the paratactic use of *ita*, discussed by Langen, p. 231 ff.

Itane with infin. twice.

In all Pl. 19, Ter. 30.

G. *satine*.

See Brix on Trin. 925, Capt. 446, Men. 184 and Lor. Most.² 76.

The main distinction is between uses which have parallels in declarative sentences, retaining something of the original sense of *satis*, and uses in which the original sense seems almost or wholly lost, and which have no parallels in declarative sentences.

(a). *satis* retains its original sense, and the questions are frequently answered by *satis*.

With *est*, Men. 621, *satin hoc est tibi ?* Men. 655, Ph. 210, 211, 683, 1047.

With *habes* or *est* and conditional clause. Amph. 509, *satin habes, si feminarum nullast quam aequae diligam ?* Bacch. 911, Capt. 446, Mil. 1173, Most. 389, Ps. 112, Ph. 856.

With adjectives. *sanus*, Amph. 604, *satin tu sanus es ? || sic sum ut vides*. Cas. II 2, 34, Merc. 682, Men. 510, Trin. 454, Ad. 937, Andr. 749, Eun. 559, Heaut. 707, 986, Ph. 802; *certum*, Cist. II 1, 33, Ad. 329; *plana et certa*, Pers. 183; *morigera*, Cas. V 2, 19.

With adverbs. Amph. 578, *satin hoc plane, satin diserte esse, ere, nunc videor tibi locutus ?*

astute. Cas. II 8, 52; *lepide*, Cas. V 2, 53; *plane*, Trin. 1071; *recte*, Men. 736 (cf. Bacch. 509), Andr. 804; *salve*, Trin. 1177, Eun. 978; *sincere*, Epid. 634 (disjunctive); *ex sententia*, Pers. 18, Ph. 256.

With perfect participles, Bacch. 1202, Capt. 638, Merc. 495, Mil. 574, 1173, Pers. 465, St. 517, Eun. 208.

With verbs. *audis*, Men. 602, *satin audis quae illic loquitur ? || satis*. (Ps. 166 is cut out by Usener, Lor., Langen); *cerno*, Poen. 1299; *habes* (= *tenes*, *intellegis*, not as above with *si*) Most. 831; *intellegis*, Most. 650, Poen. 171; *meministi et tenes*, Pers. 183; *tenes*, Pers. 305; *scis*, Ad. 402; *valuisti*, Pers. 23.

The parallels to these may be found in any lexicon. *sat est*

(Asin. 329), *sat habeo* (Most. 654), *satis dives* (Aul. 166), *satis audacter* (Amph. 838), *satis cum periculo* (And. 131), *neque audio neque oculis prospicio satis* (Amph. 1059) may suffice for Pl. and Ter., and the list might be indefinitely extended.

In the examples given there is a gradual weakening of meaning, owing, as in *ita*, to a lowering of the standard of comparison in *satis*. From "enough for this definite purpose or occasion," it comes to mean "enough for practical purposes," "enough for ordinary occasions," "well enough." We have the same tendency illustrated in the Engl. "enough" and perhaps more clearly in "quite," as used in America. With this loss of definite standard there goes also a loss of definite construction in the sentence; *satis* affects the whole sentence rather than any single word in it.

(b). Uses which have no parallel in declarative sentences. Most. 76, *satin abiit, neque quod dixi flocci existumat?* Amph. 633, Bacch. 1200 (punctuate *satin, affirmatum quod mihi erat, id me exorat?*), Capt. 653, Cas. II 4, 24, III 4, 8, Cist. I 3, 2, Uss. period, Epid. 664, Men. 522, Merc. 337, Mil. 393, 481, 999, Poen. 919, Ps. 1316, Rud. 462, 1193, Trin. 925, 1013, Truc. 553. Some of these have a clause with *si, ut* or the rel. pron. between *satin* and the verb, but these should be carefully distinguished from *satin si* or *satin ut* questions. All have the indicative, present or perfect; only one, Trin. 553, is in second pers., addressed by the speaker to himself; all are in soliloquy.

satin ut with the indic. Mil. 1134, *satin ut commoditas usquequaque me adiuvat?* Men. 181, Merc. 481, Pers. 658, St. 271. In Bacch. 491 the subjunct. is the indefinite second person. These are not, like the preceding, in soliloquy, and are in the second and third persons.

As the lines which separate these two classes are necessarily indefinite, there remain some cases about which one cannot be certain. Bacch. 509 (cf. Epid. 634), Men. 945, Ps. 194, Pers. 549 I should place, with some hesitation, in the first class, on the ground that they (except Bacch. 509) are not in soliloquy, and that they might possibly have parallel declarative uses. If this is correct, they illustrate well the weakening of sense and generalizing of construction of *satis*. The same is true of Eun. 851, and perhaps of Ph. 636, which comes nearer to *satin abiit* than any other case in Ter. Most. 1109, Ps. 935 are indirect; cf. also Most. 166, 254, 282, and Becker, 140, 167-8. In Men. 478 read *satur*. Ps. 1204 has *non* in MSS.

In these questions the weakening of *satis* has gone still further, until the original idea of a standard of comparison is wholly lost, and *satis* has come to mean "really, actually," a sense which comes easily from, e. g. *satis scio*. In this meaning it was peculiarly fitted for questions in which the speaker expressed his amazement at some occurrence, something so strange that he could hardly believe that it had actually taken place. In the same way I understand that *satin ut* questions arose when *satin* was so weakened as to be little more than a particle. The *ut* I should take to be exclamatory. So Dahl, *die Lat. Partikel* vtr, p. 15.

A different explanation of questions with *satin* is given by Lorenz in the excellent note on Most.² 76. He says "*satin abiit* ? enstand aus *satisne est* ? *abiit* ? 'Ist es nicht genug? (Ist das Mass nicht voll?) Ging er fort?' = 'Ging er denn wirklich fort?'" With this view of the origin of *satin abiit* I cannot agree, for the following reasons: (1). *satin est* ? is never used without a definite subject, *hoc*, *id* or a clause. (2). The suggestion in the words "ist das Mass nicht voll?" or, as Brix puts it on Trin. 925, "ist es nicht genug um mich zum *male dicere* zu bringen?" seems at first sight to suit the complaining tone extremely well, but it does not meet such a case as Rud. 1193, *satin*, . . . , *aliquo illud pacto optingit optatum piis* ? Nor, I think, should the verb be in the present. (3). The verb of the (supposed) second question would, when the two questions became one, stand near *satin*, not at the end of the sentence as it generally does.

The analogy between *itane* and *satin* is a close one. In both there is a gradual loss of definite standard of measurement, so that they become at last a form of interrogative particle. It is remarkable that *itan* should be used in this way so largely by Ter. and not at all by Pl., while *satin* is so used by Pl. and only once or twice, if at all, by Ter. It should be noticed also that *itane* is seldom or never used in soliloquy, the weakened *satin* always; that *itane* is often used alone, but *satin* is never so used.

satin est and *satin habes* sometimes approach *nonne satis est*, *habes*, but *satin* is never equal to *nonne* as Brix on Trin. 925 says.

Pl. 69, Ter. 19.

H. *potin*.

Divided according to the form of the dependent clause.

(a). *potin ut* with the subjunctive. Amph. 903, *potin ut abstineas manum* ? Bacch. 751, Men. 466, Merc. 495, 890, Mil.

926, Most. 396, Pers. 175, Ps. 235, 264, 393, 940, 942, Poen. 916, Rud. 425, Trin. 628, Ad. 539.

In these *potis* is impersonal, as the answer *potest* shows.

(b). *potin ut . . . ne*, with subjunct. Epid. 63, *potin ut molestus ne sis*? The same, sometimes with *mihi*, Men. 606, Merc. 779, Pers. 287, Truc. 897. With other verbs, Bacch. 751, Merc. 441.

(c). *potin ne*, Pers. 175, *potin ne moneas*?

(d). *potin* with the subjunctive. Pers. 297, *potin abeas*? The same, Cas. III 6, 10.

These are all impersonal, that is, *potin* is for *potestne*, a form which Pl. does not use, and the dependent verb is in the second pers. pres. subjunct. The use of *ne* for the negative and the corresponding constructions in declarative sentences, e. g. Bacch. 35, Ps. 633, show that this is a substantive clause, such as is used after many impersonal phrases. In *potin abeas*, without *ut*, we have the earliest paratactic form of the construction. Pl. 26, Ter. 1.

(e). *potin* with infin. Curc. 246, *potin coniecturam facere, . . .*? Cist. 238 (Uss.) from Gell. VI (VII) 7, 3, Poen. 309, 1089, Trin. 759, Andr. 437, Eun. 101. Pl. 5, Ter. 2.

These are personal for *potesne* and are answered sometimes by *possum*. *tu* is expressed Poen. 1089, Cist. 238. The number does not quite warrant the statement of Draeger II* 269 that this construction is "sehr selten bei den beiden Komikern."

To the cases above should be added Curc. 200, *potine fieri ut . . . modereris . . .*? an early conjecture for *hocine* of MSS. It is without parallel in Pl. or Ter.

In all these cases the subordinate clause expresses something easy to do, passivity or non-interference, *abeas*, *taceas*, *abstineas*, *sinas*, *molestus ne sis*. In immediate connection with this *potin* has a strongly sarcastic effect. Instead of "Let me alone!" the speaker says with elaborate formality "Is it possible for you to let me alone?" This sarcastic effect is undoubtedly the reason why Pl. has made such large use of the phrase.

The answer may be either to the form, *potest*, *possum*, or to the substance; cf. Poen. 916, *potin ut taceas*? || *taceo et abeo*; cf. *quid agitur*? || *statur*.

E. P. MORRIS.

II.—ON THE USE OF CERTAIN VERBS OF SAYING IN PLATO.

It is hardly more than eight years since there was published in Germany the first scientific effort to trace a development in Plato's style. Even in this interval the subject has gained such general attention from classical philologists that a fresh investigation in this field needs no apology. New contributions to the subject have now rather to be judged by the quota of truth they bring than by the fairness of their motives.

The present paper treats of certain forms of verbs of saying. It embraces, moreover, only those forms that are employed for the special purpose of recalling some previous part of an argument; or, more generally, of citing some former passage in a dialogue. In the direct dialogues—where each speaker has his own words given in a separate paragraph which is headed by his own name—such citations make up the greater part of the verbs of saying. In the indirect dialogues, however, where the real dialogue is related to some person not present at it, these verbs are very frequently used by the narrator, not as citations, but merely to show changes of speaker. Since in these indirect dialogues the persons who carry on the argument make also references to previous passages, it may need a moment's consideration to tell what duty a verb of saying performs. There is usually, however, a difference in the verb itself. Thus, in the narrative it is generally *ἔφη* or *ἦν*, more rarely *εἶπον*; but the verbs used for reference show much more variety: *λέγω* exhibits perhaps the most extensive use, *εἶπον* is more frequent in certain dialogues, *ἔφη* occurs very rarely (*Protag.* 359 A and B), and *ἦν* never. The real difference turns, however, on whether the verb is used for narrative or discussion. Both kinds of usage may even be observed in the same speaker when, after narrating a dialogue, he begins to analyze it or to consider its importance. An illustration will make the point clearer. *Phaedo*, in the dialogue named after him, is mostly a narrator, and, as such, uses the ordinary verbs of narrative, as *ἔφη*, *ἦ δ' ὅς*. At 88 B he turns to discussing with *Echecrates* the story he has just been telling, and then the phrases *προειρημένους λόγοις*, *ὃν ὁ Σωκράτης*

ἔλεγε, are citations of the same kind as would be found in a direct dialogue. Furthermore, whenever Socrates, Cebes, or Simmias refer to their own discussion, they of course use references of this same sort. In the Euthydemus, to take another example, references are made by Socrates in his argument with Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, and with Crito. On the other hand, in his narrative to Crito he uses verbs of saying that are peculiar to the indirect dialogue, and, consequently, are not citations. Perhaps it is in the participle that the verb of citation is most easily mistaken for that of the narrative; but the following examples will show the difference: Parmen. 135 E, πλὴν τοῦτό γέ σου καὶ πρὸς ταῦτον ἡγάσθην εἰπόντος, is a citation; but Protag. 334 C, εἰπόντος οὖν ταῦτα αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες ἀνεθορύβησαν, belongs to the narrative.

When all the references have been collected, they are found to make up a considerable number of instances for each dialogue. Some of them are in the present tense, as φῆς, λέγεις, and they then recall some statement that is distinctly before the minds of the speakers or has just been uttered. Past tenses, as ἔλεγον, ἐρρήθη, serve to bring up a statement that is more distant or may be just falling out of memory. They are not, therefore, so specially suited to passages of short, vivid question and answer, but are introduced at some distance from the statement which they refer to, and besides are found in all varieties of dialogue. If, then, their occurrence is not due to the form of the dialogue, or to any other accidental circumstance, any changes that occur in them must be due to alterations in Plato's style. On examining all the references which are made by past tenses of verbs of saying, it is found that some dialogues show an unusual variety in the tenses of the passive. By means of this increase in variety the dialogues can be arranged in a series which, it is intended, should show primarily the course of Plato's development in style. This order is given in the annexed table.

In the first place, the statistics on which the series is based should be explained. In determining the frequency of any given form of citation in such different dialogues as the Symposium, Gorgias, and Timaeus, it is evident that a standard, such as the number of pages covered by the dialogue, will not give a just relative proportion. A truer measure seems to present itself in the total number of references found in each dialogue, and these totals are what is given in the first column of the table. They are composed solely of references to the argument, and do not include any except

such as go back to full, complete statements of the persons engaged in the discussion. Thus, all words are omitted which refer to quotations of poetry, of tradition, or of any composition not original to the speakers of the dialogue. The only exception is the oration of Lysias in the Phaedrus. This is regarded as a component part of the dialogue because it is read in full by Phaedrus and plays a prominent part in the succeeding discussion. In the whole argument Phaedrus himself acts really as a passive listener, and the opinions considered belong either to Socrates or Lysias. In contrast to the speech of Lysias are such passages as the poem of Simonides in the Protagoras, the story of Atlantis, the myths of Er and Gyges, and various quotations from Homer and others taken up by Plato from without. These are not considered essential parts of the real dialogue, and citations of them, like ταῦτά τε οὖν πάντα πρὸς τὸν Πιττακὸν εἴρηται, οἱ τὰ μὲν δὴ ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κριτίου κατ' ἀκοὴν τὴν Σόλωνος ἀκήκοας, are not counted. Furthermore, in explanation of this first column of the table it should be stated that all the citations summed up in it are made by past tenses of the verbs λέγω, ἔρω, εἶπον, and φημί. Most of them are in the indicative mood, as ἔλεγον, εἴρηται, ἔλεχθῃ; others are past participles, as εἰπὼν, τὰ ῥηθέντα, τὰ εἰρημένα. All these words must refer to statements already made, and cannot therefore be qualified by the negative or the particle ἄν. Excluded from the table are also all infinitives and imperatives. Past tenses of these moods, indeed, often refer to previous statements, but they do not do so necessarily; and, at times, it is difficult to decide what their exact effect is, so that, on the whole, it has been found better to omit them. Their various uses may be seen from the following examples taken at random: Soph. 258 E, καὶ παντάπασί γε ἀληθέστατά μοι δοκοῦμεν εἰρηκέναι, this certainly refers to the past, but 222 B, τοῦτων ὅσπερ' ἂν ἡ φίλον εἰρησθαί σοι, τοῦτο ἡμῖν διοριστέον, refers to the future, or, at least, is not a citation of any preceding passage. Laws 737 A, εἰρήσθω δὴ νῦν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλοχρηματεῖν κ. τ. λ., 738 B, δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ ῥηθῆναι, are other examples that are not references. So, too, ἔδοξας λέγειν is a citation, but evidently a line of limit must be drawn somewhere, so for convenience it is taken in such a way as to include all past tenses of the indicative and all past participles of the four verbs mentioned above.

The second column of the table shows what percentage of these citations is formed by ἐρρήθη and its participle ῥηθείς and the third column gives the absolute number of these special forms. The

fourth column shows the cases of *ελέχθη* and *λεχθείς* when used as references, and the next does the same for *προερρήθη*, *προερίρηται* and their participles. A peculiar and rather harsh construction of *λεχθείς*, as an adjective qualifying a noun of masculine or feminine gender, e. g. *Phileb.* 52 C, *ἡδονὰς . . . ἀκαθάρτους ὁρθῶς ἂν λεχθείσας*, *Soph.* 219 C, *τέχνη τις κτηνικὴ λεχθείσα ἂν διαπρέψειεν*, is shown in the sixth column. Cases of the rare perfect passive of *λέγω* are given in the last column. Some of these, however, are imperatives, and it should be remarked that the last two columns are not restricted to citations, but include all instances of the forms mentioned.

With these statistics in view, the next step is to observe how they determine the order of the dialogues. The first six do not show any of the forms given in the table. These can, therefore, only be put into a group by themselves, while their relations to one another within it have to be left undetermined. The next few dialogues in the column owe their position to the fact that they begin to show instances of *ελέχθη*. Then, when *ἐρρήθη* begins it is chosen as a criterion, and finally the *λεχθείς*-construction shown in the sixth column becomes the test-word. Thus the early stages of each usage are considered to be most important, as it is then that the employment of the special word is most a matter of conscious effort. When any of the test-words becomes so frequent as to be used, say more than four or five times in a dialogue, it has evidently become well established in the author's vocabulary, and thereafter the number of times it is used will depend rather more upon the character of the dialogue and on various "accidents." Especially is it true that a conscious effort has to be made whenever a new synonym is introduced, and these citations are all more or less of synonymous meaning. A word used to convey a peculiar or novel sense might have long been in an author's mind before he would have occasion to use it, but a new synonym would seem to be introduced rather for variety or other artistic principle, applied as soon as its value was perceived. The columns containing *προερρήθη* and *λελεκται* have, in general, a tendency to confirm the evidence of the others, but, except for this, are not of so much importance in fixing the order of the dialogues.

After the use of any one of the test-words becomes well established, as in the lower part of the columns containing *ἐρρήθη* and *ελέχθη*, its decrease or increase, as noticed above, may be due to the special character of the dialogue itself. The *Laws* is rather

deficient in the number of aorist passives of both sorts, and the Phaedrus seems to have too many of them to warrant placing it before Books VI–X of the Republic. In the Gorgias there is an entire lack of ἐλέχθη, not to speak of several blank spaces in the column of προερρήθη, and an apparent excess of this same verb in the latter half of the Republic.

Some of these irregularities allow of an explanation. In the Phaedrus, for example, the excess of ἐρρήθη is merely part of a general preference for passive forms which this dialogue shows as compared with its immediate neighbors. Thus the Symposium has 7 citations in the passive out of a total of 29, Phaedrus has 20 out of a total of 39, Republic (Bks. VI–X) has only 15 out of a total of 80.

Most of these passives in the Phaedrus refer to the speeches of Lysias and Socrates. Now, Lysias is not present to explain objections to his proposition, and the words of Socrates are uttered under show of wild enthusiasm. In order, apparently, to avoid giving too much personal responsibility for the statements in these speeches Plato refers to them by a verb in the passive, for by so doing he keeps the authors more out of sight. Ἐρρηθήτην τὰ λόγῳ, λόγος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου ῥηθείς, and in the active ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰρηκότος τοῦ ποιητοῦ may be given as instances of this sort of indefiniteness. Among the abundance of passives in the Phaedrus it would be only natural to find more than the usual number of aorists, as that tense had become quite familiar at this stage of Plato's style. In compensation for this tendency to use passives the dialogue has therefore been moved one place upward in the series given in the table.

For the case of the Laws a different reason is at hand. 85 of its 324 references are made up of εἴρηται and its participle, while no other dialogue shows one-seventh as many of these forms. Their frequent occurrence in the Laws is due to its imitation of the precise phraseology of statutes and decrees. As such it can be easily paralleled by inscriptions belonging to Plato's lifetime, e. g. C. I. A. II 17, ὡς λύειν τι δεῖ τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι εἰρημένων (54), or II 38, μερίσαι δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰρημένον (19), or Mittheil. II 142, ὅς εἴρηται ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι (20). Consequently, this legal form of citation has the effect of diminishing the instances of ἐρρήθη and ἐλέχθη in this dialogue as compared with the Timaeus and Politicus.

II. Thus far the table has only been asked to show a gradual

change and development in Plato's style. If this is once granted, another argument, already made use of by Dittenberger, will lead to the conclusion that this series of the dialogues has a chronological meaning also. Some dialogues at the upper end of the list are known by tradition to be early and some at the lower end are known to be late. Hence the most natural course for any one who has advanced thus far is to conclude that the table shows approximately the order of composition of those other dialogues, about which there is no tradition now remaining.¹

The present paper, as we have seen, treats a number of words that are synonymous in so far as they consist of references to preceding passages or are peculiar forms of verbs of saying. Xenophon is so much more historical than argumentative, that the number and variety of his citations is too meagre to afford any basis by which to date his works even approximately. Since, then, the references shown in the table find no corresponding development in Xenophon, they can best be explained as a result of Plato's unusual love of variation, and not as a general change at work on all Greek prose at that time. When once taken up by Plato these special forms of citation seem to have been employed in gradually

¹ This method of arranging the Platonic dialogues in the order of composition by means of changes in their style was first used by Dittenberger, in *Hermes* XVI 321, through statistics of certain phrases containing *μὲν*. These phrases were not strictly synonymous, but their importance in showing time of composition was partly because some of them seem to have been taken up almost simultaneously by Plato and Xenophon after their early writings had been finished. Schanz, who made the second investigation (*Hermes* XXI 439), found that certain synonyms, *οὕτως*, *τῷ οὕτω*, and *ἀληθῶς*, *ὡς ἀληθῶς*, *ἀληθείᾳ*, were first used in but one or two forms, and that at a later period the others were introduced and used side by side with them, until at a third stage the earlier forms were wholly or partly supplanted by the later ones. Statistics of less relevant bearing on the order of the dialogues have been published by A. Frederking in Jahn's *Jahrb.*, 1882, p. 534. These show the usage of *μὲν*, of certain instances of *τε*, and of *εἶπον* (when employed for narrative, but not as a reference). C. Ritter's comprehensive book (*Untersuchungen über Plato*, Stuttgart, 1888) was unfortunately not accessible during the preparation of this paper. A full summary will be found in the present number of the *A. J. P.*, so that it will only be necessary to note here in what respects the above results are anticipated by his thorough and masterly treatise. The value of *ἐπρήθη* as a test-word has not escaped him, although his statistics give only the cases where it is used as a reference in a relative clause. His impression that *ἐπρήθη* and *ἐλέχθη* are pretty much limited to the last five dialogues in the list is, of course, superficial and erroneous. The *Charmides*, a dialogue placed almost at the beginning of his list, contains *τὸ λεχθέν* (162 E).

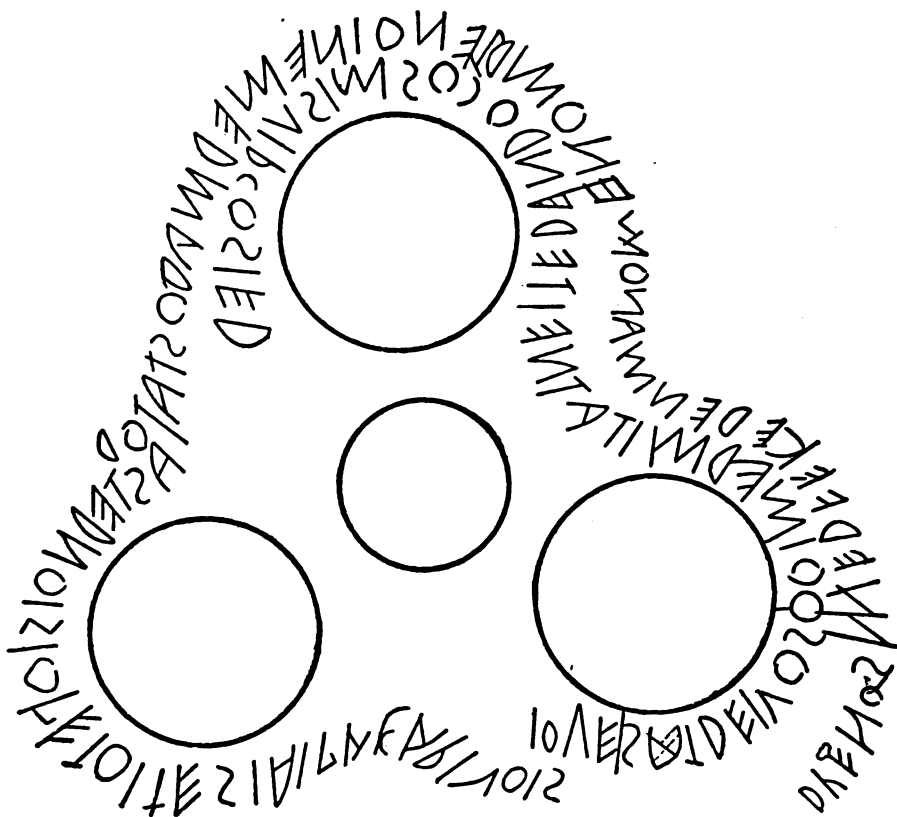
increasing numbers, so that the forms previously in use inevitably suffered a slight decrease, but were not at any time discarded, as in the case of some of the synonyms examined by Schanz. In other words, it was a mere question of variety, a growing richness in Plato's vocabulary, and not an effort to square with a prevailing fashion or attain new shades of meaning.

The arrangement of the dialogues, as given in the table, approaches much more closely to that of Dittenberger than that of Schanz. The short dialogue *Lysis* receives in the present scheme a somewhat earlier position than it has with Dittenberger, and is not so surrounded by dialogues larger than itself. The *Parmenides* is also placed here rather earlier, so that the suspicions which are current in regard to the authenticity of these two dialogues seem somewhat strengthened. Greater differences are found on comparing the present order with that of Schanz. In his arrangement the *Euthydemus* and *Theaetetus* are brought close together, and both are placed before the *Republic*. Moreover, the perplexing *Phaedrus* is put before the *Cratylus* and *Euthydemus*, although it is not easy to see how the statistics of Schanz afford any proof for such an early position.

The primary object of the above statistics is to assist in establishing an unquestioned value for the stylistic method of finding the order of the dialogues. When, by accumulated evidence, this has once been done, the second step should be to compare its results with those reached by dating the dialogues from their philosophic contents. If the two paths coincide at certain points, these places may be regarded as definitely settled; but where they diverge, of course an estimate of their relative accuracy must be attempted. As yet the results obtained by statistics in regard to style are too few and, in some minor points, too discordant with each other to call for careful comparison with such facts as have been established by the older system of investigation. In this contribution, therefore, all reference to the philosophic content of the dialogues, and to the various and opposing theories as to the development of Plato's philosophy, has been purposely omitted.

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III.—THE DUENOS INSCRIPTION.*



The Duenos inscription has been a standing puzzle ever since it was first discovered nine years ago. No fewer than eight different interpretations have been seriously brought forward and defended at great length. It has been variously regarded as an offering for the dead, a peace-offering, a lover's present, a vase to hold cos-

¹ An outline of this paper was read before the Cambridge Philological Society on May 23, 1889.

metics for a lady's table, and a modern forgery.¹ The divergence in the interpretation of the single words is even more striking; while from the archaeological standpoint, the only resemblance between the different theories is that all agree in holding the inscription to be practically unique of its kind, whatever the kind may be. Even Jordan, who has achieved far more real success than any other commentator, confesses that he can offer no parallel to the connexion he supposes between the two parts of the inscription, and can only give a meaning to the first part by the wild conjecture of a popular superstition of which no other record has survived. Some indulgence, then, may perhaps be claimed for any attempt to throw new light upon the riddle; at the worst it can hardly be called superfluous.

The vase consists of three round pots of clay, joined together in the shape of an equilateral triangle. It was found in 1880 in the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal hills, within the circle of the Servian wall. "No sepulchral monuments can have existed on this site, but the vase may have been transported thither in the midst of the mass of rubble which at different times in the classical period must have been thrown there to form the foundations of new buildings, such e. g. as were erected there under the empire" (Jordan, *Hermes* XVI (1881), p. 239 foll.) Other vases of similar workmanship, but uninscribed, were brought to light along with it, one of them precisely similar except that it has four compartments. Pauli, I think, has pointed out in connexion with the Duenos vase, and in any case it is well known, that the black clay of which it is made is specially characteristic of Etruscan pottery.²

The inscription runs from right to left round the outer edge of the pots, forming a band of letters round the upper half of their curved sides, the tops of the letters being turned outwards. Line 2 is on the same level as line 1, beginning a short distance after the end of it. Line 3 is outside line 1. The words are not separated, but the first six letters of line 3, the name *duenos*, are smaller than those next succeeding, and removed by a slight interval from the outside, i. e. the top of the letters of line 1. This difference

¹ See A. J. P. III 107 (Jordan and Bréal), 246 (Cobet), IV 354 (Bücheler), 360 (Osthoff).

² My friend, Mr. E. A. Gardner (Director of the British Archaeological School at Athens), tells me that it does not occur elsewhere except perhaps at Lesbos and (?) at Rhodes. In all that relates to the style of pottery, or the alphabet of the vase, I am deeply indebted to Mr. Gardner's learning and friendly counsel.

led Bücheler to suspect that the word was a later addition,¹ but the variation may be much more naturally explained as due simply to the difficulty of writing on a curved surface. The engraver first endeavoured to write the third line along the side of the vase, but finding this inconvenient because the two ends of his letters sloped in opposite directions, decided to follow the first line as closely as he could, so as to have the slope in one direction only. There are other traces of the difficulty of writing on such a ground; here and there the letters are run very close together, and there are five, perhaps six places in which the writer seems to have corrected a mistake.

The alphabet exhibits noteworthy characteristics: $q = r$ in Latin is peculiar to this inscription; the retrograde direction and the five-stroke m (\mathcal{M}) are found only here and on the Praenestine (*Numasii*) fibula. The oblique instead of rectangular character (e. g. \mathcal{A} , not \neg) occurs on only one or two of the oldest monuments. Further, we have $\varphi = q$ without any following u ; three forms for a (\mathcal{A} , Δ , Λ); $\mathcal{C} = c$ and g ; Δ (once \mathcal{C}) = d ; \mathcal{Z} and $\mathcal{Z} = s$; k twice corrected into c (in *pacari, feced*). In the last word but one, *malo*, there is a curious sign (\mathcal{A}) which was at first read as n (N), but seems clearly to be $\Lambda = \lambda$, corrected into a Latin $\mathcal{Z} = l$. These peculiarities, which at one time gave rise to the suggestion that the inscription was a forgery, are all plausibly accounted for by Comparetti's supposition that the engraver was a Greek by birth, a point which we shall find of great importance in determining our interpretation. But we may go a little further than this, simply on the strength of these alphabetic peculiarities. Two things are certain about the writer of the inscription. First, he was accustomed to using Greek characters; secondly, he was in this case consciously writing in a recognized Latin alphabet. As to the first, we ask at once what Greek alphabet was he familiar with? Certainly none of those in use in southern Italy, which were all ultimately Chalcidian and had \vee (\mathcal{V}), not Λ for λ , just as much as the Latin. Comparetti is content with this negative conclusion. But when we remember that the vase is of Etruscan workmanship, we remember also that in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. there was a large manufacture of vases in Etruria modelled expressly on

¹ He would actually substitute for it, to represent the original, which he supposes to have been obliterated, a composite proper name, *Retus Gabinius*, chosen to help the last sentence into 'the Procrustes bed of a Saturnian' (v. Rh. Mus. XXXVII, p. 235 foll.)!

Corinthian vases; and that if the actual potters were not Corinthians themselves (Pliny, Hist. Nat. 35, 152, gives the tradition of a Corinthian colony in Etruria founded in Olymp. 29), they worked under the traditions of the Corinthian school, and continually copied the Corinthian inscriptions of the originals they reproduced. Now, the Corinthian alphabet has always Λ and always also P (q or Δ), never R (\Re); further, five out of the nine m -signs on the Duenos vase bear distinct resemblance to the Corinthian m , in which the fourth stroke is shorter than the third, and the third than the first (M), to distinguish it from $M = \sigma$; Duenos writes m four times (in *milat*, *manom* (the first m), *einom*, and the first *med* in l. 3), elsewhere m_1 ; in these five cases the last two strokes vary slightly in size, but they show no prolongation of the fifth stroke below its junction with the fourth. Probably, then, he belonged to the Corinthian school of potters in Etruria, and this would incline us to give the vase as early a date as the language of the inscription will permit, since (I am told) there is hardly warrant for assuming that the Corinthian influence lasted beyond the fifth century B. C. In the second place, the fact that in correcting k into c the engraver must have been consciously following a recognized Latin usage, gives us noteworthy evidence as to the antiquity of the Latin alphabet: it was fully developed at the date of this inscription, whereas on the Praenestine fibula Latin is written in a Greek alphabet not yet naturalized, which is shown by the interesting use of FH for f . Our inscription, however, belongs to the oldest epoch of the alphabet, while c still represented both c and g , and the direction was still retrograde.

The text I read as follows, with three variations from Jordan's: *io uei sat* for *iouei sat*, with Deecke; *duenoi ne* for *dze noine*, with Bréal and Pauli; *malo* for *mano*, with Comparetti.

*io uei sat deiuos goi med milat nei ted endo cosmis uirco sied,
asted noisi ope toitesiai pacari uois.
duenos med feced en manom, einom duenoi ne med malo statod.*

Before proceeding to consider any new theory of the inscription it is clearly necessary to review briefly the progress that has already been made towards its interpretation.

The first translators, Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. XXXVII, 1881, p. 235 foll.) and Dressel (Annal. Inst. Arch. Rom., 1880, p. 158 foll.), rendered it as follows: *goi med milat* 'whosoever may offer me,' *Jovei Sat. deiuos* 'to the gods Jupiter and Saturn' (regarding

deiuos as dat. pl.), *ne virco cosmis sied ted endo, asted* 'let not a maiden accompany thee within, nor stand by thee' ('*comis* = *comes*, *ted* acc. governed by '*comes sit*''), *noisi Ope Toitesiai pakari uois* 'unless thou desirest to propitiate the goddess Ops Toitesia.' *Duenos med feced en manom* 'Duenos made me on behalf of a dead man' (literally 'a good man,' 'den seligen'), *einom* 'and, *dze noine* (v. inf.) 'on the ninth day,' *med mano statod* 'thou shalt offer me to the dead,' supposing *statod* the impv. of *stare* to be used in a transitive sense = *sistito*. 'Let not a maiden accompany thee, whoever thou (lit. 'he') mayest be, who shalt offer this vase to the gods Jove and Saturn, unless thou desirest to make thy peace with Ops Toitesia. Duenos made me for a dead man, and do thou (sc. the priest) offer me to the dead on the Ninth Day Festival.'

This view of the inscription, as describing some ceremonial in which the vase was to be used, has commended itself to the majority of its interpreters, though they differ widely in detail. Bücheler himself confesses that it 'lässt der Phantasie Spielraum'; he is in doubt whether the maiden is to accompany the worshipper in order to be herself sacrificed to Saturn, or whether her presence is commanded in order to conduct the sacrifice to the goddess Ops: the latter is identified with the Bona Dea from whose worship men were excluded. The second supposition sounds least unlikely; but we only learn from it why the maiden's presence is needed in the exceptional case (*noisi*) of an offering to Ops Toitesia; it remains a mystery why she should be expressly forbidden to take part in the ordinary sacrificial use of the vase, whatever that may have been: why should she want to? The last line, Bücheler, followed by Osthoff (Rhein. Mus., 1881, p. 481 foll.), Jordan (Hermes, loc. cit.), and Deecke (Zvëtaieff, Inscr. Italiae Inferioris Dialecticae, App. 16, p. 180), supposes to refer to the *novemdiale sacrum*, or offering to the *di manes* of a dead man nine days after his death (Porphy. Hor. Epode 17, 48). But what possible connexion has this with the curious direction of the first line for some imaginary sacrifice to Jupiter and Saturn? Jordan, indeed, argues at some length that the offering to Jupiter was on behalf of the survivors, whose time of mourning was ended by the Novendial solemnities, and that to Saturn on behalf of the dead, but can find no parallel for such a conjunction of ritual. He rejects as even more improbable the explanation offered by Dressel (loc.

cit. pp. 188-9).¹ On the whole, one cannot help thinking that the priest to whom the vase was given, if given it was, must have been left in considerable perplexity as to what he was to do with it.

The linguistic aspect of these interpretations is quite as discomfiting. The whole conjectural structure rests on the connexion of the last line with offerings to the dead, i. e. on the meaning given to *en manom* and '*dze noine*.' We may concede, to save time, that the writer had reasons for describing his dead friend as *manus* 'bonus,' rather than *mortuos*; but what is to be said of *noine* for *noune*, and *dze* for *die* in Rome, not Bantia (Osc. *Bansa*)? The history of the Latin diphthongs is obscure enough, but surely it is time some one plucked up courage to say that *noin-* cannot possibly come from *noun-* or *nouen-* (I. Eu. *neunno-*) in Latin late or early. And the sign read as *z*, *v*, if it was intended for that letter, is certainly a very weak attempt at it. Bréal, Pauli, and Comparetti, however fanciful their own theories of the inscription, have at least done good service by insisting that it is *u* (*v*) which had been at first omitted and was afterwards inserted as well as it could be between the *v* and the *z*. The reading of the last word but one as *mano* was equally essential to the ninth-day theory, and we have already seen reason to reject it in favour of *malo*.

The other three interpretations are too wild to be treated seriously. Bréal (*Mélanges d'école Française de Rome*, 1882, II, p. 147 foll.), who thinks the vase a peace-offering, splits up *cosmis uirco* into *cosmisu irco* 'commissi (!) ergo,' and *noisi ope Toitesiai* into *nois io peto ites iai*; the last two words he regards as dative plural 'precibus eis.' Pauli (*Altital. Stud.* I, 1883, p. 3 foll.) improves on this by reading *ites ia ! i* for *ites jam*, *i* 'mayst thou go, now, go at once,' addressed to the vase itself, which a lover is on the point of dispatching to his mistress as a valuable keepsake. Comparetti (*Mus. Ital. Antich. Class.* I, p. 173 foll.) prudently conjectures that the second line is a mere jingle of sounds, a magic charm without meaning, whose repetition by the owner of the vase would secure the success of the toilet for which it was used.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that no progress has been made because as yet no single theory can command

¹ That the mention of Jupiter in this connexion is due to Greek influence, Zeus being honored with his parents Ops (Rhea) and Saturn (Kronos), the rulers of the nether world. A similar theory, I believe, has been developed by Ring.

acceptance. On the contrary, several important points may be said to have been established, one by one, in regard to single words; and it is on these that the interpretation to be suggested in this paper has been based. Osthoff first attacked Bücheler's rendering, pointing out (1) the very doubtful character of the evidence for an Italic or Latin dat. pl. in *-os*. It rests merely on two inscrr., one Marsian, one Marrucinian, both of which can be otherwise rendered, while everywhere else the *i* of the ending *-ōis* is kept in all dialects. (2) the construction '*comes sum te*' (acc.) 'I accompany thee,' is impossible. (3) *cosmis* = *comis*, not *comes*. In the latter case the *-s-* and *-i-* of *cosmis* would be practically inexplicable. Osthoff's own rendering involved new difficulties and left the main objections to Bücheler's untouched.

Jordan's contribution to the interpretation of the inscription was one of great importance (Hermes, XVI, 1881, pp. 225-260). He first found an intelligible meaning for *endo* and a construction for *ted*, by translating *ted endo* 'towards thee'; *nei ted endo cosmis uirco sied* 'let not a maiden be gracious to thee,' and removed all the difficulties involved in the old translation of *asted* 'astet,' by the brilliant suggestion that it was simply an old form of *ast*, **aste*, as *posted* of *post*, and served merely as a particle of emphasis to introduce the conditional clause, *asted noisi* = 'es sei . . . wenn . . . nicht,' 'but not if,' 'that is to say, unless,' a sense which both the earlier and later use of the particle render very probable; compare the old legal formulae, e. g. that which Jordan quotes, *si quis in eo uim faciet, ast eius uincitur, dupli damnas esto*, and several similar examples in the XII tables; while its function in Augustan poetry simply to mark a slight break in the narrative, often no more than a change of grammatical subject, and in exclamations (*at te per deos oro*) is too well known to need illustration. Jordan's interpretation of the inscription as a whole is more picturesque but even more strange than Bücheler's. On his theory, the priest is forbidden to receive any favours at the hands of a maiden. Why he should be forbidden he cannot tell us. Since Jordan's paper, beside the corrections of reading already mentioned, there has been only one suggestion of any value. The first two words were always read *Jovei Sat.*, as though the second only were abbreviated. Deecke (ap. Zvët. l. c.) proposes *Jo. Vei. Sat.*, three abbreviations standing respectively for the names of the three gods worshipped on the Capitol, Jupiter, Vejove, and Saturn.

Having thus completed our survey, we may first ask what specific difficulties are left in the construction or interpretation of single words, to see if any of them may afford us a glimpse of new light. Among such points the following should certainly be mentioned: (1) the case of *deiuos*; Osthoff's rendering as an acc. of 'motion to' is unsatisfactory; (2) the antecedent and case of *goi* (which Pauli regarded as dat. sing.): if it is the subject of *mitat*, how can it refer to *ted*? (3) the discrepancy of *mitat* with *-t* from *sied feced* with *-d*; *a priori* we should have expected that Bugge's Canon would have applied to early Latin as well as the other Italic dialects, i. e. that here also we should have had *-t* as the ending of the 3d pers. sing. of primary tenses in the indicative (Osc. *faamat* 'dwells'), but *-d* in secondary tenses (Osc. *kumbened* 'convenit'), the subjunctive (Osc. *puttidd* 'possit'), and optative (Osc. *fuid sied*); the theory of Osthoff and Joh. Schmidt (Die Pluralbildung der Indog. Neutra, p. 178 footn.) that it is a survival from a period in which the subjunctive had primary endings, seems to me very doubtful, as it implies that in this point Latin was more conservative and less prone to 'levelling' than the other dialects; (4) the unparalleled sense of *mitat* 'offer,' and (5) the equally unparalleled use of *statod* as transitive; (6) the alleged dative *malo* (or *mano*) beside *duenoi*; (7) the comparatively late use of *en* (*in*) 'with a view to,' whether *manom* be masc. or neut., 'a dead man' or (Jordan) 'a sacrifice in honour of the dead.' Others might be added, but these at least, I think, may be all removed by a fairly simple hypothesis; namely, of the omission of a nasal before a following consonant (which is exceedingly common in Latin inscriptions, and regular in the other dialects), in *mitat* for *mitant* and *malo* for *malom*. The subject of *mitant* is contained in the preceding words. *deiuos* I believe to be *nominative plural*, with the original ending of the case in nouns of the *o*-declension. If we suppose *goi* to be nom. pl. also (with the regular ending of the case in pronoun stems), the clause *goi med mitat* will be attached simply to the preceding words. What kind of sentence have we then? Clearly a *negative wish* relating to some second person (*nei ted endo cosmis uirco sied*), prefaced by an appeal to or mention of various deities, that is to say, it is a *curse*.

If this suggestion be correct, we shall expect to find resemblances between our inscription and other ancient curses on record. What is the result of the comparison?

To begin at the beginning, Vejove and Saturn are in place as the gods of the lower world; it is such deities that are appealed to in all ancient curses without exception. The addition of Jupiter is paralleled in the curse recorded in Macrob. Sat. 3, 9, which begins *Dispater Vejovis Manes*, and ends *ovibus atris tribus Tellus Mater teque Jupiter obtestor*. *Virco* at once becomes intelligible; she is obviously Proserpine. But why is she called *virgo*, and not by her Latinized name *Proserpina*, and why the curious word *cosmis*? Because we have before us a *literal translation of a Greek formula preserved intact* in a dozen curse inscriptions from the temple of Demeter at Cnidos, given by Newton, Halicarnassus and Cnidus, II, 2, p. 719; Wachsmuth, Rhein. Museum, 1863, p. 570. Two of them perhaps may be quoted in full; they are most instructive.

(a) Newton 85, p. 734; Wachsmuth, l. c. p. 571:

ἀνατίθῃμι Δάματρι καὶ Κούρῃ τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ [εἰ]π[α]ντα, ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀνδ[ρ]ὶ φάρμακα ποιῶ θανά[σιμα]. παρὰ Δάματρα πεπρημένος μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ [ιδίων] πάντων ἐξα[πολούμενος], καὶ μὴ τύχῃ εὐειλάτου [μήτε Δάματος καὶ Κούρας μηδὲ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρὰ Δά[μα]τρος, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη ὅσια καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὁμοστεγησάσῃ ἢ ᾧ πο[τε] τρόφῳ ἐπιπλεκομένη. ἀνατίθῃμι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ] γράψαντα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα, μὴ τύχοι Δάματος καὶ [Κ]όρας μηδὲ θεῶν τῶν παρὰ Δάματος εὐειλάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ιδίων πάντων παρὰ Δάματρα πεπρημένος.

(b) Newton 88 and 89, p. 740; Wachsmuth, l. c. p. 572:

. . . Δά[μα]τρι καὶ Κούρῃ τ . . . τὸ ἱμάτιον ὃ ἀπώλεσεν, καὶ εἴκα μὲν ἀποδοῖ, εὐειλάτα αὐτῇ εἴη, εἰ δὲ κα μὴ ἀπ[ο]δοῖ, ἀνενέγκαι αὐτὸς π[α] Δάματ[ρα] καὶ καὶ (sic) Κούραν πεπρημέν[ος] καὶ μ[ὴ] τ[ὴ] ὑχ[ο]ι εὐιλ[ά]των] ἄχρῃς . . .

On the reverse:

. . . οἱ ὅσια, εἴ κα δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖ ἀν[ό]σια εἴη αὐτῇ καὶ καὶ (sic) τοῖς αὐτοῦ πα[σ]ι. καὶ ἀνενέγκαι πεπρημένος ἐπὶ Δάματρα καὶ Κούραν Κά[ι] μ[ὴ] εὐιλ[ά]του αὐτῆς τύχοι.

In nearly all the inscriptions, just as in these two, Κόρη is invoked, and the actual curse formula regularly contains the word εὐειλατος, a Doric derivative of ἱλαος, Att. ἱεως 'gracious, propitious,' of which *cosmis* would be an exact rendering. The formula generally runs μὴ εὐειλάτου τύχοι; the converse, invoked for those who comply with the conditions stated, is sometimes, as in (b) above, εὐειλατος εἴη, literally '*cosmis sied*.' It must be remembered that in older Latin *comis* had a stronger sense than in classical times; cf. e. g.

Livy 25, 12, where the institution of the Ludi Apollinares is described, '*ludi Apollini quotannis comiter fiant*' 'with liberality, abundance of festivity,' and the formula '*maiestatem populi Romani comiter* (loyally) *conservare*,' Cic. Balb. §36. *goi* may be either nom. pl., as we have seen, or dat. sing. (so Pauli regards it; cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, II 1, p. 3 footn.). The latter seems to me rather more probable, as then, if it be referred to *virco* as antecedent, the clause becomes part of the wish, and thus the subjunctive is regular.¹ The first line, then, I would translate: '*May the gods Jove, Vejove, and Saturn (grant) that Proserpine, to whom they suffer this vase to be despatched, show thee no favour.*' The ellipse, or rather absence, of the word meaning 'grant' is common in expressions of a wish. Indeed, it actually meets us again in the curse in Macrobius, already alluded to, where *ut* follows immediately on the names of the deities, and there is no governing verb of any kind in the whole context. *Dis pater, Veiovīs, Manes, siue vos quo alio nomine fas est nominare, ut omnes illam urbem Carthaginem, exercitumque quem ego me sentio dicere, fuga formidine terroreque compleatis*; this is followed by two similar clauses with *uti*, and the curse then continues, *eosque ego uicarios . . . pro populo Romano . . . do devoveo*. Exactly the same ellipse occurs in a prayer in Cato (R. R. 139, beginning *si deus, si dea es*). It will hardly be an objection to the similar use of *nei* after *Io. Vei. Sat.* in this inscription that the verb is in the third person; the principle is exactly the same; compare Catullus' wish, '*Iupiter, ut Chalybum omne genus pereat.*' *Mital* shows the regular earliest use of *mittere* 'to let go, suffer to go,' and the 'going,' we may conjecture, would mean simply that the vase was originally placed in a tomb, the regular place for communications addressed to the infernal gods. There must, I think, be other examples of prayers to one deity entreating him to influence others, like the invocation of the saints in the Roman church; the nearest parallel that occurs to me is Lucretius' appeal to Venus, that she will whisper to Mars, '*petens placidam Romanis, inclusa, pacem.*'

The second line states the condition whose fulfilment will avert the curse. Here, again, we have abundant parallels. Conditions appear in the Cnidos inscription quoted above (*b*), in three others

¹ The subj., however, may be defended even in the first construction. Plaut. Trin. 715, *bene quod agas eveniat tibi* is exactly parallel to *deius goi mita(n)t (faciant)*.

from the same source, in two Attic curses ('*Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς*, 1869, p. 333, Nos. 406 and 407), in the Oscan curse of Vibia (Zvét. Osc. 50), in a Greek curse from Cumae (C. I. G. 5773), and in the 'Lydney curse,' a small Latin inscription found in Cheshire (C. I. L. VII 140). I regret that otherwise I can add practically nothing to Jordan's translation of the line: '*unless indeed thou art willing to make thy peace with* (or '*make atonement to,*' or '*be appeased towards*') *Ops Toitesia.*' This rendering assumes that *ope* is dative, for *opei*, which is possible, and perhaps justified by the two forms *nei* and *ne*.'

It is possible, however, that *ope* is instrumental,' 'by Toitesia's aid.' Who or what *Toitesia* is, human or divine, or whether she really exists at all, no one yet knows. In any case, the -s of the termination, beside the -r- in *pacari*, if the words are to be so divided, shows that her home was not in Latin territory, or that if it was, the writer of the curse has employed the archaic form of her name. Bücheler's comparison of the goddess *Tutilina* (Varro L. L. 5, 163) and the god *Tutanus* (Varro ap. Non. 47) make it possible that we have here an epithet of the goddess Ops 'protectress,' and if so, the offence which provoked the curse may perhaps have been some violation of the rights or sanctities of her temple, and the three great gods might be naturally invoked to sanction the curse. But I am far from certain that the words are rightly separated.

The third line becomes clear directly we take *malo* as standing for *malom* before the following *st*-. '*Duenos made me (as a curse) against Manus, and let not evil fall to Duenos from me.*' *Manus* I regard as a proper name, *Manus* : *Manius*, as *Sextus* : *Sextius*,

¹ These, however, may have been originally distinct. The Oscan use of the particles *nī* = Lat. *nē* in form and sense, *nei* = Lat. *nī* in form, *non* in sense, **nē* in *nēp* and *nēpon* (Cipp. Abell.), 'nēue' and 'nisi quom' = *nē-que* in form, seems to me to point to three forms in proethnic Italic, **nē*, **nei*, and **nē*. Our own inscription gives us yet another in *noisi*, which is generally compared with the Umbr. *nosue* 'nisi.' The origin of them both is obscure. Jordan regarded the *oi* both in *noisi* and *vois* as a mark of provincialism, a dialectic phonetic variation of *ei*. I should rather prefer to regard **noi* as an original ablaut variant of *nei*, and compare *vois* Sansk. *veshi*: Lat. *veis* with *Φοῖκος*, Umbr. *vuku* (?): Lat. *vicus*. Umbr. *vinu* would then be borrowed from Lat. *vinum* (: Gr. *Φοῖνον*), as by the same rule we should expect the Umbr. word to be **vunu*.

² If we could suppose that *pacari* had the sense of *pacisci* it would be easier to take *ope* as an acc. standing for *opem* 'unless thou wilt promise aid to Toitesia.' But such an assumption seems to me doubtful.

Tullus : *Tullius*, etc.; *med* is instrumental ablative;¹ *en* has its natural sense 'against.' But why is this clause added? Because the regular formula of which this is a translation always concludes with the prayer that the author of the curse may not suffer from it. Such a clause occurs in the Cnidos curse (*a*) quoted above, and in six others from the same source; in a Greek curse from Bruttium (C. I. G. 5773), 'σῶς καὶ ἀθῶς εἶην'; in the Latin curse in Macrobius, and—practically—in the Umbrian curse in the Tab. Iguvinae VI B. 60 foll. Sometimes, as in one of the Greek curses (C. I. G. I 539), it is the engraver who is especially exempted. *Duenos*, however, is probably the author, not the *Graeculus* or Etruscan who wrote the curse for him, since the name is clearly Latin.

It may be further asked, what warrant we have for supposing such a translation of a foreign formula in a curse. The answer is one of the most interesting pieces of evidence in favour of this view of the *Duenos* inscription. The examples of such translations, to say nothing of mere appeals to foreign deities, are remarkably numerous; in fact they must form a considerable proportion of the total number of ancient curses that have come down to us. There are two from Alexandria, one on a papyrus addressed to Serapis (Petrettini, Vienna, 1826), the other on lead (Rhein. Mus. IX 370, XIX 481), addressed to both Greek and Egyptian deities, and beside the usual Greek forms of imprecation containing what appears to be a transliteration of some Egyptian incantation in Greek letters. Exactly the same combination may be found in two curious African gnostic curses, against rival jockeys and their horses, quoted in the Bulletin d. Corr. Hellénique XII, p. 299, 300. In Phrygia, again, a batch of sepulchral inscriptions have been recently discovered (Ramsay, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII, 1886, p. 381 foll.), where Greek epitaphs are followed by curses in Phrygian, directed against any violation of the tomb. The latter are sometimes entirely in Phrygian (ἵος νι σεμονν κρουμανει κακων ἀδδακετ εἰτετικμενος εἰτου), sometimes translated into Greek (e. g. p. 383, ὅστις ἂν τῷ ἡρώφῳ τούτῳ κακῶς ποιήσῃ, ὑποκαταρατὸς ἔστω), sometimes half-translated, showing a curious mixture both in grammar and vocabulary (e. g. pp. 386, 397, τοῦτου μνημίου as dative with the Phrygian ending of the case, ἦτω for ἔστω = Phryg. εἰτου, ταῖτη θαλαμειν, a Phryg. dat. fem. 'with affixed -ν'). The only explanation of this

¹ Compare the Plautine use of the ablative in the phrase, *si quid me fuat* Poen. 5. 2. 125, *si quid eo fuerit* Trin. 157, 'in my case,' 'in his case.'

must be that the curse was written by some native either wholly or partly ignorant of Greek. No such errors appear in the other part of the inscriptions. But the most striking example for our purpose is the Oscan translation of a very peculiar form of curse in Greek, (*ἀναβαίη*) *πεπρημένος πὰ* (= *παρὰ*) *Δάματρα* 'let him be sold as a slave to Demeter,' Osc. *Kerí Arentikai lamatir* in the Curse of Vibia (Zvét. Osc. 50), 'let him be sold to Ceres the avenger.' The Oscan inscription comes from Capua, and the reader will recognize that the Greek formula occurs in the same Cnidos inscriptions (*a* and *b* above) as contained the original of the Duenos curse. That is to say, we have indisputable evidence that the Cnidos formula was in use in central Italy in the second or third century B. C., which seems to me to place its connexion with our inscription beyond doubt. It is interesting to notice also that there is a whole class of Etruscan vases, discovered at Caere,¹ which show strong affinity with vases from Cyme in Asia Minor; and that Cyme was also the metropolis of the Italian Cumae. This curious use of foreign curses must be, I suppose, a part of the mystery of the black art. In primitive society a man who speaks a foreign language is almost as good as a wizard. The Roman employs Greek formulae in writing his curses, just as an Asiatic Greek employs a Phrygian, and an African Greek a Punic incantation.

Not to weary the reader further by labouring an obvious conclusion, I will only enumerate the remaining points in our inscription which are regular characteristics of a cursing formula. Such are: (1) the plurality of deities invoked (cf. C. I. G. 1034, nearly all the Cnidos inscriptions, and the Gnostic curses cited above, Zvét. Osc. 49, C. I. L. I 819, 820, and many others); (2) the number three, *Jo. Vei. Sat.*, corresponding to the three vases (Newton, l. c. No. 81, C. I. G. 538, Macrob. l. c.); (3) the mention first of several deities, then of one alone (Macrob. l. c., Newton, l. c. 82, 83, 85, 86), and the special appeal to Proserpine (C. I. G. 539, C. I. L. II 462, Newton, 86 (*δέσποινᾷ*)). The fact that our curse is on a vase, not a leaden plate, may perhaps be thought a slight difficulty; but this also can be paralleled. There is a curious curse on a lamp of the Augustan epoch, in which a man binds his genius

¹*ἀναβαίη* is generally explained (Newton, l. c.) from the custom which prevailed at auctions of slaves, of placing the slave to be sold on a conspicuous platform.

² Dümmler, Mittheilgn. Deutsch. Inst. Rom. Abth. 1888.

to accompany him to the nether world, Gerhard's Arch. Ztg., 1861, p. 167.

With regard to the date of the inscription, the new interpretation gives a fair amount of evidence. Newton places the Cnidos plates between 300 and 100 B. C., "though they may perhaps be later"; but no one can say how old the formula they contain may be. Taking the linguistic considerations by themselves, the rhotacism of *pacari*, if it be an infinitive, gives us 450-350 B. C. as the higher limit of date for our inscription,¹ and the *-os* of the nominative singular probably about 240 B. C. as the later. The *-oi* of the dative Duenoi has hitherto only been found in the much earlier (sixth century) inscription on the Praenestine fibula (*Numasioi*, v. Darbishire, Journal of Philology XVI, 1888, p. 196), and the nom. pl. in *-ōs* has not been identified elsewhere. It may, perhaps, be contended that all three forms are due either to Oscan influence, or to intentional archaism: to the former Jordan ascribes also the *-s* of *cosmis* and the *-o-* of *einom* and its use to mean 'and.' *einom*, however, if it is a borrowed and not simply an old Latin form, is definitely Umbrian; in Oscan we have always *inim*. But in all other respects, e. g. in the preservation of original diphthongs, the language of the inscription is very far removed from any resemblance to Umbrian. And none of the other points which Jordan relies on (*noisi, vois*) seem to me to indicate necessarily provincial influence rather than simply the antiquity of the forms. *feced, med, and ted* are distinctively Latin (contrast Umbr. *fakust*, Osc. *fefacus*). Again, the hypothesis of conscious archaism is more natural at a later epoch than the third or fourth century B. C., although in religious matters the use of ancient forms goes back to very early times. Taking into consideration the evidence of the alphabet, which has been already discussed (p. 448), I think we may assign the vase with some confidence to the beginning of the fourth century B. C.

Wachsmuth (Rhein. Mus., 1863, p. 568) has pointed out that all ancient curses fall into two classes, which may be called respectively retrospective or vindictive, and prospective or denunciatory. Curses of the former class attack a particular offender, and leave him no loophole for escape; they are most often found in graves. The denunciatory class exempt the offender from the effect of the curse if he fulfils certain conditions, and often refrain from mentioning him by name. These would be hung up in some con-

¹ Verner's Law in Italy, §45.

spicuous position on the walls of a temple to terrify him into complying with the wish of the curser. No doubt the Jackdaw of Rheims was assailed with this object. There is an amusing example (Newton, 82, 83) of two curses directed against the same man; the first is conditional, the second final. But besides these two classes there are curses like that of Vibia, which were found in graves, and therefore can hardly have been intended to be seen, but which, nevertheless, exempt the offender on fulfilment of certain conditions. The Duenos inscription, if it was originally placed in a grave, would stand on the same footing.

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IV.—ΣΥΛΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ ΕΞ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΩΣ IN ARISTOTLE.

Liddell and Scott, s. v. μεταλαμβάνω V, define τὸ μεταλαμβανόμενον as "a proposition changed from a conditional to a categorical form, An. Pr. I, 23, 11; hence συλλογισμοὶ κατὰ μετάληψιν syllogisms constructed by means of such change, ib. 29, 6." This definition is apparently taken without special verification from the note of Waitz, who renders τὸ μεταλαμβανόμενον "das Verändert angenommene," and is one out of several illustrations that might be given of the need of a revision of the definitions of philosophical terms in the lexicon. A closer scrutiny of Aristotle's usage will, I think, show that τὸ μεταλαμβανόμενον does not mean a changed proposition, but a term (or possibly a proposition) taken in place of another in an argument by consent of the disputants—ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. In itself the point is of little moment, but as the entire subject of συλλογισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως has been left in a very confused condition by Aristotelian commentators, it may not be amiss to attempt to state briefly just what Aristotle seems to have meant by the expression. The clue to his thought is found by disregarding the post-Aristotelian doctrine of hypothetical syllogisms and recurring to the Platonic usage.

Plato, except in mystical passages, has no absolute ἀρχαί. Logic is for him dialectic, and the ἀρχαί of dialectic are always conventions agreed upon by the disputants. All Platonic arguments are in a sense relative and *ad hominem*. The dialectician differs from the professor of a particular science, not in that he goes back to the absolutely unconditioned (as Mansel renders the ἀνυπόθετον of Rep. 511 B), but in that he is not tied to any particular set of ἀρχαί, the validity of which he refuses to examine. He is willing to push the argument back until some common ground is reached. The proposition thus found acceptable to both disputants, be it a definition, an axiom, or a wide generalization in some special field, becomes an ὑπόθεσις or an ἀρχή which must be allowed unconditioned validity while the consequences that flow from it are being examined; cf. Phaedo 101 D-E, where the ἰκανὸν of ἕως ἐπὶ τι ἰκανὸν ἔλθοις is the logical equivalent of the μέχρι τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου of the somewhat mythically expressed passage of the Republic.

In the dialogues these ἀρχαί or ὑποθέσεις are frequently fundamental Platonic doctrines (cf. ὑποθέσεως ἀξίας ἀποδέχσθαι, Phaedo 92 D), as the theory of ideas in the Phaedo, or the hypothesis of

the Republic and Timaeus that all human purpose and all the larger purpose that determines the process of the suns is directed towards one definite goal of good. And such passages have obscured the purely relative and logical significance of the method. A good example of the latter is afforded by the argument ἐξ ὑποθέσεως (86 E) in the Meno. Unable to formulate a satisfactory definition of virtue, Socrates and Meno agree that if ἀρετή is ἐπιστήμη it is a διδασκόν. From this point the arguments of Socrates are directed to (πρὸς) the relation of ἐπιστήμη to ἀρετή. A second hypothesis that ἀρετή is an ἀγαθόν is invoked, and the ἀγαθόν is referred through the concept ὠφελιμον to φρόνησις and ἐπιστήμη. Similarly in the Protagoras, it having been agreed that good and bad are equivalents of pleasurable and painful, Socrates concludes the argument by substituting the one pair of terms for the other. 355 E μεταλάβωμεν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα.

We have in these passages the thought and almost the terminology of Aristotle's doctrine. A proof, he says (An. Pr. 40^{b25}), may be given δεικτικῶς or ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. The *reductio ad impossibile* is one form of the proof ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, the hypothesis here being the falsity of the ἀντίφασις of one of the premises of the syllogism whose conclusion is to be verified. He then adds (41^{a39}) that in all proofs ἐξ ὑποθέσεως—ὁ μὲν συλλογισμὸς γίγνεται πρὸς τὸ μεταλαμβάνόμενον, which means, as I said in beginning, not that there is a change to the categorical from the hypothetical form of syllogism (a form not recognized by Aristotle), but that the syllogistic reasoning or the search for middle terms is conducted with reference to the term substituted by agreement. Waitz, it is true, after Alexander, understands τὸ μεταλαμβάνόμενον to mean rather a changed proposition than a substituted term. But in the passages he cites (29^{a23}, 40^{b39}, 41^{a6}) Aristotle uses πρὸς of a syllogism applied to a term rather than to a proposition (τοῦδε πρὸς τόδε), and this usage is more consonant with his view of the syllogistic process generally. The index of Bonitz, s. v. συλλογισμός, cites with mark of interrogation one example of πρὸς used in this way of a proposition rather than of a term (65^{b9}), and it is possible that Aristotle did not discriminate here. The language of 45^{b18} ἐν τοῖς μεταλαμβανομένοις ἔσται ἡ σκέψις (cf. 43^{a42}), suggests an examination of terms rather than of propositions. Be this as it may, Greek idiom, Platonic precedent, and Aristotelian usage assign to μεταλαμβάνόμενον the meaning "substituted" rather than "changed"; cf. 48^{a9} μεταληφθέντων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἑξεις explained by οἷον ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ὑγιείας εἰ τεθείη τὸ ὑγιαίνειν; 49^{b3} δεῖ δὲ καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν ἃ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται

ονόματα ἀντ' ὀνομάτων κ. τ. λ. Nor is the μεταλαβεῖν τὰς προτάσεις of 56^b opposed to this view.

At 45^b16 two kinds of συλλ. ἐξ ὑποθ. are distinguished, those κατὰ μετάληψιν and those κατὰ ποιότητα, with the further remark : ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ διελεῖν ποσαχῶς οἱ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. This design, again referred to at 50^a40, was never executed, and it is, accordingly, not easy to say just what Aristotle meant by the phrase κατὰ μετάληψιν ἢ καὶ κατὰ ποιότητα. It may reasonably be conjectured, however, that μετάληψις goes back to Protagoras 355 E cited above, while the subdivision κατὰ ποιότητα may well have been suggested by the language of the Meno 87 B, εἰ ποιοῖόν τι ἐστι τῶν περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὄντων ἀρετὴ κ. τ. λ. Aristotle had the Meno in mind while writing the Analytics, as appears from 69^a25, where this very argument is employed as an illustration, and from the reference to τὸ ἐν τῷ Μένωνι ἀπόρημα 71^a29.

The scholiasts, it is true, followed by Prantl, assert that σ. κατὰ ποιότητα constitute a division of the class κατὰ μετάληψιν and mean syllogisms ἀπὸ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον. This evidence is good to prove that such was the terminology of Theophrastus and the Peripatetics, but proves nothing for Aristotle. It is simply an inference of their own, as the words of Alexander (f. 133^a-b, Prantl Vol. I, p. 390) show : ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, τὸ ὁμοιον καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον τῷ ποιῶ παρακολουθεῖ. It is said in the Categories that ποιόν admits τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον, and the argument ἀπὸ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον was familiar to students of the Topics and Rhetoric, where it plays a great part. But it is altogether improbable that Aristotle would have designated the argument in this way in this one place, and altogether probable that his successors should invent this explanation of a tentative expression they did not understand. In short, Aristotle recognized no form of syllogism except the categorical, the direct comparison of three concepts in the relation of parts and wholes : cf. 49^b37 ὅλως γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἐστίν ὡς ὅλον πρὸς μέρος καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τοῦτο ὡς μέρος πρὸς ὅλον ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων δείκνυσιν ὁ δεικνύων.

The logical principle of the hypothetical syllogism was clearly stated by him 57^b1-3, but it was foreign to his purpose to classify syllogisms by this form. His proposal to classify syllogisms ἐξ ὑποθέσεως is merely a design to classify the hypotheses habitually or frequently admitted by Athenian disputants. But he got no further than the tentative proposal of the terms κατὰ μετάληψιν and κατὰ ποιότητα, which were suggested to him by the Platonic loci from which he took the entire conception.

PAUL SHOREY.

V.—ON THE FORMS *APTEMIS*, *APTAMIS*.

In Greek dialectology there are a number of words in which an interchange between *a* and *ε* plays a role. Many such cases can be explained as arising from different degrees of ablaut, the *a* being the representative of an original nasal or liquid vowel. But there remain a few instances in which no such explanation is possible, and of these the most important example is the name of the goddess Artemis. Numerous etymologies have been proposed for this word, without any of them having obtained general approval. That proposed by Plato (Crat. 406 B), who derived the word from ἀπρεμής, and understood Artemis as the Undefined, the Maiden, has been revived again in modern times by Preller and Welcker, but seems at present to rest under a cloud.

The following is proposed by Bury (Bzz. Beiträge VII, p. 341): "Βριτόμαρτις ist der kretische titel von Artemis. Wir sind also berechtigt *Apremus (aus Mpremus) zum lit. marti, 'mädchen,' 'braut' zu stellen. *ε* is schwā (vgl. dor. *Apramus)." But what is Mpremus? From Mrt it is impossible to obtain either *Apr- or Lithuanian mart-. If Βριτό-μαρτις and Lith. mart- have any connection, they must go back to mart, not mrt, which would give Lith. mirt-. Even if we could conceive such a monstrosity as mrt as the progenitor of *Apr-, Lith. mart- remains unaccounted for. So the probability of any such connection as is suggested is very small. In the interchange between *a* and *ε* Bury appears to see the varying representation of the "schwā" or "irrational vowel," as, for example, in γεν-ε-τήρ and θυ-ά-τηρ. To be sure, the treatment of the irrational vowel in Greek is not yet thoroughly cleared up, but that in the same word it should appear now as *ε*, now as *a*, is impossible.

Robert, in his new edition of Preller's Mythology, takes *Apramus as the original form, and derives it from ἀπραμείω. But the characterization of Artemis as "die Schlächterin" is to me utterly improbable. While in poetry Artemis is represented chiefly as a huntress, this is not an original attribute, as is shown by the various cults, especially that of Arcadia. Leaving, then, all these etymologies as too uncertain to be of any assistance in determining the priority of the two forms, I pass to an exact consideration of the preferences of the various dialects. In Gustav Meyer's Griechische Grammatik, p. 64, we find the following statement: "*Apramus aus

Inschriften von Kreta, Korkyra, Rhodos, Sicilien als allgemein dorisch erwiesen, ebenso auf boötischen Inschriften: ion. att. lesb. "Ἀρτεμῖς." The case, however, is not so simple, and I think that the following statistics¹ will show that the statement is at least inexact.

Ion.-Att. "Ἀρτεμῖς."

Aeolic (as represented in its purity by Lesbian). "Ἀρτεμῖς."

Arcado-Cyprian. "Ἀρτεμῖς" (only one occurrence; cf. Bull. corr. hell. VII 488 ff.; Meister, Gr. Dialekte, II 78).

Let us now consider the Doric dialects and those in which the Doric element is strongly represented.

1. Lakonian. 'Ἀρτεμῖς' (C. I. G. 1436); 'Ἀρτέμιδι (three times, Foucart in Le Bas and Waddington 162 a, d, j); 'Ἀρτέμιτι (twice, Fouc. 162 b, C. I. G. 1416); 'Ἀρτέμιδος (twice, C. I. G. 1444); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (C. I. G. 1364); 'Ἀρτεμιτίου (Fouc. 194 b); *in all, ten times* 'Ἀρτεμ-, *not once* 'Ἀρταμ-. These inscriptions are, indeed, of a late date, but with two exceptions written in the local dialect. Also in Alkman we find 'Ἀρτέμιτος (101 B, Bergk). In the chorus of the Lysistrata stand 'Ἀρταμιτίω (1251) and 'Ἀρταμι (1262), but the inexactness of Aristophanes' imitations of the dialects is well known.

2. Messenian. 'Ἀρτέμιδι (Fouc. 311 a; in the same inscription stands δ πόλις δ τῶν Μεσση-); 'Ἀρτέμιτος (twice, Fouc. 296).

3. Argive. Argos. 'Ἀρτάμι (Fouc. 109 a = Cauer² 57).

Epidaurus. 'Ἀρτάμιτος (Baunack, Stud. I 1, No. 71).

'Ἀρτάντι (C. I. G. 1172); but 'Ἀρτέμιδι (three times, Baun. Nos. 48, 98; Fouc. 147 a).

'Ἀρτέμιδος (twice, Baun. 52; C. I. G. 1173); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Fouc. 156 a¹).

Two of these inscriptions are written in the κοινή, and so to be left out of account.

4. Corinthian. Phleius. 'Ἀρτίμ[ιτος] (Collitz 3171).

Corcyra. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (twice, Coll. 3206, 3211), but 'Ἀρτεμιτίου, 'Ἀρτεμιτίω in the same inscription (3206).

Apollonia. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (Coll. 3221); 'Ἀρτέμιτι (Coll. 3222).

Acae. 'Ἀρτέμων, 'Ἀρτέμωνος (Coll. 3243, 3245); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος, 'Ἀρτεμιτίω (Coll. 3246).

5. Megara. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (Coll. 3026); but in an inscription recently discovered at Epidaurus and written in the Megarian dialect ('Εφ. ἀρχ. '87, 9; Baunack Stud. I 2, 220 ff.), are to be found 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (l. 73) and 'Ἀρταμίδωρος (l. 93). In the published text we find

¹ I am obliged to Dr. Joh. Baunack for kindly allowing me to look through some of his private indices to the scattered Peloponnesian inscriptions.

² It is, of course, necessary to include the proper names related to Artemis.

'Αρτεμίδωρος in both cases, but the stone has this spring been newly examined by Baunack, who has informed me that in line 93 the reading is certainly 'Αρταμίδωρος.

6. Crete. Gortyna. *Αρτεμιν (Law Code, III 6, 7).

Dreros. *Αρτεμιν (Cauer² 121, 25).

Eleutherae. 'Αρτέμιδι (C. I. G. 2565), also 'Αρτεμι[σ]ί[α] (C. I. G. 2568), but this is written in Attic κοινή.

The 'Αρταμίδιον on one of the "in dialektischer Beziehung ganz fragwürdigen Beschlüsse kret. Gemeinden die Steinmetzen der ion. Insel Teos eingehauen haben" (C. I. G. 3052, cf. G. Meyer, Gr. Gram. p. xxiii), should not be passed over in silence, but cannot be regarded as certain Cretan.

7. The other Doric Islands.

Rhodos. 'Αρτέμιτος (three times, Cauer 189, 190; Bull. corr. hell. '85, p. 100); but 'Αρτεμίδωρον (Newton, Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum 343, l. 62. Δαμάτριος stands in the preceding line). On the Rhodian vases we find very frequently 'Αρταμίδιον ('Αθην. '75, p. 222 ff.; Dumont, Inscriptions Céramique de Grèce, frequently); but also 'Αρτεμίδωρος (Dumont, p. 86, No. 74).

Anaphe. 'Αρτέμιτι (C. I. G. 2481, in the same inscription τὰς ματρός).

To sum up the statistics in reference to the Doric dialects, we find that in three of them 'Αρτεμ- is the only form found in the inscriptions (leaving the Teian inscription out of account), while in the others the two forms occur with nearly equal frequency.

'Αρτεμ- is also the regular and only form of the "Achaic-Doric κοινή," which was so widespread by the influence of the Achaean and Aetolian leagues.

1. Aetolia. 'Αρτέμιτος (twice, Coll. 1428 h).

2. Phthiotis. 'Αρτέμιδι (twice, Coll. 1464, 1465).

3. Aeneia. 'Αρτεμι[τίου] (Coll. 1435²).

4. Phocis. Abae. 'Αρτέμιτι (Coll. 1513).

Delphi. 'Αρτέμιτι (Wescher et Foucart, Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, No. 145); 'Αρτεμισία (W. and F. 74), 'Αρτεμίδωρος (five times, W. and F. Nos. 75, 182, 235, 239. 307); 'Αρτέμων, 'Αρτέμωνος, 'Αρτέμωνα (W. and F. 216).

From the period when actual local dialects were spoken in these regions we have only one example of the word, and that from Delphi, 'Αρτάμι[τος] (Cauer² 194).

We come now to the several mixed dialects, of which the Boeotian alone furnishes examples of the word. In this the form 'Αρταμ-

has its strongest representation. The Boeotians were actually more "Doric" than the Dorians. In the collection of Collitz we find for the name of the goddess about a dozen cases of the forms with *α* and not a single example with *ε*. Among the related proper names *'Αραμ-* occurs twice, and *'Αρεμ-* four times. But during the recent excavations carried on at Anthedon under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, two inscriptions¹ came to light which show the usual orthographical peculiarities of Boeotian, and at the same time have each the form *'Αρεμδι*.

Locrian, Elean, and Thessalian offer no examples.

Thus we have followed the word through all the dialects without having found one in which *'Αραμ-* is the only form, while *'Αρεμ-*, on the other hand, is the only form in three Doric dialects and in the Achaëic-Doric *κοινή*, not to speak of Ion-Attic, Lesbian, and Arcado-Cyprian. After these facts, can any one hold *'Αραμ-* as the distinctively Doric form, and regard the numerous cases of *'Αρεμ-* as borrowed from other dialects?

The Lakonian and Messenian inscriptions are late, to be sure, but show no trace of the Attic *κοινή*. For the Gortynian inscription any such influence is, of course, out of the question. Hoffmann (*De mixtis graecae linguae dialectis*) claims to find Achaëic influence in Cretan (he uses Achaëic in the sense of an independent dialect which he supposes to have been spoken throughout the Peloponnesus in the time of the Atreidae, and out of which the Arcadian and Cyprian arose), and so he might regard *'Αρεμ-* as a non-Doric element, but he has carried the sphere of dialect-mixture to an extravagant extent which will be approved by few.

If, then, as we have found, the form *'Αραμ-* has such a small representation compared with *'Αρεμ-*, we are certainly not justified in regarding the former as the original and building an etymology upon it, as Robert does. According to all probability *'Αρεμ* is the original form, and every attempt to find an etymology should take this as the basis. How *'Αραμ-* arose out of *'Αρεμ-* I do not venture to say; possibly by assimilation of the second vowel to the first. Be that as it may, I trust that it may not be without advantage to have the usage of the various dialects in regard to the word exactly stated.

CARL D. BUCK.

¹ See American Journal of Archaeology, 1889, No. 4.

NOTES.

ON APOLL. RHOD. III 744 FOLL.

*νύξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαίαν ἄγεν κνέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
 ναῦται εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Ἀστέρας Ὀρίωνος
 ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν· ὕπνοιο δὲ καὶ τις ὁδίτης
 ἤδη καὶ πυλαωρὸς ἐέλδετο κ. τ. λ.*

I observe that Prof. Weil, in *Rev. de Phil.* XI 5, here proposes to read *νύσταλοι* instead of *ναῦται* the MSS reading. I certainly agree that *ναῦται* cannot be right in spite of Gerhardt (*Lect. Apoll.*) and Wellauer, because I have not found *-αι* of the first declension long in thesis in Homer before a vowel, and here there is no pause in the sense to make it tolerable. At the same time *νύσταλοι* does not appear to me a fortunate conjecture. To say nothing of the extreme rarity of the word—in E. M. we have *νυσταλογερόντων* quoted where others have *νύσταλον γερ.* and in a passage of Diog. L. *νύκταλος* appears to be a mistake for *νύσταλος*—and therefore the improbability of its having escaped the notice of grammarians, if in Apoll., the reasons given by Prof. Weil for its adoption seem to me to be without weight. It is a question of taste, of course. Apollonius here gives a description of night, and sleep which envelopes everything makes a part of this description. But here there is an exception. Those must be excepted from the influence of sleep whose business it is to watch, namely, the sailors at sea, like the pilot Palinurus (*oculus sub astra tenebat*). Wordsworth says, “Dear God, the very houses seem asleep,” but if he had added that even the watchmen were drowsy, he would have spoilt his beautiful sonnet by a ridiculous exaggeration. So with Apollonius. To say that the sailors were drowsily looking at the stars appears to me to be very bad taste. Moreover, sleep is not mentioned at all until after the sailors, and then stress is laid on sleep, which is the natural accompaniment of night, and it is contrasted with the restlessness of Medea. What, then, Prof. Weil considers as a blot, is, in my humble judgment, an additional beauty, for the

watchfulness of the sailors contrasts well with the sleep that wraps up all other living things. But what must we read then? Merkel reads ναῦπλοι, after Porson (in Eur. Phoen. 849). This is an easy correction, but no better has been proposed hitherto.

R. C. SEATON.

ON βληχρός AND ἀβληχρός.

There is little doubt that the ἀ- in ἀβληχρός is euphonic, and that ἀβλ. and βλ. are the same word and connected both in form and meaning with μαλακός and ἀμαλός (where also we have ἀ- euphonic), see Curt. §457. Only ἀβληχρός is found in Homer, as epithet of χεῖρ E 337, of τείχεα Θ 178, of θάνατος λ 135 = ψ 282 "mild, gentle." βληχρός is found in Pindar (frag. 107 Bergk) βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί, where it is usually taken as meaning "sluggish" and compared with Horace's *ater flumine languido Cocytus errans*; in Alcaeus epithet of ἄνεμοι, in Hippocrates as a technical word of πυρετός and σφυγμός, and Plut. (Pericl. 38) has βληχρᾷ νόσφ. Again, we read in Ap. Rh. IV 152:

οἶον ὅτε βληχροῖσι κυλινδόμενον πελάγεσσιν
κῦμα μέλαν κωφόν τε καὶ ἄβρομον,

where βλ. has apparently the same meaning as in Pindar quoted, and there appears to be a reminiscence of π 16, ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῷ κ. τ. λ.; comp. Virgil's *languentis pelagi* (Aen. X 289), which refers, however, to the ebbing of the tide.

However, we find also quite the opposite meaning given by grammarians. Thus Etym. Magn. 200, 14, among several childish etymologies refers to Pindar for βληχρός, λυχρός, which may or may not be the passage above quoted, and on Ap. Rh. II 205, where it is said of Phineus ἀβληχρῷ δ' ἐπὶ κώματι κέκλιτ' ἀναυδος. Schol. has ἀσθενοποιῷ, ἀσθενεῖ κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ βληχροῦ. This interpretation is doubtless correct, but the etymology has arisen from ignorance that βληχρός and ἀβληχρός are the same word. Just as in Latin the epithet *languidus* is easily transferred, by a process of language too familiar to need illustration, to that which produces *languor*, and we find, accordingly, *languida quies* (Aen. XII 908), so ἀβληχρόν is a natural epithet of κῶμα. Again, compare Ap. Rh. IV 621:

ἥματα μὲν στρεύγοντο περιβληχρόν βαρύθοντες
ὁδμῇ λευγαλεῇ.

Here Merkel translates περιβληχρόν "graviter" (in the sense of

ισχυρῶς), and says "aut alternavit vocabuli sensum Apollonius aut scripsit ἀβλήχρῳ δ' ἐπὶ κώματι." Such an alternation of meaning is just the sort of pedantry that Apollonius loves, but it appears to me that here Ap. is not guilty and that Beck is more correct in translating "languide gravati odore tristi." The result seems to be, then, that there is no real trace of βληχρός = ισχυρός in Greek literature, but it has arisen from a non-recognition of the fact that ἀβληχρός and βληχρός are the same word, and that in the passage of Pindar quoted βλ. = ισχυρός does not happen to make nonsense.

R. C. SEATON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Untersuchungen über Plato. Die Echtheit und Chronologie der platonischen Schriften von CONSTANTIN RITTER. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1888.

More than once in this Journal has attention been called to the statistical method which scholars have been applying for the last eight or nine years to the questions of the Platonic canon. Employed for the first time by Dittenberger in a memorable article—Hermes 16, 1881, S. 321–345 (see A. J. P. III 376)—this method has been followed by Frederking,¹ who, however, enters a caveat against premature conclusions (Jahrb. 1882, S. 534–541; see A. J. P. VI 387), by Schanz (Hermes 21, 1886, S. 439–459; see A. J. P. VIII 506), and latterly by Gomperz (see A. J. P. IX 378). The unmetaphysical mind, perhaps even the metaphysical mind, grown weary of the endless football game in which each player has a different goal, is now-a-days inclined to acquiesce in any plan that seems to promise positive results, even of the most modest character. The solution of the problem as sought by historical data, by the development of thought is almost hopeless, if we are to judge by the divergent order of the Platonic dialogues as laid down by the different scholars who have occupied this field of research. If we put the short dialogues first, who is our surety that Plato did not amuse his riper years with essays for less advanced students? Do we not find great scholars of our own day, after a reputation made by abstruse researches, turn to the preparation of elementary manuals? And as to the contents, do we not know that Baur preached one thing to his village congregation and taught another thing from his chair at Tübingen? Do we make ardor and swing the test of style? Nothing is so perilously like a young man's fervor as an old man's fervor—and has it not been said of Pindar that he returned in his old age to the manner of his youth? The various estimates of the time when the Phaedrus was composed—estimates made by men admirably qualified to judge by reason of sympathy, of feeling for style—go ludicrously far apart, and Parmenides, which is generally put late, has been put early, and finally turned out of the Platonic canon altogether. No sooner do

¹ Grundsätzlich stellt sich Frederking übrigens auf denselben Boden wie Dittenberger; nur verlangt er eine weitere Ausdehnung der grammatisch-stilistischen Bemerkungen. So Ritter, S. 60 (note), who finds that of Frederking's proposed tests *μῶν*, *τε* without a corresponding particle and parenthetic *ἐπὶ* = *inquam* (*ἐπεὶ*, *εἰπεῖν*), two, *μῶν* and *ἐπὶ* as characteristic of a younger stratum are very valuable. Roeper's theory that in his earlier authorship Plato used the dual with moderation, then gradually abandoned it, and finally returned to the employment of it with more freedom than ever, does not meet with much favor at Ritter's hands, and it must be acknowledged that the stylistic conditions of the dual vary so much that it is perilous to build any conclusion on the varying occurrence. One thing Roeper has shown in his highly interesting and valuable monograph, that Plato's use of the dual generally is largely artificial, as may be seen by the categories employed. This indication of a conscious working with the elements of style is of great importance in the estimate of Plato's authorship, and for the study of antique methods of composition in general.

we speak of a substantial agreement as having been reached than some authoritative voice forbids the banns, and the average scholar picks up each new contribution to the controversy of the canon with a sigh that is almost as doleful as that which rises from the *Malebolge* of the Homeric question. From the statistical method one can at least learn a little Greek, and to those whose business it is to teach Greek, that is a matter of some interest and importance. To be sure, most persons will not be satisfied with that incidental good, and those who have got into the habit of decrying the dreary statistical method will ridicule results that are based on tables of particles. But to any one who has faithfully applied the statistical method and kept his mind open to the many cross influences that are always to be considered in drawing the final inferences, there is no author in the range of Greek literature to whom that method may be more fitly applied than Plato. We have in the corpus of his works the documents of a very long career through which it seems impossible for any human being to have passed without marked changes, and the human being whom we have to consider was, with all the serenity of his temper, a true artist in the mobility of his genius. My friend, Professor Shorey, thinks me rather fanciful in connecting Plato's peculiar use of $\tau\epsilon$ in the *Timaios* with the Lokrian origin of *Timaios* himself.¹ This is not more fanciful than the notion that Xenophon, not to be mentioned as an artist in the same breath with Plato, is given to similar dialectic touches (see Simon, *Jahrb.* 1888, S. 746 *d' propos d' ἀχρη*), and even Professor Shorey does not decline to recognize the movement imparted to the great prose poem by the epic use of the particle. Now this mobility, which is readily recognized in special deviations, such as the one cited above, must have manifested itself under certain streams of influence—removed from the author's own ken, and hence indefinitely more valuable to us as indices of development; and it is in these tricks of speech, acquired and dropped, that we are to look for guidance as to chronology. Of course, whenever intent comes in, we must suspend our research and seek another set of causes, and all along we must bear in mind the artistic conditions of each dialogue. Mere frequency is not a safe test; it must be controlled by the sphere.²

¹ See my note on *Ol. IX* 43 and Professor Shorey's remarks *A. J. P. IX* 410 (note). My observation was made independently of Frederking (*l. c.* 537). Oddly enough, according to Frederking, the greatest relative frequency of this use of $\tau\epsilon$ (combining single words) is found, outside of *Timaeus* and *Critias*, in the *Laws*, a work in which another Lokrian is said to have had a hand.

² Zeller, in the last ed. of his *Philosophie der Griechen* (Zweiter Theil, Erste Abtheil. 1889), which has just come to hand, will not grant to the statistical study of Plato's language the determining voice in the investigations as to the chronology of the Platonic writings. He admits the postulate, as to the change in Plato's style (p. 512), but contends, as Frederking has done, that the range of observation is too narrow. He does not appreciate or does not concede the importance of the categories already investigated. Hundreds of words and phrases must be statistically fixed, inflexion, periodic structure, hiatus, inversion, etc., etc. All these things together give to the style of an author its form and pressure, and it only when his writings show a steadily progressive change in all these directions that we can determine thereby the chronological succession. And then he goes on to emphasize the cross currents, the changes due to popular or scientific treatment, to rhetorical or artistic character, the frame of the author's mind, external occasions, the recent reading of books, the resumption of previous writings or sketches, all the various unseizable influences that determine the association of ideas in language. In order to get one's bearings in such an investigation the true plan would be to experi-

And now we turn to the book that has called forth these remarks, Constantin Ritter's *Untersuchungen über Plato*, in which the author has gathered up the results of the statistical inquiries of Dittenberger and others and has added new material of his own.¹ As to the method itself he has no doubts. He considers this road to be built on solid ground that cannot be moved, and puts aside objections that are raised on the score of accident and arbitrariness. Such objections come from those who have never engaged in an investigation such as this.

The first observation pertains to *ὅτι* and *ὥς*. According to Ritter's count *ὅτι* occurs 14 times in the Laws as against 16 examples of *ὅτι*, a startling statement on general principles, for, in making the needful distinction between *ὅτι* and *ὥς*,² and pointing out the combinations in which that distinction is not dormant, the vast prevalence of *ὅτι* is rightfully insisted on, and this is the case in most of the Platonic dialogues. Indeed, most of them know nothing of *ὥς*. The Rpb. has only 2 (366 D and 370 B), and 47 passages with *ὅτι*. In VIII 550 D *ὥς* is 'how,' as Ritter points out. In the Polit. twice (10 d. δ.), Philebus 5 times (8 d. δ.), Soph. 8 (10 d. δ.), Tim. 4 (1 d. δ.), Critias once (no d. δ.).

σχεδόν is very common in the Laws. In the Republ. *σχεδόν* : *σχεδόν τι* (or *σχεδόν . . . τι*) :: 7 : 12, and in the other dialogues *σχεδόν* generally has *τι*, but in the Soph. (26), Phileb. (14), Polit. (13), Tim. (9), the bare *σχεδόν* occurs often.

The use that Dittenberger has made of the occurrence of *τί μὲν*; *γε μὲν*, *ἀλλὰ μὲν* is well known (see the passages already cited). These particles are wholly wanting in some of the Platonic dialogues, and all abound in Laws, Phileb., Polit., Sophistes, and it may be added that D.'s results have been confirmed and further inferences drawn by Gomperz in the article to which reference has been made, and of which Ritter had, indeed most likely could have had, no knowledge. Gomperz arranges the Platonic dialogues into two groups according to the entire absence of all three combinations or the presence of all or

ment with writings the date of which is known, as, for instance, the writings of Goethe, and I would add to these very disillusioning words of Zeller that until this is done and done satisfactorily, there will always be cavil at the method. Ritter says that an examination of a modern author would doubtless yield similar results (p. 28), but who would not prefer trial to assertion? At the same time much can be urged in favor of the special line of observation followed by Ritter and his predecessors, inasmuch as it runs chiefly along the unconscious elements of style.

¹ Professor Lewis Campbell, himself the first, in his edition of the Sophistes, to make large use of the element of language in determining the later group of Platonic dialogues, has naturally taken a deep interest in Ritter's researches, which he has manifested by a notice in the Classical Review, III, p. 28, and in an article in the Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society, 1838-9, p. 25 foll.—an article which appears expanded in the new *Bibliotheca Platonica*, ed. by Thos. M. Johnson, Osceola, Mo., Vol. I, p. 1 foll. 'When minor differences and uncertainties are discarded,' he says, 'there remains a strong consent of evidence in favor of placing Soph., Polit., Phileb., Tim., Critias, Leges in a separate group,' and 'Ritter shows also some grounds for grouping Phaedr., Theaet. (Parm.), Republic.' The resemblance of Phaedr. to the later manner is accounted for by the fact that 'Plato is caught by a fascination at which he himself is laughing all the while.' 'These peculiarities are but the decorations of a sort of carnival dress that is worn for this occasion only,' but the Plato who came to scoff remained to pray at the shrine of rhetoric, and we witness a 'gradual prevalence over Plato's style of the rhetorical artificiality which in the earlier periods he had alternately ridiculed and coquetted and played with.'

² A. J. P. VI 487. The frequency of *ὅτι* in the Sophistes struck me years ago.

any one of them, brings into the range of his consideration some of the dialogues omitted by Dittenberger, and corrects D. here and there. To be sure, the Rpb. has its share (.50 to the page), and Phaedrus is not exempt, but Politicus, Sophistes, and Philebus stand out boldly, all three being about .90 to a page, while the Laws falls below the average of the Rpb. for reasons that can readily be understood. (For the statistics see Gomperz l. c. p. 23.) Other criteria observed by Dittenberger are the occurrences of *καθάπερ* and *ὥσπερ*, of *ἔως*, *ἕωςπερ* and *μέχριπερ* and of *τάχ' ἂν ἴσως*, all confirmatory of the common character of the four dialogues mentioned, and all serving to draw the Timaeus and the Critias into the same stadium of Plato's authorship.

Schanz's groups of tests consist of *τῷ ὄντι*, *ὄντως*, and of *ἀληθῶς*, *ὡς ἀληθῶς*, *ἀληθεία* and *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, according to which Leges, Philebus, Polit. and Tim. form a special group among the Platonic writings. Sophistes is pushed further back because of the allusion in Polit. to the methods of the Soph. (*διαίρειν κατ' εἶδη*), which allusion involves a certain lapse of time. But so far as the language is concerned the dialogue belongs to the same general group of late compositions, though it may be early among the late.

Other earmarks of later origin are *μακρῶ* and *μυρίῳ*, which occur occasionally with comparative and superlative instead of the consecrated *πολύν* and (with the comp.) *πολλῶ*. *μακρῶ* occurs 4 times in the Laws, twice in the Rpb.,¹ twice in the Phileb., once apiece in Theaet. and Tim. *μυρίῳ* twice in the Laws, once each in Phileb., Polit., Rpb. VII 520 C. For strengthening the superlative *ὡς*, *ὅτι*, *ὡς οἶόν τε*, *εἰς* and *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*, *εἰς* and *κατὰ δύναμιν*, and *ὡς δυνατόν* are all employed, but *εἰς δύναμιν* and *κατὰ δύναμιν* very often in the Laws and noticeably often in the supposed later group. *χρεὼν ἔστι* for *χρή* swarms in the Laws, and in the same work *πρέπον ἂν εἴη* is preferred to *πρέποι*.² In the Laws *κάλλιστος* is often strengthened by *ἄριστος*; a peculiarity shared by Tim., one example being found in Phaedr. 257 A and one in Symp. 199 A. In the Laws *τὰ νῦν* occurs with disproportionate frequency, and in the same work *πότερον* and *πότερα* vary according to the principle of avoidance of hiatus, though elision would have made *πότερα* inoffensive in that regard.³

Old is the observation of the frequency in the Laws of the datives in *-οισι*

¹ Ritter's figures are IX (5) 58 E and (5) 78 B. 558 E is not in Bk. IX and the reference is wrong. Ast supplies another *μακρῶ*, Rpb. V 461 E.

² This is a part of the fondness for periphrases so noticeable in the Laws. I began a collection many years ago, but soon had enough for my immediate purpose, the use of the periphrastic perfect opt. with *ἂν*. Any one who will look at Professor Alexander's paper on Participial Periphrases in Attic Prose (A. J. P. IV 291-308) cannot fail to be struck with the frequent occurrence of the Laws in his citations. As Ritter says: *χρεὼν ἔστι* verhält sich zu *χρή* ganz wie *πρέπον ἂν εἴη* zu *πρέποι ἂν* u. wir bemerken hier eine *Schwerfälligkeit u. Umständlichkeit* des Ausdrucks, welche ich für den *späteren Stil* Platos geradezu *kennzeichnend* finde (S. 74). That these periphrases, however, are not all to be put into the same category, and that something has to be granted to the sphere as well as to the period, will be abundantly evident to those who have read Alexander's article.

³ Blass, Att. Beredsamk. II 426, notices a special avoidance of hiatus in Phaedrus, Laws, Philebus, Sophistes, Politicus. In the Phaedrus he attributes it to the influence of Isokrates on a dialogue in which Isokrates is complimented, and not necessarily to the later date of composition. The others fall under the general rubric of speeches and not real dialogues (Plato's spätere Dialoge nähern sich übrigens zum Theil auch schon in der äusseren Form der Kunstrede).

and -αισι.¹ The exact number is given by Ritter, 85 in all, the mass of them in the latter six books.

There is a great variety in the formulae which refer to what has been said before, e. g. ὡς λεγω, ὥσπερ ἐλέγες, καθάπερ ἐλέγετο, ὅπερ εἶπομεν, ὧν εἴρηκα, ὃ εἴρηται, καθάπερ ἐμνήσθην. διήλθον, διεκλήλυθα and διήμην also occur. But the imperfect forms are most common, Rpb. 43, Gorg. 19, and in some dialogues they are used exclusively, as in the Euthyd. (7), whereas in the Laws the imperfect forms retreat and the forms of εἶπον come to the front, and the same is true of Criti., Phileb., Polit., Soph., Tim. In the same group εἴρηται is used. Leg. (11), Tim. (3), Polit. (3), Soph. (1), Theaet. (1), Phaedr. (1); ἐμνήσθην occurs Leg. (8), Criti. (2), Phileb., Soph., Tim., Theaet., Rpb. once each. Elsewhere lacking.²

τάχα' ἴσως occurs only in later dialogues, according to Dittenberger; Ritter adds the observation that in the later dialogues τάχα varies more frequently with ἴσως than in the earlier dialogues and occurs oftener. In the majority of the dialogues τάχα : ἴσως :: 1 : 10; in the Laws, Phileb., Polit., Soph. 1 : 2.

All the writings of Plato have the form of dialogues, but in some of them the dialogue has a mere name to live. So in the Tim., the Critias. In some of them, as in the Sophistes, the many questions only serve to mark the heads and the progress of the dialogue, a surrogate for the rhetorical *propositio* and *partitio*, or, to put it in Grote's way, the dialogue of this class 'includes no antithesis nor interchange between two independent minds, but is simply a didactic lecture put into interrogatory form and broken into fragments small enough for the listener to swallow at once, he by his answer acknowledging the receipt.' Very different is the case with other dialogues in which there is true dramatic action, and though Sokrates' opponents are often but quintains, quintains hit back and many of them are living personages. Now in making an estimate of the recurrence of such dramatic formulae as *τί μὲν* Ritter has seen that the mere counting by pages will not suffice. This has been done by Dittenberger, and as a preliminary is thankworthy, but if we are to get to the bottom, we should have to count all the equivalent formulae, all the opportunities of use, and take the proportion of each actually employed. It is no wonder that Ritter has declined to enter on this tedious and difficult research, and has contented himself with observing the more common formulae employed in answers, with the result that certain formulae, *ἐγωγε*, *οἶμαι ἐγωγε*, *ἐμοίγε*, *ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ*, *δοκεῖ μοι*, with their negatives do not occur a solitary time in the Laws with 569 formal answers.

It is not my purpose in this paper to give all the details of Ritter's investigations. Suffice it to emphasize the statement which he makes on p. 26 that there are no less than thirty points in which Laws, Philebus, Polit., and Soph.

¹ It is not surprising to find these datives in the Laws, which might well be supposed to be influenced by the old legal style (see Meisterhans, ² p. 94). 'Stallbaum tries to account for this by the nature of the subject and by the gravity of phrase belonging naturally to a book on legislation. But this feature is present more or less in all the six dialogues.' Campbell, *Bibl. Plat.* p. 15.

² Some three years ago Dr. Geo. B. Hussey, then a Fellow of the Johns Hopkins University, while engaged in a most laborious study of Plato's use of continued metaphor was led to investigate this very point of Plato's use of the verbs of saying, and the matured results of this investigation are presented in a paper read in the summer of the current year (1889) before the American Philological Association and published in the present number of the A. J. P.

show a common difference from the majority of the Platonic dialogues. The greater part of these points pertain to the formulae for question and answer, and of course these have little scope in the *Tim.* and none at all in the *Critias*. But in the other peculiarities *Tim.* shares, such as the more frequent occurrence of (1) *γε μὴν*, (2) *καθάπερ*, (3) *μέχριπερ*, (4) *ὅντως*, (5) *ἀληθῶς*, (6) *ὅγλον ὤς*, (7) *σχεδόν*, (8) *εἰς* and *κατὰ δύναμιν*, (9) *τὰ νῦν* or *τὸ νῦν*, (10) *εἰρηται* and *ἐρρήθη*. Then *Tim.* has certain peculiarities in common with the *Laws*, and the language of *Critias* and *Tim.* is essentially the same.

In pressing home his argument Ritter dismisses almost cavalierly the thought of accident, and does not show much more consideration for the other notion that Plato, in order to bring about an external connexion between an earlier and a later piece, deliberately revived an abandoned manner, though he does admit the possibility of such a rejuvenescence in a few details, and in my judgment it is well that he does so. Plato was after all a conscious artist. But most of these changes are unconscious, and towards the close of his career Plato could not have written in his earlier manner without painstaking and tedious studies, such as modern observers are now making as to Plato's style. Indeed, Plato would not have been the genius that he was if he had thus laboriously mimicked his former self without any important object. True, one might cite against Ritter the famous sneer of Dionysios at Plato for combing and curling his dialogues to the end of his days, but this is worse than combing and curling, and few will believe that Plato saved up, as some of our modern ladies do, all the hairs that had dropped from his dialogues in those long years and made of them new locks for the dialogues of his old age.

Ritter, then, considers it as settled that *Laws*, *Philebus*, *Polit.*, *Soph.*, *Timaeus* and *Critias* form a special group among the Platonic writings and belong to the last stadium of Plato's authorship. He now applies the same method to *Rpb.*, *Phaedrus*, and *Theaet.* Of 40 points in language which are noticeable for their joint occurrence in *Laws*, *Phileb.*, *Polit.*, *Soph.*, and so far as opportunity offers in *Tim.* and *Critias* also, 24 occur in the *Rpb.*, 20 in *Theaet.*, 18 in *Phaedrus*, 6 in *Phaedo*, 4 in *Cratylus*, 4 in *Laches*, and one apiece in *Charmides*, *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Euthydemus*, and *Gorgias*. One apiece does not count, and ought not to count, and Ritter considers himself justified in making a second class out of *Phaedrus*, *Rpb.* and *Theaet.*—though it might be remarked that if proportion has anything to do with it the *Rpb.* should be put first. But the *Rpb.* suggests at once the question whether this statistical method gives any support to the familiar theory that the *Rpb.* was not composed at one jet, and that the work is made up of different groups composed at greater or less intervals. This is a view that goes back to K. F. Hermann, that has been advocated by Krohn, Siebeck, Schanz, Pfeiderer, a consensus that is of the more importance because these scholars get at their result for the most part by different roads—Schanz taking the very road that we are now pursuing. But Ritter's observations point to an extraordinary agreement as to usage in all the details to which so much importance has been attached during the whole investigation. And with the exception of the first book, which stands by itself in respect of certain usages, there is in his view no such diversity as would entitle us to accept the theory of a long interval between the parts of Books II-X. This will be unwelcome news to some Platonic scholars, who would rather abandon the whole method of statistical research than give up the

seductive theory of a break or breaks in the composition of the Rpb. Of course there will not be lacking those who will endeavor to reconcile the science of statistics and the religion of a favorite theory, but Ritter refuses to regard such attempts with favor. It may have been that Rpb. was published in different sections, the first extending to V 471 A, and an interval of some years may have elapsed before the publication of the rest, and Bk. X is unquestionably an appendix, as is shown both by form and contents; but even if Bks. II-IX were written continuously, Ritter does not think that a long time was necessary for the completion of this last book, which the author may have considered an appropriate close to the whole.

Ritter's interesting chapter on the character of the language of the spurious and doubtful writings found in the Platonic corpus must be despatched in a brief summary. It is hardly worth while to waste time on Axiochus and Halcyon. Demodocus is condemned by the *elpe* test. Sisyphus has caught 'the Platonic coloring,' as Hermann remarked, though it is open to objections on lexical grounds. Eryxias, a good imitation of Plato's style, shows a mixture of earlier and later formulae, to say nothing of the vocabulary. *περὶ ἀρετῆς* and *περὶ δικαίων* are true to the earlier manner except in a few points. Alcibiades II, so far as Ritter's tests go, might be put towards the end of the first series of the Platonic dialogues, but it is hopelessly wrecked on the vocabulary. Alcibiades I represents a later Platonic manner than Alcibiades II, and if it were by Plato, would occupy a position between Symp. and Theaet. In the Anterastae there is a jarring between earlier and later formulae, but the Hipparchus has followed the characteristics of the earlier period so closely that Ritter thinks something may be said for its genuineness. The Epinomis differs so little from the Laws in the categories here considered that from this point of view Ritter considers it hard to upset the antique theory that Plato himself had added it as an appendix to the Laws, though he thinks that the evidence of the contents is against the Platonic authorship, and Philip of Opus, our Lokrian friend, is made to bear the responsibility of this achievement. Clitophon belongs to the later range and cannot have been the sketch of an introduction to the Rpb. Theages shows the cloven foot at the very end, in 131 A *εὐχαῖαι*, and Minos has too many *val's* and too few *πάνυ γε's*. Io, the contents of which would lead us to class it among the early dialogues, must be put late, if we accept Ritter's tests, and the use of *τί μὲν*; (331 D) as a real question is un-Platonic, while Hippias I, Hippias II, and Menexenus pass muster among the earlier pieces, except that Hippias II has too many *val's*, though Ritter would not on that account alone put it into the same category with Minos. If Lysis is genuine it belongs to the end of the first series, and is by no means the first piece of Plato's, as Hermann has maintained on the ground of the story in D. L. III 35, that Sokrates had heard Lysis read aloud.

Of especial interest is the way in which the Parmenides responds to the tests set up by Ritter and others. One set shows that it cannot belong to the first stadium, but the phenomena of the third are so sparingly represented that we are tempted to class it with the second, with Phaedrus, Rpb., Theaet. But here again there seems to be no place for the unlucky dialogue, and the piece presents other puzzling variations. In any case the defenders of its genuineness must, according to Ritter, be satisfied with a position not later than Sophistes, not earlier than any of the first series. Epistle VII, longest and

most important of all, is excluded from the list of the genuine Platonic epistles on the ground of its contents, but as the *Epinomis* is probably written by a personal pupil of Plato's, who observed and imitated the manner of the aged master, so in the seventh epistle we have a similar phenomenon, and Ritter goes so far as to suppose that the writer may have made use of Plato's own notes.

How far do these observations in regard to the form correspond with results that are to be gained from the contents? The 'development of doctrine' which has been claimed for Plato in the theory of ideas, in the conception of the soul, ought to furnish corroboration for the results of the statistics, which we have been considering. But Ritter agrees with Hirzel in thinking that the tripartite division of the soul in Plato is only rhetorical to begin with, and that the 'developed theory of ideas' and the stages of its development are among the things that are yet to be made out. Nor does Ritter attach much importance to Plato's shift of views in regard to *ἀρετή*, in regard to *ἐπὶ*. References from one dialogue to another, such as Zeller has traced and Siebeck has made it his special business to run to earth, are deceptive, as the one scholar openly and the other virtually admits. If the promise of *Protag.* 357 B is fulfilled in *Polit.* 283 D, of *Protag.* 361 D in *Meno* and *Gorgias*, of *Charmides* 169 D in *Theaetetus*, it by no means follows that *Laches* is later than *Rpb.* IV 430 C—to the confusion of all statistics of language, it is true, but not less to the confusion of all theories of Platonic development. What is to prevent Plato from making a dramatic use of an earlier dialogue? Certainly no considerations of anachronism, to which he shows himself everywhere celestially superior.

But while Plato defies chronology in some points he cannot defy it in all, and reference to the events of his lifetime must be regarded as giving a certain limit for the composition, if not for the dramatic scene. So the well known reference to the *διοικητής* of Mantinea, in *Symp.* 193 A, proves that the *Sympos.* was not composed before 385, and gives us an important *terminus post quem* and *ante quem* for the other dialogues. Ritter puts (*Parmenides*), *Theaet.*, *Phaedrus*, *Sophistes*, *Politic.*, *Philebus*, *Critias*, *Laws* after the *Symp.*—all the rest, except perhaps *Lysis* and *Menexenus*, before. Reserving for a more detailed discussion *Phaedrus* and *Euthydemus*—whose position is made questionable by the apparent conflict of the statistical method with the allusions in the dialogues themselves—we find in *Meno* (90 A) an allusion to the Theban Ismenias and his receiving a bribe, which puts the composition of that dialogue after 395. In *Menexenus* the history of Athens is followed down to the time of the peace of Antalkidas (387). *Theaetetus*, acc. to Rohde, contains (175 A) what seems to be an allusion to the Euagoras of Isokrates, and the date thus gained (after 374) is in keeping with the statistical results set forth by Ritter and others, although it creates some embarrassment as to the *Phaedrus*, which the language brings into close proximity with *Theaetetus*. If Plato, in accordance with a common, if not prevalent belief in antiquity, composed some of his dialogues during the lifetime of Sokrates, the allusion to Sokrates' death in *Apology*, *Crito* and *Phaedo*, and to his trial in *Euthyphro*, *Gorgias*, and *Meno* would have some significance, and Ritter would put the just mentioned dialogues, together with *Menexenus* and *Symposium*, in the second division, all the rest of the first stage before the death of Sokrates, in

conformity with Stallbaum's view and, leaving out Hippias II and Cratylus, with Hermann's.

To hasten to R.'s summary of results, probable as well as certain. R. puts Laches, Hippias I and II, Charmides, Protagoras, Euthydemus, and Cratylus before 399. After the death of Sokrates Plato left Athens. How long he was gone we do not know. In a space of about 12 years, say to about 385, were written *Apol.*, *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Gorgias*, *Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Menexenus*, *Symposium*. In the interval between his departure from Athens and his return falls his first journey to Syracuse, undertaken, according to *Ep. VII*, which Ritter accepts as a good source, in his fortieth year, or about 387. *Menexenus* and *Symposium* were written after the journey. After the composition of the *Symposium* a change takes place in Plato's manner, as is seen in *Theaetetus*, *Phaedrus* and *Republic*, so that we must assume an interval of some years in which Plato did not write. The *Phaedrus*, therefore, cannot be pushed back beyond 375 even if we do not follow the indicia of the language and put it after the *Theaetetus*, which Ritter assigns to the neighborhood of 370. For the composition of the *Republic* the end of the eighties or the beginning of the seventies would give a probable date. In 367 the second voyage to Sicily makes a new section and sunders Sophistes from *Theaetetus*. In fact it is a question whether *Sophistes* was written before the third Sicilian voyage in the summer of 361. Sicilian affairs occupied so much of Plato's time before his return to Athens, in the summer of 360, that he could not have had much relish or leisure for writing. All the other works, then, of the third stadium of Platonic language, with the exception of the *Sophistes*, belong to the last stretch of Plato's life. These are *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, and *Laws*.

Two problems remain, the position of *Phaedrus*,¹ and that of *Euthydemus*. Usener finds in *Isokrates*' speech against the Sophists (c. 390) a clear allusion to the *Phaedrus*. Nay, the very words are quoted. Ritter, however, turns this round, and agrees with Siebeck in supposing that Plato had *Isokrates*' speech before his eyes. As to the date, Siebeck puts the *Phaedrus* some ten years after 390. But one of the points made by Usener is that the criticism of the *λόγος ἐρωτικός* of *Lysias* in the *Phaedrus* could have been possible only at the time when *Lysias*'s main work lay in the epideiktic direction. This would put the date of the *Phaedrus* 403 or 402. Blass, *Att. Bereds. I*, p. 382, does not agree with Usener and puts the date of the *Phaedrus* considerably later (erheblich später). If *Lysias* was to be criticised, only a speech on a general theme would serve, and *Lysias* himself would have considered an epideiktic composition to be of a higher order than a *dikanic* speech. In 390, however, *Lysias* had long given up the epideiktic department, and the *λόγος ἐρωτικός* was more than twenty years old. But if, according to Siebeck, Plato waited ten years before replying to *Isokrates*, he might have waited twenty years before criticising *Lysias*, and in this way—not a very effective way—Ritter tries to bring Siebeck down with him to a later date than 380.

To be sure, every reader who approaches the *Phaedrus* with unbiassed mind will receive the impression that the lessons there conveyed are intended to

¹ According to Gomperz (see A. J. P. IX 379) the criteria of thought and the criteria of language coincide, except in the case of *Phaedrus*, an important exception, which can be explained only on the hypothesis that we have the *Phaedrus* in a second revised edition.

have their influence on the living Lysias, certainly on the living Isokrates.¹ But at the time Ritter assumes for the dialogue Lysias had been dead for years and years, and Isokrates was an old man, thoroughly set in his ways. But this is only a tribute to Plato's dramatic power. Protagoras was dead and Gorgias was dead when the dialogues which bear their names were composed. So was Prodikos, of whom Plato makes so striking a dramatic use in the Protagoras. But Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodikos are only types—only tendencies incorporate—and this is the case with Lysias and Isokrates. The question that rises in the course of this argumentation Ritter does not answer fully. Were the Lysiac and the Isokratean influences as potent thirty years afterwards, and the references as timely, as they would have been at Usener's date?² The praise bestowed on Isokrates at the close of the Phaedrus is a knotty question, which Ritter disposes of a trifle too cheerily. The praise is really no great praise, he maintains, because it serves only to make the censure sharper, but the comparison of Kallikles' praise of Sokrates in the Gorg. 485-486 B can hardly be considered a parallel, especially as in the Gorgias we have the dramatic setting to correct any false impression.³

There remains the Euthydemus. Here the question revolves about the famous *λογοποιός* of the final talk between Sokrates and Kriton. If the *ἀνὴρ οἰόμενος πάντῃ εἶναι σοφός, τούτων τις τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς εἰς τὰ δικάσθηρια δεινῶν*, if this man is Isokrates, then we shall have to give the Euthydemus a later date than that which is assigned to it by Ritter. The very details seem to be exactly suited to Isokrates, and the designation of this *λογοποιός* as a man who wrote speeches for others but never appeared in court himself, fits Isokrates so exactly that Spengel's identification seems to amount to a demonstration. But it is not a demonstration until it is proved that no other than Isokrates can possibly be meant. Theodoros of Byzantium has been set up by Sauppe, and Hermann inclines to Polykrates. Ritter himself points out resemblances between Kallikles in the Gorgias and the personage described by Kriton. Unfortunately Kallikles is a *ῥήτωρ* and this man is a *λογοποιός*, and Ritter concludes by falling back on the last resort, that the *λογοποιός* is a fancy picture and no actual man.

Lysis, if genuine, is contemporaneous with the Symposium, or perhaps a little later, but Ritter cannot bring himself to accept its genuineness cordially, and his attitude towards the Parmenides is not over friendly. If it is by Plato, put it at least five years after the Symposium.

It has seemed to me that I should be doing a service by making a full summary of Ritter's treatment of the genuineness and chronology of the Platonic writings, partly because of the interest of the subject itself, partly because the

¹ Professor Campbell says (Bibl. Plat. p. 27): On the whole it seems to me that the Phaedrus must have been written 1) while the reputation of Lysias was still at its height and thus not long after his death; 2) while Isokrates was still comparatively young and not yet acknowledged to have shown other writers to be children in comparison; and 3) before the Republic was planned. The passage about oral teaching could hardly be composed at a time when Plato was preparing his great work, intended by him to influence opinion throughout the Hellenic world. To speak of this as 'Ἀδώνιδος κῆπος' would be too absurd.

² Sussemihl, in the Jahrb. 1880 (p. 709), calls attention to the long survival of such memories. In the Ps. Dem. speech c. Neaeram, written after 343, Lysias is still called *ὁ σοφιστής* (341), and Isokrates could not outlive his early reputation of a *λογοποιός*, for which to be sure S. cites the disputed reference in Euthyd. 304 B and 305 E, besides Isokrates himself, 15, 31-42.

³ Professor Campbell emphasizes 'the frank heartiness and manifest sincerity of the passage.'

work invites the cooperation of American scholars. Americans have a strong native bent towards statistics, and in the case of philologists that bent is made more decided by the absence of apparatus. One can always become master of a critical text edition, and counting is not denied to any one. When it comes to inferences the danger begins, and Ritter has found and will find critics to question his conclusions. Even facts are not so easily caught as some fancy, and who that has taken out his grammatical butterfly-net has not been exposed to disappointment and mortification? But the limits of an ordinary review have already been transcended and there is no room for further remark or criticism.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Ueber den zweiten Teil der Odyssee, von Dr. C. REICHERT. iv + 92 pp. Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1889.

This is a dissertation to prove that Kirchhoff's "Fortsetzer" and "Bearbeiter" were one and the same (see A. J. P. VIII, p. 415). It also seeks to distinguish the composition of this "Redaktor" from the older material which he incorporated into his work. As compared with the results of Wilamowitz's or Seeck's analyses, the conclusions of Reichert point to far less variety of source for our *Odyssey*, and far greater activity on the part of one compiler. The method of investigation is much more conservative and restrained than that of Wilamowitz and Seeck, but still it produces many logical "kartenhäuser," or cumulative possibilities. The whole structure rests on the imperfect proof, in the first chapter, that the author of ν 185 ff. and π knew and used $\kappa\mu$ and the *Telemachy*. Considering the slight proportion which our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* bear to the mass of epic poetry extant when they were compiled, the fact that one verse is more happily used in κ than in ν , and that two hemistichs in ν resemble two in κ enough to have been suggested by them, is by no means sufficient to prove ν later than and indebted to κ . Much of the criticism of the quality of poetry in ν which this first chapter contains, is far fetched. Until this first premise is greatly strengthened, the conclusions of the following chapters, so far as they depend upon those of the first, must be doubted.

Not to give these conclusions in detail, let it be here said merely that the investigation, like all those of the same class, carries dissection and analysis beyond all due bounds, and builds constructive theories of composition on too slight evidence. At the same time it is useful in sharpening the principles of Homeric interpretation, and in making it more clear that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are artificial elaborations of folk-song.

To arguments of the following sort we can never allow any force: ψ 152 is possibly from ν 170, part of the adventure with Cyclops, ν 237 is from ϵ 273, also part of the adventure with Cyclops; *ergo* ψ 152 and ν 237 are by the same author (p. 14). Or, the author of ν borrows from κ ; the author of σ borrows from κ ; hence the author of ν was the author of σ (p. 60). Nor can we allow subjective impressions of the relative poetical merit of passages to decide their parentage (pp. 18, 21, 27, etc.).

It makes the reading of the book very hard that the author uses "Redaktor" and "Dichter der Verwandlung" synonymously. The separate conclusions also might have been summarized and emphasized much better. The chapters follow each other in a rambling and desultory way. Nevertheless, after all criticism, the book is suggestive and will be fruitful.

B. P.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Vierter Jahrgang.

Heft 3 u. 4.

Pp. 345-357. A. Otto continues his study of proverbs with this article on "Essen und Trinken im Sprichwort." Most of these fall under the general headings of hunger and thirst, bread and salt (representing the necessities of life), pork (the choicest meat), vegetables, eggs, fruits and nuts, salt and pepper, hellebore, vinegar, honey, gall, drinking and feasting. An unusually large number are common to other languages.

P. 357. *Instar*. Additional evidence that *instar* was originally an infinitive used substantively. cf. Archiv II 597. E. W.

Pp. 358-388. In this number closes the exhaustive article on "*Uls, trans* und *ultra*," by Ph. Thielmann. The original use of *trans*, "crossing" (a sea, stream, mountain), is rarely extended to such expressions as *tr. paludem, stagnum, vallem*, etc. *Tr. ripam*, "to the other bank," is a contraction of *tr. flumen in altera(m) ripa(m)*. The tendency to emphasize one of the terminal points of the motion permitted, as early as Plautus, *tr. parietem*, "to the other side (behind) the wall," *tr. maceriam*, etc.; yet so persistent was the normal usage, *tr. flumen*, and the like, that even *tr. id flumen* is rare (Caes. B. G. 2, 16, 2), and *tr. quod* does not occur. The poets alone ventured to add a limiting adjective. Very interesting is the encroachment of *ultra* on *trans*. Although they started with many points in common, *ultra* readily lent itself to further extension, while *trans* remained more nearly fixed. Perhaps the earliest instance of encroachment is Cic. Prov. Cons. 34, *Nihil est u. illam altitudinem montium*—a negative sentence in which *ultra* is often found and which *trans* avoids. Rivers, mountains, and especially seas were frequently conceived as boundaries, and we find *u. fretum* in Cic. Att. 16, 4, 4, even before *tr. fretum*. *U. Tiberim* occurs for the first time in Prop. 5, 10, 25, and in a negative sentence. Curtius purposely avoids *trans* and is the first to say *u. flumen, amnem*, etc. Some of the especially strong combinations with *trans* never have corresponding expressions with *ultra*; thus *u. Anienem, u. Appenninum* never occur, *u. Padum* but once and then in the seventh century. The peculiar uses of *trans*, and the instances of the encroachment of *ultra* on *trans* are given at length under convenient headings. Then follow chapters on "Lokales *ultra* nebst Uebergreifen von *trans*"; "*Ultra* mit Mass- und Zahlbestimmungen"; "Modales *ultra (trans)*," with a long list of stereotyped expressions. Very common is *u. modum*, and parallel with this is *praeter m., supra m., and super m.* *Praeter* is usually the earliest, and, contrary to the general law, the first to die out, the other forms going down into the Romance languages. The closing chapters are on "Tem-

porales *ultra* (*trans*)," a development from the local use; and "Endliche Schicksale von *trans* und *ultra*." *Trans* was known in the Roman "Volkssprache" only in its local signification, "over," "on the other side," but in those languages which retain the word (Span., Port., Prov. *tras*, Old French *tres*, *tries*), it has the meaning "behind," as if coming from such Latin expressions as *tr. parietem*, *tr. siparium*, etc. The history of the word in Gaul is of interest to Romance students. It is not found in the 87 volumes of Migne, in Fredegar, in the Gesta, or in the so-called Aethicus Ister, while on the other hand *ultra* = *trans* is common. *Ultra*, beginning in early Latin with its local signification, and developing in the classical authors the germs of its other and later uses, finally absorbed its rival *praeter* and was continued in the Romance languages.

P. 388. J. N. Ott takes exception to the derivation of *ullageris* given in Archiv III 176, and derives it instead from *olla*.

Pp. 389-399. *Penes*. P. Hirt. A conclusion of the historical treatment of *penes* begun in Archiv IV 88 ff.

Pp. 400-412. Substantiva mit *in privativum*. Ed. Wölfflin. For both subjective and objective reasons, verbs were not compounded with negative *in*. Confusion would have followed had it been attempted. *Ignoscere*, "to make an examination," cannot possibly equal *non noscere*; *Infulcor* is only a fictitious secondary form of *infitiari*, and *impiare* is from *impius*—not *in* and *piare*. On the other hand, *in privativum* is chiefly compounded with adjectives, as *sanus insanus*, *mortalis immortalis*, with which are classed those of participial formation, *diligens indiligens*, *sapiens insapiens*, *aptus ineptus*, etc. Most substantives thus compounded came from negative adjectives, as *infamia infamis* (*fama*), *ineptia ineptus*, *incommoditas incommodus*. It is the purpose of this article to consider (for the first time) to what extent substantives have been compounded with *in privativum*, without the evident intervention of adjectives.

The earliest instances of *intemperies* exhibit the word in its transferred sense, meaning in Plaut. Capt. 911 "misfortune," though more commonly "*insania*," "*insolentia*." Cato is the first to apply it to the weather, and is followed next by Livy, who probably uses it in imitation of the annalists. It occurs but twice in Cicero, and is avoided by Caesar and many others. *Insatietas*, Plaut. Aulul. 487, seems to be the only occurrence. The constant use of *ingratiis* as a quadrisyllable in Plautus is evidence that it is not the ablative of *ingratus* with an ellipsis; that it is, however, a substantive is shown by the fact that *tuis* and the genitive *amborum* may limit it, though in appearance and in use it is generally an adverb. The form *ingratia* is found first in Tertullian, and comes directly from *in* and *gratia*. Very similar is the ablative *iniussu*, occurring first in Terence (Hec. 562, 704, Phorm. 231), and not, as Professor Wölfflin says, in Cic. Inv. I 56. It may be worthy of note that neither Harper's, Georges nor De Vit give any instances earlier than Cicero, and that in model prose it is generally, if not always, limited by a genitive or possessive pronoun. The readings *inreligio*, Cornif. 2, 34, and *invaletudo*, Cic. Att. 7, 2, 2, are doubtful. Thus the language of the golden and silver ages contained only a few deeply rooted expressions, as *intemperies* and *iniussu*, and ventured upon no new combinations, with the one exception of Pliny, well known as a careless writer, who introduces *inquies*, H. N. 14, 142.

With Tertullian there arose a new and fruitful era in this development; and the fact that the use of these substantive compounds also occurs freely in Apuleius, Gellius and Cyprian (Fronto was too much under the influence of Cicero to employ them) goes to show that they were a peculiarity of the African dialect, and the free use of other compounds of *in privativum* in African Latin also favors this. This so-called *Africitas* consists, for the most part, of those vulgar peculiarities which crept into the earliest Latin version of the Bible, and also, in part, of attempts to translate the Greek original literally.

Derivatives in *ia, ium, ies*. *Iniuria* is probably from the adjective *iniurus*, instead of *iniurius*, as Georges gives it, and so *incuria* may come from an adjective **incurus* (cf. *securus*) instead of *cura*. The compound *infutias* (*ire*) goes back to **fatia*. Cic. Parad. Stoic. 50 is evidence that the old spelling *inficiae* is wrong. *Infortunium*, apparently stricken from the Latin vocabulary by Cicero and Caesar and most other classical authors on account of its irregular formation, was revived by Apuleius, who probably took it from the early poets rather than the familiar language of his time. Cicero used *indolentia* to translate ἀναλγησία, although *indolens* does not occur before Hieronymus. *Inedia* is found in all periods without any closely related form. *Infinitas*, and not *infinitia*, was the word that Cicero chose to translate ἀπειρον, ἀπειρία; once he uses *infinitio*. *Illuvies*, a favorite word with Plautus, Terence, Lucilius, and Pacuvius, is not (with Georges) from *illuo*, but in *privativum* and *luere*. *Inperfundius* and *inbalmities* remain ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Lucilius.

P. 412. *Mulus, mulaster*. E. W. The French *mulâtre, mulatte* seems to go back to *mulaster*, a form not found in Latin. Without discussing the etymology given by Diez, the writer suggests that *mulus*, the "mongrel animal," was transferred to the crossing of races (white and black). He corrects Georges, who does not distinguish between *mulus* and *hinus*; cf. Varro, de R. R. 2, 8, 1.

Pp. 413-421. *Velum* = Fahrzeug, Floss. By Heino Pfannenschmid. The writer attempts to prove that the Lorraine word *walle*, found as early as 1507, has the same meaning with *voile* = raft, and that this is not to be connected with *voile* meaning sail, nor with *voile* meaning veil, but comes from Latin *vēlum* = *vehiculum*. *Vēlum* had, in classical Latin, a double meaning, that of "sail" (used chiefly in the plural, "sails"), and "cloth," "awning," "veil." According to Georges the former is derived from *vēhere* through *veh-δ-lum, veh-ū-lum, veh-i-lum* (for other derivations see Vaníček and Bréal). *Vēlum* from *vēhere* could mean nothing else than "Fahrzeug." How did this word receive the meaning of sails? Certainly not, with Curtius and others, through the idea of the motion which they produce—the earliest boats had no sails. It is more natural that the name for sails came from the material of which they were made. The Greek expressions for sail, ἱστίον, ὀδὸν, σινδών, and φώσσων, as well as *carbassus* and *linkea*, favor this, and therefore *vēlum* = sail should come from the same root as *vēlum* = awning, veil; viz., *Fes-* (cf. *vestis*). That there was, however, a *vēlum* = *vehiculum*, which the literary language dropped on account of the confusion with *vēlum* = sail, but which lived on in the *lingua rustica*, the French words *walle, valle, voile*, meaning "boat," "raft," testify.

P. 421. *Impensae*, Mürtel. Otto Seeck. *Impensae*, meaning "mortar," occurs in the Epitome of Vitruvius and in Symmachus. The writer would change *expensarum* to *impensarum* in Salvian de Guber. Dei, III 1, 1.

Pp. 422-454. A continuation of G. Gröber's valuable work on the "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter" from *obedire* to *pūtidus*. This and the previous articles show us that the quantity of vowels in the late spoken language must have differed considerably from the classical literary standards—as the latter did from the archaic. Thus only can we account for numerous differences in the literary Latin and that here attested by the Romance languages. These changes occur not only in the "hidden quantities," which are necessarily more or less obscure for classical times, but also before single consonants against the authority of the poets. The long vowel in *pērtica* is probably a misprint.

Pp. 455-466. Die lateinischen Adverbia auf *-iter*. By H. Osthoff. The adverbs in *-iter*, *-ter* are compounds of the corresponding adjective and *iter*; thus *brev-iter* means a "short-way," *celer-iter* a "quick-way," *dur-iter* a "hard-way," etc. A great many of these adverbs are formed by the juxtaposition of adjectives with *i*-stems and the following *iter*. *Breve iter* in the "sermo cotidianus" would readily become *brev-iter*. In much the same way the neuter singular of adjectives of *o*-stems unite with *iter*. Thus *long'iter* comes from **longo(m)iter* by the customary dropping of *m*, as in *anim'advertere* from *animum advertere*.

These adverbs are also formed from a number of consonantal stems of the third declension whose accusative singular is the same as the nominative of the three genders, e. g. *audaciter*, *feliciter*. This group may have been formed by analogy after the first mentioned, or it is possible to suppose an early neuter form without *s*, as **audac iter*, *felic iter*, etc. An appendage to this group are the adverbs from consonant stems lacking the *i* of *iter*,—*audacter*, *inertiter*, *sollertiter*, *arroganter*, *frequentiter*, and others ending in *anter*, *enter*. Only a few will accept the theory that an *i* never existed in these words. At first sight *brevi-ter* : *brevi-s* :: *audac-ter* : *audac-s*, but this would necessitate the forming of all the other adverbs of this class after the analogy of *audacter* alone, and furthermore *tt* in **frequentter*, etc., would produce *s*, as in *versus*, *scansus* and the like. Thus it seems that the original ending must have been *iter*.

Inertiter and *sollertiter* appear to stand by themselves. *Ars* represents an earlier **ar-ti-s* inasmuch as it belongs to the *i*-stems (gen. plur. *arti-um*). Therefore the compounds once had the neuter singular forms **in-erte*, **soll-erte*, and, like *brev-iter*, from **sollerte-iter* was formed **sollert-iter*. Among the many adverbs in *-anter*, *-enter*, *clementer*, *frequentiter* and *recenter* represent the earliest formation, and the adjective ending in *-ent* (**clément-iter*, etc.) may be considered the original form of the neuter singular. The meaning of the adjectives is not opposed to this explanation. They either have been or could be used with *iter*; in fact *clēmēns* from **cleie-mēns* is related to *clivus*, *clinare*, and originally meant "slowly rising" or "gently sloping," and *clémenter* in this sense is a favorite word with Tacitus.

The syncope of *audac-iter* to *audac'iter*, **sollert-iter* to *sollert(t)'iter*, **frequent-iter* to *frequen(t)'iter* is in accordance with the following law, which the writer attempts to establish for syncope in general: that for the syncope of a short vowel in any other than the second syllable, the preceding syllable must be long; but for syncope of the second syllable it is not necessary that the initial syllable be long, as we find both *lāridum*, *lārdum*, and *vālidus*, *vāldus*, etc. Not

in all cases, however, where permissible, does syncope occur. That it is so regular in the formation of these adverbs is due to the harsh sound in the endings **ert-iter*, **ant-iter*, **ent-iter*. The three isolated forms in *-ulter*, *faculter*, *difficulter*, and *simulter*, appear to be the enlargement of the old adverbial forms *facul*, *difficul*, and *simul* by *ter*, which in *brevi-ter*, *audac-ter*, etc., was felt to be the suffix. By analogy, also, was formed *aliter* from **ali-iter* (*alius*), not from **altud-iter* or **alid-iter*, and *nēquiter* from the stem *nēqu-i-or*, *-issimus*. In this connection *praeter*, *proper*, and *inter* are mentioned as purely comparative forms from **prai-ter(o)-s*, **prop(i)-ter(o)s*, **en-ter(o)-s*.

Pp. 467-531. *Abeo*. By Jos. Menrad. An exhaustive lexical article prefaced by a conspectus and a treatment of forms, and closing with note on *ab-e-ona et ad-e-ona*.

P. 531. *Natare*. John E. B. Mayor. A correction of Madvig's conjecture (*nātāre*, *adnātāre*) for Ovid Met. 4, 46.

Pp. 532-561. *Abicio*, *abiectus*, *abiecte*. A lexical article by Ph. Thielmann, treating of *abicio*, *abiectito*, *abiectus*, *perabiectus*, *abiecte*, *abiectio*, *abiaceo*, with additional observations.

Pp. 562-586. A continuation of Wölfflin's lexical article from *ablatio* to *abnuto*, with some special remarks on *abnuo*.

P. 586. *Subitare*. E. W. *Subitabo* should be read instead of *suscitabo* in the Apocalypse 3, 3.

Pp. 586-620. Miscellen. Die Etymologie des Namens *Iulus* in Augusteischer Zeit. Ed. Lübbert.—Verbalformen vom Perfectstamme bei Claudian. Th. Birt.—Das lateinische futurum exactum. Franz Cramer.—*Saeculum*, *saecula*. Henry Nettleship.—1. Zwei neue Fragmente archaischer Poesie. 2. *Achariter*. 3. *Balan*. 4. *Salaputtium*. Ph. Thielmann.—Über *sēcūs*, *sētius* u. s. w. A. Zimmermann. *Iulicae*, Bartflaum. Adolf Sonny.—Firmicus Maternus. Karl Sittl.—Zur Peregrinatio ad loca sancta. Paulus Geyer.—*Scopère*, *scrobere*. J. N. Ott.—Zu Lucilius 710 B. Zu Ausonius Ephem. 8, 16. *Prosodiacus*. J. M. Stowasser.—*Ut quid?* *Prorsus ut*. *Cornuficius*. Ed. Wölfflin.

Pp. 621-645. Review of the literature of 1886-7.

. M. PEASE.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1888.¹

Vols. XI, pp. 113-155, and XII, pp. 209-253. Buddhist studies, by M. Léon Feer. It is well known to Oriental scholars that Gautama Buddha, in the fifth century B. C., came to the conclusion that bodily austerities were useless as a means of obtaining liberation. His idea was that freedom from the painful cycle of continued rebirths, that is, from Samsāra (transmigrations), was to be obtained by means of (Bodhi) knowledge evolved out of the inner consciousness through meditation (dhyāna) and intuition. In contradistinction to this Buddhist idea, the main idea of Nātaputta, the founder of the Jaina sect, seems to have been that liberation was to be maintained through subjugation of the passions and through mortification of the body. The term Jaina, 'conqueror,'

¹ See A. J. P. IX 514.

however, is used in both systems, but Gautama was a Jaina or conqueror through meditation, whereas Vaidhamāna Mahāvīra Nātaputta was a Jaina through Tapas or bodily austerities. In fact, the Jainas, like many other ascetics, were impressed with the idea that it was necessary to maintain a defensive warfare against the assault of evil passions by keeping the body under and subduing it. They had a notion that a sense of shame implied sin, so that if there were no sin in the world there would be no shame. Hence they argued that to get rid of clothes was to get rid of sin; and every ascetic who aimed at sinlessness was enjoined to walk about with the air or sky (Dig) as his sole covering.

The eternal problem of the relative value of intention and action divided these Buddhist sects, as it has created the modern sects in Europe. M. Feer introduces us into the strife between the two schools, in his article printed in J. A. IX 309-349. In Vol. XI he discusses the legendary narrative contained in the commentary to the Sūtra of Upāli. In order to prove the preeminence of the acts of the spirit above those of the body and speech, Gautama gives four—or rather to say three—narratives of kingdoms ruined on account of their kings' malignity against the saints or Ṛṣis, viz. that of Daṇḍāki, Kālīṅga, and Mejjha. The first and second stories agree in contents and matter, the third differs from them. The narratives go to show not only the danger involved in ill treating saints, but also the fatal influence of the sophism, post hoc, ergo propter hoc. The value of the commentaries on the first two narratives or Jātakas, Nos. 522 and 423, is discussed. Then follows a detailed account of King Mejjha's ruin, and the writer closes with a theory of the disagreement between text and commentaries as regards the proper names of the kings; F. reaches the conclusion that the section of the text of the Sūtra of Upāli under discussion is incorrect and has to be emended on the basis of the commentaries. The second article treats of the historical and doctrinal questions concerning Nātaputta and the Nigaṇṭhas or Digambara Jains, that is, the sect of naked ascetics. In the main we can say that the aversion of Buddhists against Nigaṇṭhas is based on the old adage *odia proximorum acerrima*. The article is divided into five sections: (1) the person of Nātaputta, his name, polemics, residence, death, and the place which he occupies in the eyes of his followers; (2) the school of the Nigaṇṭhas, their tenets. Evidently the question of dress was a crucial one, and in process of time a party seems to have arisen, even among these Digambara Jains, opposed to strict asceticism in this particular. This sect ultimately formed themselves into a separate sect, calling themselves Svetambaras, that is, 'clothed in white garments'; the latter admit women into their order, which are called Nigaṇṭhīs; the Digambaras, for obvious reasons, do not admit women. The school survived its founder. A few characteristics of both sects of Jainas as distinguishing them from Buddhists are the four chief moral prohibitions, the first being, kill no living creature; minor differences are, that the Jain rule forbids the use of cold water, and enforces suppression of pains. Again, Jainism makes Dharma and Adharma, good and evil, or rather merit and demerit, two out of six real substances, the other four being matter (pudgala), soul (jīva), space, and time. (4) The place and sphere of intention in actions, according to Gautama and Nātaputta; (5) Nigaṇṭhas and Jains, Nātaputta and Mahāvīra; and the relation between Gautama and Nātaputta.

Pp. 155-219 and 401-490. Syriac literature is preeminently a theological literature. James of Edessa is one of the most prolific contributors to it. He is the Bar-Hebraeus of the seventh century. M. L'Abbé Martin, who has done so much to widen the range of our knowledge of Syriac literature, has given us an analysis of the last work of James, which is a *Hexaëmeron* or description of the six days' creation work. James died before his work was completed, and his friend George, Bishop of the Arabians, added the closing paragraphs. M. Martin gives a very minute description of the MS of the *Hexaëmeron*, which he had discovered in the city library at Lyons; it is dated Thursday, March 8, 837 A. D., and was written by Dioscorus. M. Martin's article is important because it shows us the extent of the knowledge possessed by the most eminent Syrian scholar of that time. James' illustrations and quotations from Greek writers have been an inexhaustible source of instruction for later Syriac authors; the comparison of a few quotations in Payne-Smith with passages in M. Martin's extracts from the *Hexaëmeron* show, e. g. that Bar-Kêfâ (†903) in his *Hexaëmeron* often copied J. of E. verbatim. It must be admitted that J. gives us some results of his own experience and thoughts, but on the whole he relies on Greek writers, in geography above all on Ptolemy. The chapter on the mountains and the countries of the earth he translated bodily from Ptolemy, without remembering the great changes which had taken place during the six centuries since the days of the great geographer. James did not travel extensively and his knowledge of geography was but book-learning. He knows the names *Shôshtar* and *Shûshân*, but he mentions them as lakes formed by the Tigris. Nothing shows that at that time the spread of the Arabic empire facilitated the acquisition of an extensive knowledge in geography and ethnography. In this they differed greatly from the Greeks of old; but let us remember the condition of the clergy at that time, the state of education, and the great authority of the 'ancient.' Important is J.'s information concerning affairs in his own home, Northern Syria and Osroëne. His peculiar style, his prolixity, his fondness for picturesque, minute description, his care in fixing proper names and foreign words, is shown again in these extracts, as also his zeal for a correct text of the Bible. M. Martin proves that J. prepared a Syriac text by 'emending' the *Peshittâ* in the O. T. with the help of the LXX, and in the N. T. with that of the original text. The same principle, we are reminded, was carried out about the same time by Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans (†823), which resulted in a mixture of the Vulgate of Jerome and the LXX, later known as the *Vulgata Clementina*, and containing all the apocryphal additions of the LXX. M. Martin urges a complete edition of the *Hexaëmeron*, which, he says, would enrich the Syriac Lexicon with a number of new words and throw fresh light on many hitherto obscure passages.

Pp. 220-249. History is represented in this volume by the investigations of the indefatigable M. de Harlez on the Chinese dynasties of Tartar origin; he shows that the relationship between Mandshu and the Niutchen dynasty—or, to use the sacred language, the Kin or Golden dynasty—who ruled over Northern China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are more of a collateral than of a direct character. The learned professor of Louvain has carefully examined all the Niutchen words which have been met with in the Chinese sources by Visdelou and Wylie, and the result of his careful comparison and

study is that out of 110 words 10 only can be found identical in Mandshu, whilst 30 are much like as many Mandshu words, but generally with suffixes somewhat different; 50 are altogether different from the corresponding words in Mandshu. A list of 75 proper names, collected by the same scholar, shows that 42 might be explained as Mandshu words. In summing up his results Prof. de Harlez says that the Mandshus belong to the same ethnic family as the Niu-tchis, but they are not their direct descendants. The Mandshu language is closely connected with that of the Niu-tchis, the two being equally dialects of one and the same language, but these dialects are quite distinct and present great discrepancies, and at the same time great similarities.

Pp. 250-280, 309-343. Prof. Maspero contributes an important paper on "The Egyptian Hierarchy." The article is based upon a papyrus originally in the Hood collection, and now the property of the British Museum. It consists of two sheets, the first containing sixteen, and the second seventeen lines of cursive hieratic writing. It purports to be written by "The scribe of the sacred books of the double Treasure-house, Amenemap, son of Amenemap," and belongs to that somewhat obscure period which lies between the twenty-first and twenty-sixth dynasties. After a long and bombastic title, the scribe begins with a catalogue of celestial bodies and phenomena, and thence passing on to things of this world, he ends with the earliest Table of Precedency known in Egyptology. The list begins with the god, the king and the royal family, and ends with the bootblack. Barren as it is, this antique table furnishes M. Maspero with the text for a very valuable and interesting historical treatise, in which he reviews this quaint procession of bygone personages, analyzes their titles and functions, and reconstructs the entire fabric of society as represented in Egypt by the court and the priesthood of some 2800 years ago.

Pp. 344-400 and XII 253-304. M. Camussi prints an article on hydrophobia, its definition and treatment among the Arabians, beginning with Muhammad. A chapter is devoted to a discussion of the Cantharis, or Spanish fly, used as a vesicatory; and another to the treatment of hydrophobia in Algiers and Tunis. M. Leclerc sends a number of critical remarks to this article, printed in Vol. XII 357-360.

Pp. 491-503. M. J. Darmesteter communicates the text, translation, and a running commentary of six tomb-inscriptions from Caboul, sent to him by Colonel Pratt, commander-in-chief at Abbottabad, Bokhara. They are epitaphs of Emperor Bâber and other Mongolian princes.

Pp. 504-533 and XII, pp. 311-330. M. E. S  nart, of the Institute of France, the well known authority on Buddhist-Sanskrit, and one of the Council of the Pali Text Society, made a visit to India, the chief object of which was to supplement by direct inspection the patient study of years which he has devoted to the various inscriptions bearing the name of Piyadasi, the A  oka of Southern Buddhists, grandson of Chandragupta. These are, in his opinion, the most ancient dated monuments of India, the most ancient dated witnesses of its religious life and the progress of Buddhism. The result is that he has been able to settle the text of many passages hitherto doubtful. Prof. S  nart opens with a discussion, from new materials, of what is known as A  oka's twelfth

rock-edict of the Shāhbāzgarhī series recently discovered in the Panjab by Captain Deane (cf. *Academy*, 11 Febr. 1888, p. 100, and *Athen.*, 5 Mar. 1888, p. 569). Facsimiles of these new inscriptions in Bactro-Pali or northern Indian characters are added. The twelfth edict numbers nine lines and a half, and is missing in the published version of Shāhbāzgarhī. Then follows an examination of the first eleven edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī; the epigraphic results of a new collation of the fourteen edicts at Gīrnar and the eleven at Mansera, together with a running commentary, form the contents of the second article. [Students interested in these inscriptions may consult the following additional articles in the *London Academy*: 24 Dec., 1887, p. 427; 26 Jan. 1889, p. 62 and pp. 170 and 208; and M. Sénart's article in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 Mar. 1889, pp. 67-108: *Un roi de l'Inde, Açoka et le Bouddhisme*.]

Vol. XII, pp. 39-199, contain the Annual Report read before the Société Asiatique by Prof. James Darmesteter, who has succeeded in this capacity M. Renan. It opens with an obituary, which includes the names of two honorary members, Prof. H. L. Fleischer of Leipsic, who studied Arabic at Paris under Silvestre de Sacy from 1824-28, and Maneckji Curshedji Shroff, of Bombay. The survey of Oriental studies during the year is divided into ten paragraphs: (1) India, Cambodia, and Campā. Mention is made of the work done by the late Abel Bergaigne on the *Sanhita* or collections of the *Rig-Veda*, and his decipherment of the inscriptions from Cambodia; by M. E. Sénart upon the inscriptions of Açoka, by M. Darmesteter himself upon the Persian element in the *Mahābhārata*, and by M. Aymonier upon the inscriptions of Further India; (2) Persia, with an account of the late Arthur Amiaud's theory regarding the origin of Cyrus, published in the *Mélanges Renier*, of M. Dieulafoy's explorations, and of the rival views of M. J. Oppert and M. Halévy concerning the origin of the Persian alphabet; (3) Phœnicia and Carthage, with special mention of M. Halévy's explanation of the hitherto obscure word *ADLAN* in the inscription of Eshmounazar by the Greek *εἰδωλον*, which would forever determine the date of the inscription; (4) Judaea and Judaism, with an account of M. Renan's *l'Histoire d'Israel*, M. Groff and M. Maspero on Jacob-El and Joseph-El; of M. Halévy's *Recherches bibliques*, and the well-known discussion between MM. Oppert and Halévy on *Ḥammurabi* and *Amraphel*; of M. Clermont-Ganneau's new interpretation of the words *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, Dan. V 25; (5) Syria, including Syriac; (6) Arabia and the Musulman world, where the names of MM. Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg are most prominent; (7) Assyria and Chaldaea, including the still mysterious Hittites, whom M. Halévy declares to be of Semitic stock; M. de Sarcéc and M. Rassam's discoveries are duly noticed; attention is called to Amiaud-Méchineau's *Tableau comparé des écritures babyloniennes et assyriennes*, M. Oppert's investigations occupy of course the most prominent place; the famous, even tedious discussion on the *Kakkab mēšri*, known ad nauseam to every Assyriologist, is summed up; M. Halévy's etymology of the name *Nimrod* = *namar udu* 'luminary of the East,' and his theory on the origin of the Akkadian name for divinity, 'dingir,' are glanced at; mention is made of M. Heuzey's interpretation of the *καὶνὸς* of Ar. Vesp. 1132; (8) Egypt, where the names of MM. Maspero, Revillout, Lefébure, Amélineau, and Groff are, of course, prominent; (9) Turkey; and (10) China, Annam, and Japan, where special attention is paid to the numerous papers of M. de Harlez.

Pp. 199-204. M. de Rochemonteix has a note on the descendants of Mizraim, son of Ham, Gen. X 13-14, based on Egyptian sources.

Pp. 205-207 contain a brief obituary of M. Abel Bergaigne.

Pp. 305-310. M. Clermont-Ganneau continues his studies in Arabian epigraphy. In Vol. X 496 ff. he gave a plan of the bridge of Lydda, and added text and translation of an inscription on this bridge. Lately he has succeeded in getting an excellent photograph of the bridge and the inscription; his new recension of the text differs from the first in several minor points.

Pp. 360-410. M. E. Amélineau has been fortunate in finding two fragments containing, in the Theban dialect, the history of two persons well known at the time of the Arabian conquest of Egypt; the one being a simple friar, Apa Samuel of Nitrie, born in Lower Egypt in the second half of the sixth century A. D. and died in Fayoom, the other a Jacobite archbishop of Alexandria, Benjamin, in whose time Egypt became a part of the Arabian monarchy. The fragments are the property of the Clarendon Press and are deposited in the Bodleian Library. M. Amélineau prints text and translation of the two MSS, and adds some remarks as to their value for history and geography. Some light is thrown by them on the obscure period of the history of Egypt during the Arabian conquest. The name Makaukas, which occurs in these fragments, was declared by Von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte* V, p. 143, to be the name of a legendary person, and considered by Karabaçek a corruption of Mouqoqis corresponding to Greek *μεγαυχίης*, our fragments prove to be the name of a real person. Ma-kaukas represents Greek *καυχίος*, and it is very likely a surname of George, son of Mina; this sobriquet was given him by the Copts, who despised him because he was the chief revenue collector in Egypt in the service of Emperor Heraclius. Now *καῦκον*, also written *καῦχον* and *καυχιον*, was the name for a piece of money at the time of Emperor Justinian. [Du Cange s. v. says: Caucii Nummi: *καυκιοι*, a Graecis Byzantinis appellati ii, qui paululum erant concavi, adque adeo 'cauci' formam quodammodo referebant, cuiusmodi passim videre est in gazophylaciis apud earum rerum studiosos.] Thus *καυκίος* is the man of the *καυκίον*. This also explains the use of the Arabic prefix ma-. Ma-kaukas thus means originally, he who makes *καυκία*. The vocalization Muqauqis, found in some Arabic texts, proves that the Arabian writers considered it a foreign word.

Pp. 411-439. M. Ryauon Fujishima translates and annotates chapters 32 and 34 of I-Tsing's *Travels in India*. This country was visited by a succession of Chinese priests during the early part of the Tang dynasty (VII saec. A. D.) Of these travellers the most famous were the three, Fa-hien, Hiouen-thsang and I-Tsing. The memoirs of the former two have been translated by MM. A. Remusat and Stanislaus Julien. M. Fujishima supplies us with a translation of two chapters of I-Tsing's memoir. I-Tsing was a Buddhist priest, and went to India to learn Sanskrit, in order to be able to translate into Chinese some of the sacred books of his own religion, which were originally written in Sanskrit. He left China in 671, arrived at Tâmrâlipti in India in 673, and went to the great college and monastery of Nâlanda. He then visited more than thirty countries and turned homewards, having been away some twenty years. He brought home with him nearly 400 distinct volumes of

original copies of the Sûtra, Vinaya, and Abidharma (scriptures). After a short rest he began the work of translation. The two chapters of his memoirs treat of Hindu literature and hymnology, and the system of education in India and China. Vol. XIII, pp. 490-496 the author prints an index of Sanskrit-Chinese words occurring in these two chapters of I-Tsing. [A good summary of I-Tsing's memoirs is given by Max Müller in his book, *India, what can it teach us?* pp. 229-232.]

Pp. 440-470 contain an interesting account, by Max von Berchem, of his visit to the castle of Banias. He re-examined the three inscriptions and supplements M. Clermont-Ganneau's remarks in *J. A.* X 496 ff., closing with the announcement of a fourth inscription found in the same place.

Pp. 471-490 and Vol. XIII, pp. 33-90. The princes of the first crusade and the Syrian Jacobites at Jerusalem form the subject of an interesting paper by M. l'Abbé Martin. At the same time that M. Martin received the MS of the Hexaëmeron of James of Edessa from the city library at Lyons, a second MS, containing a breviary of the Jacobite church, was sent to him. It was a MS of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The last three pages of the MS contained an incident of the history of the first crusade, written by Friar Michael, and ending with Feb. 1, 1138. Its contents proved to be similar to the appendix of the Syriac MS No. 51 of the Paris Library, which is dated Aug. 25, 1138, and written by the Friar Romanos. The two MSS supplement and explain one another. Text and translation of the extracts is prefaced by an interesting summary of the history of the Jacobites of Jerusalem at the time of the first and second crusades, and of that of the immediate successors of Godfrey of Bouillon.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Vol. XI, pp. 281-308. M. l'Abbé Quentin gives text, translation, and interpretation of an archaic Babylonian inscription of five lines. At the right side of the text is an illustration representing Izdubar fighting a bull. Quentin maintains that the cylinder belongs to the old school of Agade (?) and that it may date back as far as 5000 B. C. Reading and interpretation of the text are rather fanciful and uncertain, and M. Jos. Halévy has justly raised objections to it in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (cited hereafter as *ZA*) IV, pp. 222-24.

M. Halévy, the famous anti-Akkadist, explains the Akkadian word *din-gir* 'God,' from the Assyrian *di-gi-ru-u*, occurring in K. 2100, col. IV 9 ff. (see *PSBA.*, 1887, p. 377), as a synonym of *hi-li-bu-u* and *i-lu* God; he derives *hilibû* from *halâbu* to protect, and *digirû* from a root **dagâru*, also meaning to protect, with which he combines *ni-in-da-ga-ra a-ja-meš*, V *Rawl.* 1, 125, usually explained as *Ips. pl. Ifte'al* of *magâru*.

M. C. Huart sends a note on the pretended name *dért* for the dialect of the Parsi of Yezd which should be called *guébri*.

M. Clermont-Ganneau examines the Palmyrene text of one of the Graeco-Palmyrene funeral inscriptions collected by M. Loytved. The Semitic text reads:

מרקום יליוס מכסמום | ארסטירס קולון | ברתיא אב להדי יוקלא אתת פרטנכסו.

He proposes to read *מכור* | *ו* | *ר*, and translates Marcus Iulius Maximus Aristides, a colonist of Berytos, the father of Lucilla, wife of Pertinax.

M. Groff has a remark on the word *קל*, occurring in an Egypto-Aramean papyrus in the Louvre. He reads Kelbi, and interprets it as meaning 'a sort of wine.' M. de Vogüé prints a further observation on this word in Vol. XIII 277-279.

M. Barbier de Meynard reviews Count Landberg's *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine, texte arabe de Imâd ed-Dîn*. I. Leyde, 1888, in-8vo.

Pp. 534-555. M. Halévy compares Hebrew *gopher* with Assyrian *gi-pa-ru*.

M. Clermont-Ganneau sends a communication relative to some names of places, among others to Naṣir-i Khosrau; and he identifies several localities in the neighborhood of Nazareth.

M. Feer reviews C. de Harlez' *Histoire de l'empire de Kin*, Louvain, 1887, and *La religion nationale des Tartares orientaux, Mandchous et Mongoles*, Bruxelles, 1887.

M. Pognon reports the discovery at Aboo-Habba of contract-tablets belonging to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty. In the course of his remarks he discusses the two names Am-mi-za-dug-ga = Kim-tum Kêt-tum, V Rawl. ditânu stands for dit'anu, from the verb dânu, to judge, and is a form like 44, 22, and Šamas-di-ta-nu, which he interprets as Šamaš is chief, prince; gitmalu, mitharu, and ritpašu; cf. Halévy in ZA. IV 52-3. With regard to Ammizadugga he is in doubt as to its etymology.

Prof. R. Basset, of Algiers, writes about his linguistic exploration in Senegal, the result of which will appear in three volumes as soon as possible. So considerable an amount of linguistic information collected by so careful a scholar will certainly prove very welcome; but, as remarked by Prof. Basset himself, much work will yet remain to be done in the same region.

Vol. XII 331-360. M. Jeannier writes a long and spirited letter, describing Bagdad and surroundings, to which place he has lately been assigned as Chancellor of the French Consulate. Of great interest are his observations on the Arabic dialect spoken in Bagdad. On pp. 503-505 M. Clermont-Ganneau adds some remarks on vulgar Arabic, and compares some peculiarities of this dialect with classical Hebrew and Phœnician.

M. Pavet de Courteille bestows high praises on W. Pertsch's monumental work, *Die Handschriften-verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Vierter Band. *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften*. Berlin, 1888.

M. Meynard has a favorable notice of Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1888, in-4to. Speaking of A. Goguyer's *Manuel pour l'étude des grammairiens arabes*, Beyrouth, 1888, he cautions the reader against the fundamental errors pervading the whole book.

Pp. 491-524. The first six pages are occupied by the interesting and appreciative remarks made by M. E. Sénart in memory of the late Gustave Garrez. Vol. XIII 497-499 contains a communication from M. Garrez' sister, offering the Semitic portion of her brother's library. We are glad to notice that it is

intended to republish the various articles by the deceased scholar in a volume of 'Remains.'

M. Groff compares the story of Jonah with a fragment of a magical papyrus, according to which storms could be calmed by pronouncing the name Adonaï.

M. Halévy, who is nothing if not original, connects the Phœnician formula *בר אדני בר (אדנא) אש צרן*, with an Athenian decree of the first half of the fourth century B. C., published in C. I. A. II 86, granting immunity to citizens of Sidon residing in Athens or Carthage. The same scholar communicates a passage from a letter of a Babylonian king to Amenophis III, in which the name of Babylonia is *Šanḫar*. The tablet belongs to the famous Tell-el-Amarna collection, and the line reads *itti šar Ḫatte u itti šar Šanḫar*, with the King of the Hittites and the King of Babylonia.

M. Darmesteter comments on an Aramean inscription discovered at Limyra in Lycia, and published by Sachau in the *Berichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1887, pp. 3-7.

Rubens Duval reviews L. I. Tixcront, *Les origines de l'église d'Édesse et la légende d'Abgar*.

The volume closes with four communications from M. Halévy: (1) He discovers in the inscription referred to above, the word 'tam,' 'resolved, decided,' and compares it with the expression *thamliphul* of Plautus' *Poenulus*. The word *לכות* following the enumeration of the drachmae in the same inscription, he believes to be an equivalent of the terms *nuhhutu* and *maḥiṣ* occurring in late Babylonian contract-tablets in the meaning of stamped, coined. (2) He interprets a Babylonian tablet, published by Pinches in *PSBA.*, June 5, 1889, in which he reads *Malakedu*, the god *Malak* is one, supreme. The god *Malak* is identical with *Raman* or *Hadad* worshipped in the land of the *Suḫi*. The name occurs again in the inscriptions of Palmyra under the form *Μαλακβηλος*. (3) In Isidorus of Charax he corrects the name of the citadel in *Osroëne*, *Μαννοσυρρα Αὐντηθ* into *Μαννοσυρβα Αὐντηθα* = *מנהרותא חוריתא*, which means the white cavern (cf. Hebrew *קִנְהָרָה*, cavern, *Judg. VI 2*). (4) He explains the Hebrew *tēbhah* (תִּבְחָה), denoting the ark of Noah, by an Assyrian word *tubātu*, which he believes he has discovered in *IV Rawl. 17, 10b*, and meaning a vessel of reeds. The passage under discussion really reads:

1. 8. Al-si-ka ilu Šamaš ina ki-rib šamē elluti
9. ina šilli (iṣ) ērini ti-šam-ma
10. lu-šak-na šepā-ka ina tu-pat buraši.

I invoke thee god Šamas in the bright heavens, in the shade of a cedar thou art, may thy feet be placed upon a 'tu-pat' of a cypress. In line 9 Halévy reads *ti-kuš-ma* without necessity. The value *kuš* for the character *u, šam* is very rare (cf. the gloss *ku-uš* in *II Rawl. 48, 48cd*); as for *tu-pat*, read by Halévy *tu-bat*, constr. state of *tubātu*, it must be said that the character *pat, šuk* is hardly ever read 'bat' (cf. *Tigl. Pil. VI 94* *ekallate šu-pat šarruti* with the variant *šu-bat*), and that the word may also be read *tu-šuk*.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Unter Leitung von R. P. WÜLKER, herausgegeben von EWALD FLÜGEL und GUSTAV SCHIRMER. Band XI. Halle, 1889.

Prof. Wülker has called to his assistance two associate editors, and Anglia is again appearing in four parts to the volume, as when Prof. Trautmann conducted the "Anzeiger." Brief reviews of new books now regularly constitute a portion of each quarterly "heft."

Prof. Napier opens the volume with certain Anglo-Saxon fragments, to which he adds critical notes. The first of these curious prose tracts are "Adam," "On Fasting," "The Virgin's Age," "On Crime," and that which Wanley described as "Nota de Archa noe, de S. Petri Ecclesia, et de Templo Salomonis, Saxonice"—all found in MS Tiberius A. 3; they are now published for the first time (cf. Logeman: "The Rule of St. Benet," London, 1888, pp. xxii and xxiii). Then follow similar pieces on the ages of the world from Adam onward; on the phases of the moon, the times for mass as expounded by Jerome, the valuation of the "thirty pieces of silver," and the riches of Solomon. These are collected from different sources, but thus placed side by side reveal at many points a close relationship. Further on (pp. 97-120) H. Logeman also communicates a "series of scraps from Anglo-Saxon MSS," embracing homilies, confessions, prayers, creeds, and glosses of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Here may also be noticed the "Anglo-Saxonica," contributed by F. Holthausen (pp. 171-174). These are fragments of glosses, Anglo-Saxon titles to Latin prayers, a chronology of the ages of the world, and several lines relating to the first three months of the year. Dr. Holthausen announces that he is preparing for the Early English Text Society an edition of the Anglo-Saxon interlinear hymns and prayers.

"Die Englischen Tasso-Uebersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts" is the general title of a series of studies by E. Koepfel (pp. 11-38, 333-362; the continuation is to follow in the next volume). The first instalment treats of Abraham Fraunce, the first English translator of Tasso. The "Amyntas" of Thomas Watson (1585) is a purely original creation; the eclogues of Virgil supplied merely names and inspiration. Watson's Latin poem was Englished by Fraunce: "The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis" (1587). The translator, though he at this time acknowledges no debt to his original, has introduced no new material; all the editions of this work of Fraunce are essentially the same, and equally exclude the common error which attributes it to the influence of Tasso. In 1591 Fraunce translated Tasso's "Aminta," and joined it and his translation from Watson into one poem, "The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch." Some freedom of treatment was required to effect this combination. The changes, omissions, expansions, and insertions, which the musical and effective poem of Tasso undergoes in its transformation into the heavy, inharmonious and pedantic hexameters of Fraunce, are carefully detailed by Koepfel. Modifications imposed upon the second part, namely, the rehandling of Watson's poem, prepared the way for the conclusion of the

Vvychurch-trilogy, "Amintus Dale" (1592). In this part Koeppel is the first to recognize a free use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The myths translated in the metre of the original are interspersed with learned and self-conscious passages of a prose commentary. Tasso is here cited among the authorities, but in a manner that implies an acquaintance with his prose works. Koeppel then adds a chapter of citations to show the esteem in which Fraunce as a poet was held by his contemporaries; but the praise heaped upon him by Spenser, Francis Meres, Nash, Peele, and Harvey soon met with rebuke in the caustic satire of "Greenes Funeralls" (1594). The theory is advanced that in some undiscovered work Fraunce joined Harvey in his famous quarrel with Nash, and that Fraunce (not Harvey) is the principal target at which "R. B." hurled his weapons of ridicule. Turning from Fraunce's treatment of the "Aminta," Koeppel entitles his second article (pp. 333-362) "La Gerusalemme Liberata." Of this poem the first English translation, extending through but five cantos, is the "Godfrey of Bulloigne" (1594) by R(ichard) C(arew). A long passage from Carew's translation, and a comparison of him with Fraunce, enables Koeppel to convey a notion of Carew's workmanship. Carew knew his Italian well, and this is his chief merit; he lacked the qualities of the poet, and had a dull perception for the laws and harmonies of his own language. The second division of this article is "Edmund Spenser's verhältniss zu Tasso." Though Spenser in his *F. Q.* was mostly indebted to Ariosto, he also owed much to Tasso, as may be particularly noticed in the "Bowre of Bliss" and the pastoral of Calidore. Much of Spenser's poetic imagery and figuration can be traced to Tasso's poems. The many passages from the *F. Q.*, the *Amoretti*, and the doubtful "Britains Ida," in which Koeppel discovers the influence of Tasso, are cited and compared with their originals.

"König Ælfred's Angelsächsische Uebertragung der Psalmen 1-LI Excl." (pp. 39-96) is the anticipatory title of an article by J. Wichmann. The Anglo-Saxon psalter, preserved in the National Lib. at Paris and published by Thorpe in 1835, is to be investigated as to the authorship of the first fifty psalms, which are in prose. The first inquiry is, in what relation, in respect both of chirography and of subject-matter, does the Anglo-Saxon version stand to the parallel Latin text of the manuscript? From an examination of Thorpe's fac-simile Wichmann is led to doubt the possibility that both texts were copied by the same scribe; they, however, both apparently belong to the eleventh century, though it is difficult to know which of them was executed first. It is then shown that the Latin text stands in closest relation to the *Psalterium Romanorum*, but that the Anglo-Saxon translator must have used another copy that probably contained readings from other Latin versions. The author next attempts to establish the probability that the Anglo-Saxon version is to be attributed to a layman, and accepts the report of William of Malmesbury that King Alfred at the close of his life was engaged in the translation of the Psalter, as true and as referring to this prose version of the psalms, which therefore closes the list of the great king's literary performances. A minute study of the

phonology, of the vocabulary, and of the method of translation confirms Wichmann in these conclusions.

"Zum Handschriftenverhältniss und zur Textkritik des *Cursor Mundi*" (pp. 121-145), by H. Hupe, is an important contribution to a very intricate subject. Hupe acknowledges that his previously published dissertation on this subject is in sore need of correction at many points, and also applies severe criticism to Kaluza's article in *Englische Studien* (XI 235-275). He is now concerned, therefore, in re-examining the whole problem in the light of his increased knowledge, and arrives at results which are summed up in a "stammbaum" of acknowledged complexity. The article contains a large number of observations that will prove valuable in the critical study of the text.

O. Glöde, in continuation of his investigation of the Latin sources of certain Anglo-Saxon poems, now presents a comparison of the Juliana with the Latin text of the legend as published in the *Acta Sanctorum* (which is based on eleven early manuscripts—variants are given from many more). The result of this comparison is that Cynewulf, in writing his poem, made careful use of some Latin version, but that this cannot have been the version of the ASS. It therefore still remains to point out the poet's original—a service to scholarship which Glöde hopes in time to accomplish. In the meantime, however, he proposes to make known to the readers of Anglia, not only the Latin original of the Andreas, but also a Greek text which has a closer relation to the poem than that of Tischendorf's edition.

F. Dieter contributes a second instalment of his studies of the "Waldere" fragments in their relation to the original form of the saga. *Ælfs heres lóf* is the armor which Waldere found among the treasures taken from Etzel. The report in the "Nib. Not." that Hagan was sent by the king in pursuit of the fugitives, Waldere and Hildegûð, is to be preferred to that according to which Hagan was the first to escape. The different versions are considered with reference to the mode of battle, and the hero's retreat to the narrow mountain-pass in the Vosges. Hildegûð's exhortation to her lover to keep up his courage is most fitting before the second day's engagements. Very significant is the contrast of character between the timid Hildegund of the "Waltarius" and the brave Hildegûð. In conclusion Dieter decides in favor of reversing the order of the "Fragments," and places B at the middle of the events on the first day; it may be placed after the engagements with Gerwig or with Randolf. A reasonable interpretation is thus gained for *heaðu wérig* (B l. 17); *magas* is emended to *mægas* and applied to those who were to renew the fight against the hero; *hē bið fāh wið mē* remains difficult of interpretation, and it appears to be necessary to assume a loss of several preceding lines which contained the antecedent of *hē*. The dialogue between the king and Waldere furnishes a striking contrast to the narrative of the "Waltarius," in which these persons never speak directly to each other. In this, as in so many of its features, the Anglo-Saxon fragments preserve the more original form of the saga.

A superior chapter in minute philological criticism is furnished by R. Fischer in an article entitled "Zur Sprache und Autorschaft der mittelenglischen Legenden St. Editha und St. Etheldreda" (pp. 175-218). It is a criticism of W. Heuser's dissertation on the same subject (Erlangen, 1887). Fischer takes up Heuser section by section, resisting and amplifying his material, and drawing fresh and independent conclusions. The details of this article—they cannot be briefly summarized—are of great value to the student of Middle English grammar. Fischer has proved that the St. Edith is not to be divided between two authors.

An elaborate contribution to the study of the English Mystery Plays is communicated by Alex. Hohlfeld: "Die Altenglischen Kollektivmysterien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses der York- und Towneley-Spiele" (pp. 219-310). Before proceeding to the discussion of the four cycles, the Y(ork), the T(owneley), the Co(ventry), and the Ch(ester) cycles, in their general relations to each other and in their combined influence on the development of the drama in the 16th century, several preliminary discussions are indulged in. An explanation of the French elements in Ch is embraced in a theory that also reconciles contradictions as to the age of the cycle: the author of Ch probably composed his plays early in the fourteenth century, and made use of a French mystery play (not a cycle) which had for its subject the birth and passion of Christ; a revision of Ch was made about three-quarters of a century after its composition. In a second preliminary inquiry it is asked where and by whom the Co cycle was performed. That Co really belonged to Coventry cannot be indisputably settled; it may, however, be assumed as true, but this assumption implies the inevitable conclusion that these plays were represented not by the trade-guilds, but by the Grey Friars of Coventry. The special features which distinguish Co from the three other cycles strongly confirm this two-fold conclusion (pp. 233-238). Hohlfeld now advances to his first chief theme, the general relation of the four cycles to each other. A theory of their origin and development is set forth. Though the existing manuscripts preserve neither the earliest nor the latest forms of the texts, it is not difficult to see how these cycles, growing out of the earlier liturgical plays in the church, merely offer variations in the treatment of the same subject-matter. This agreement in subject-matter is exhibited in a valuable table. The metrical form of the cycles is next carefully investigated. A great diversity is here found. In Y twenty-three varieties of strophic structure are employed; T and Co show a similar though not so extensive a variety, while Ch is unique in the employment, with modifications, of but one strophic type. The rimed couplet is found only in T, and an artistic use of alliteration is restricted to Y. All, however, agree in containing later insertions which differ in metrical structure from the older portions. The interrelation of the cycles is a complicated problem, though some trustworthy results are possible; Hohlfeld's discussion (pp. 253-285) is worthy of notice. The following conclusions are of special interest: Ch and Co are older than the group Y and T; the former two containing traces of a closer relation to the liturgical plays, were evidently composed

before the middle of the fourteenth century, the date fixed for the composition of Y. This inference is supported by the marks of strong French influence in Ch. Just as these mysteries bear evidences of their origin from the liturgical drama, so too they develop the germs of the subsequent drama. The moral plays become best foreshadowed in Co; T points forward to comedy and Y to tragedy; Ch remains neutral in vital signs. The second chief theme is the relation between Y and T. Their remarkable agreements are carefully grouped and studied. Y proves to be the chief source of T. The tragic elements of Y, which were absent from its first form, do not reappear in T; this circumstance fixes the date for the composition of T between 1350 and 1440 (the date of the present manuscript of Y).

In a note of a half-dozen pages (pp. 363-368) F. Hicketier sounds the note of negation against the interpretations hitherto offered of the three Anglo-Saxon poems entitled in Grein "Klage der Frau," "Botschaft des Gemahls," and "Ruine." He believes that they probably constitute a group of riddles, seeing special significance in their occurrence among the riddles of the Exeter Book. The unsatisfactory suggestions and emendations of the editors and commentators are briefly reviewed, and by the process of pointing out other possibilities Hicketier endeavors to induce the disposition to suspect these poems to be riddles. An appeal is made to scholars to take up the problem of interpretation *de novo* and with strict attention to the manuscript setting.

B. Assmann contributes three Anglo-Saxon tracts from MS Vesp. D 14, "Prophezeiung aus dem 1. Januar für das Jahr," "Vorzeichen des jüngsten Gerichts," and an Anglo-Saxon translation of the first sixteen chapters of Alcuin's "De Virtutibus et Vitiis." The latter is accompanied by the corresponding parts of the Latin original. The language of the three tracts is referred to the twelfth century; no opinion is advanced as to the translator of Alcuin's work. Readers of Anglia will in this connection recall MacLean's treatment of the Anglo-Saxon version of Alcuin's "Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin" (Anglia, vols. VI and VII).

K. Luick, who has become known as an investigator of Anglo-Saxon metre along the lines laid down by Sievers, now offers a study of the unrimed alliterative poems which resulted from the so-called revival in the fourteenth century of the primitive national verse-system. The title of these articles, "Die Englische Stabreimzeile im XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert" (pp. 392-443, 553-618) indicates the writer's point of view; he is looking for a survival of Sievers' "types" in a new environment. The unsettled orthography, accentuation, value of final *e*, and the fluctuations in dialect and the uncertainty of date and manner of transmission of many Middle English documents increase the difficulties of such an investigation; the writer adopts the best method possible under the circumstances, of minutely considering each poem separately, and begins with a statistical study of the first 2000 verses of "The Destruction of Troy." The laws of Anglo-Saxon verse clearly underlie the structure of this poem: alliteration

is strictly structural and regular ; the metrical stress is in accord with the logical sentence stress, and the accentuation of the minor groups in collocation is also in the main true to the native system ; the division between the first and the second half-lines is exact, and the first half-line differs, as in Anglo-Saxon, from the second in having greater freedom of structure, particularly in the use of anacrusis and in the occasional extension to three measures. The second half-verse is accordingly first examined with the following results : Types A and C are well reproduced. The iambic beginning, however, being specially favored in Middle English, anacrusis with A is frequent. Few examples of B in its simple form are found. There are four additional types which require special explanation : X ◡ XX ◡ and ◡ XX ◡ named A₁ and A₂, respectively, and XX ◡ ◡, named C₁, are most frequent where final e has become silent, and are therefore derived from A and C ; the fourth new type XX ◡ X ◡ X, which is very frequent in all the alliterative poems, is derived from the original types XX ◡ X ◡ X and XX ◡ X ◡ X ◡ (B and C), and is therefore named BC. The origin of this last type is referred to the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables, an original resolved stress thereby yielding a trochee. By virtue of this expansion of the resolved stress and of the special Middle English treatment of trisyllabic words containing a secondary stress, the original types D and E are very much modified, and in the main pass into the new A type with dissyllabic thesis. The first half-verse employs the same seven types found in the second, and is characterized by many special methods of expansion. Luick next studies the metre of Piers the Plowman ; here, too, may be recognized the modified form of the Anglo-Saxon metre. Langley is a capricious artist ; not lacking the sense for form, he at times produces excellent verse, but his highest interest centering in the didactic mission of his work, he is often swept along with a zeal for sense merely that leaves the structural requirements of his lines in sad neglect. "Richard the Redeles," "The Crowned King," and "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede," are in this order next taken up ; they exhaust the Langland tradition. In the second instalment of his article the author discusses the metre of the "Alexander Fragments," "William of Palerne" and "Joseph of Aramathie ;" of "The Pearle," "Cleanness," "Patience," and "Sir Gawyn, the Green Knight ;" of "Morte Arthure," of "Kleinere Denkmäler" ("The Cheuelere Assigne," "Jack Upland," etc., from Wright's "Political Poems and Songs ;" "Ancient Scottish Prophecy," etc., from Lumby ; "Burlesque" and "Satire on the Blacksmiths," from "Reliquiae Antiquae"). In the last chapter are treated Dunbar's "The twa marryit women and the wedo," and two short poems from the Percy folio-manuscript, "Scottish Field" and "Death and Life." These poems stand at the close of the tradition of the unrimed alliterative rhythm. Changes in the language made a further continuation of the primitive verse, in the modified types of the fourteenth century, impossible. Luick's article is important for details relating to the history of final e in Middle English, and for new light thrown upon the question of the authorship or location of some of the poems under discussion. Sievers' theory of Anglo-Saxon metre remains to be thoroughly harmonized with the restrictions of Möller,

Hirt, and others; until this is done, any formulation of rules for Middle English alliterative verse will be premature. But, whatever that system may be, Luick has at least proved the historic continuity, from Anglo-Saxon times to the first-half of the sixteenth century, of the essentials of one and the same system of verse-structure.

E. Nader concludes (pp. 444-499) his extended study of Moods and Tenses in the *Béowulf* with a treatment of the complex sentences. The discussion of the subordinating connectives is of special value as contributing both to the interpretation of the poem and to Anglo-Saxon grammar.

Karl Lentzner, the author of a useful monograph on the history of the English sonnet ("Das Sonett und seine Gestaltung in der englischen Dichtung bis Milton," Halle, 1886), contributes an interesting article on the sonnets of Robert Browning (pp. 500-517). It is a remarkable fact that Browning has written very few sonnets—only nine are known to Lentzner. These are all in the lighter vein of "anspruchslöse gelegentlichedichte." Lentzner is safe in asserting *a posteriori* that this art-form is not well adapted to Browning's manner, though his reasoning on this point is exceedingly meagre; perhaps it is true that he that would be wise on such a subject must be brief. Browning's own testimony in "House" is, however, certainly to the point. Lentzner reproduces the nine sonnets, studies the occasions of their production and comments on their structure. He finds the poet, when inclination is not wanting, quite able to manage the form.

Wülker, the editor, continues from the preceding volume his "Versehen in den Büchern über neueste Englische Litteratur" (pp. 518-520). He corrects the error in the "Conversations-Lexicon" (Brockhaus) which attributes "South by West" to Charles Kingsley. The book was written by Kingsley's eldest daughter Rose and published, with a preface by her father, in 1874. That there is an occasional value in the use of the obsolescent *authoress* may be learned from Wülker's argument. The repetition of the well-known fact that Kingsley's "Lectures delivered in America" were first published in 1875, after the author's death, corrects a second error in Brockhaus.

"Die Englische Ausstellung des dritten Deutschen Neuphilologentages," by Max Friedr. Mann, closes the department of original articles for the third "heft."

In the form of a loosely connected commentary "On the career of Samuel Daniel" (pp. 619-630), F. G. Fleay announces a series of what he calls "discoveries" relating to the poet; of these the most important, says Fleay, is the observation that "Daniel was not merely 'at jealousies' with Jonson, but was actually represented by him on the stage as Hedon in Cynthia's Revels." The writer ("N. W.") of the epistle published with the dedication of Paulus Jovius' Imprese was a Waterson, and "M. P." mentioned in the epistle as "climbing for an eagle's nest," was Master Pyne, "probably the John Pyne, parson of Bear Ferres, who published

Latin Epigrams and Anagrams in 1626." One more of Fleay's discoveries may be cited: "Delia" is identified as Elizabeth Carey, daughter and heir of Sir George Carey, who had a residence at Bath, that is, on the lower Avon. This explains the Avon of the 55th sonnet. Daniel may at one time have hoped to win this heiress, he at least made a significant change in one of his lines after "Delia" had been married to Lord Berkeley, of Barkley Castle, on the Little Avon in Gloucestershire (which is *not* the Avon of the sonnet). Fleay's article contains many new and interesting details which Grosart will need to consider in concluding his edition of Daniel's works.

The book-notices and reviews in this volume will be found at pages 311-332, 525-552 and 632-643; none of these call for special remark. The volume closes with Sahlender's "Bücherschau" for 1887.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

BRIEF MENTION.

The reviewing of the White and Seymour Series (College Series of Greek Authors, published by Ginn & Co.) is made in most cases very troublesome by the blending of translation with original comment, and German critics usually make short work of the volumes as they appear by giving the credit for the scholarship to the German original and for the typography to the American publisher. But Americans ought to deal more fairly by Americans, and though the Classical Review has American editors to see that justice is done, we are glad to make space for the report of a young scholar, who has instituted a careful comparison of Professor TOWLE'S *Protagoras* with the *Protagoras* of Professor Sauppe, on which it is based.

"There is a large amount of small changes, such as the omission or addition of references, translations, and brief explanations of bits of the text or the references, condensation here and amplification there. Some of the notes seem to be superfluous, such as the translation of *σωτηρία* by 'safety,' and the observation that *ἐχω* with adv. = *εἶμι* with adj. Not superfluous would have been some distinct acknowledgment of forty-four notes taken directly from Cron. Jahn, on the other hand, whom Professor Towle might have used to advantage, he appears to have neglected altogether. The relegation of all or nearly all the critical notes to the appendix is an improvement. The variations from Sauppe and Cron are few and trifling. Of the thirteen omissions of Sauppe's notes, most are of little importance, but three are a loss. 316 E, where Sauppe says that the addition of *Μεγαρέτης* shows Protagoras' desire to display his anti-quarian knowledge, 325 E where the string of *if*'s is said to show that Protagoras is quite in earnest, and 342 D the note on *ἀληθῆ λέγω*. Of the notes added by Professor Towle those on pp. 36, 30, 37, 5, 52, 24, 79, 1, 141, 50 are valuable additions to the understanding of the dialogue. There are slips here and there, such as Protagoras for Pythagoras à propos of *αὐτὸς ἐθα* (p. 45, 10), and 'Kroschel' for 'Deuschle' (p. 168). 'Wettstreit' is translated 'race' instead of 'contest' (p. 105, 53), and in the introduction 'ναῖν' is rendered oddly enough 'civic.'"

B. N.

While Professor Towle, as it seems, keeps close to his German authorities, Professor FLAGG, who has edited the *Iphigenia Taurica* in the same series, shows that individuality of conception and treatment which lends a special interest to all his work. In the notes on an often-edited classic every editor is forced to draw largely on his predecessors or fail of his duty to the student, but it is possible to earn what one has borrowed, and this Professor Flagg has done, and the introduction is the work of a man who himself has explored the region into which he undertakes to conduct others.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

Aeschylus. *Agamemnon*; with an introd., commentary, and transl., by A. W. Verrall. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 62 + 272 pp. 8vo, cl. \$3.

— The *Supplines of Aeschylus*; a rev. text, with introd., critical notes, commentary, and transl., by T. G. Tucker. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 37 + 228 pp. 8vo, cl. \$2.60.

Allen (T. W.) Notes on abbreviations in Greek manuscripts; with eleven pages of facsimiles by photo-lithography. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 40 pp. 8vo, bds. \$1.25.

Gudrun: tr. by M. P. Nichols. Boston, *Houghton, Mifflin & Co.*, 1889. 14 + 363 pp. 8vo, cl. \$2.50.

Horace, tr. by English scholars and poets. New York, *F. Warne & Co.*, 1889. 12mo, cl. 75 cts.

Lawton (W. Cranston). Three dramas of Euripides. Boston, *Houghton, Mifflin & Co.*, 1889. 7 + 261 pp. 12mo, cl. \$1.50.

Plummer (C.) Two of the Saxon chronicles, parallel (787-1001); a rev. text, ed. with introd., critical notes, and glossary, by C. Plummer. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 15 + 136 pp. 16mo, bds. 75 cents.

Plutarch. Life of Timoleon; with introduction, notes, maps, and lexicon, by the Rev. Hubert A. Holden. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 85 + 274 pp. 16mo, cl. \$1.50.

Tertullian. *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis*; ed. with introd. and notes, by T. H. Bindley. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1889. 30 + 172 pp. 12mo, cl. \$1.50.

ENGLISH.

Apollonius Rhodius. *The Argonautica*. Translated by E. P. Coleridge. (Bohn's Classical Library.) 12mo, 218 pp. *Bell & Sons.* 5s.

Caesar. *De Bello Gallico Commentariorum I.* Ed. by Charles Henry Poole. Fcap. 8vo, xxii, 168 pp. *Relfe Bros.* 1s.

Cicero's First Tusculan Disputation. By Robert Black. Post 8vo, xii, 172 pp. *Low.* 5s.

Euripides. *Hecuba*. Edited, with introduction and notes, by C. H. Russell. Cr. 8vo, lxxix, 71 pp. *Clarendon Press.* 2s. 6d.

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Virgil in English verse. *Eclogues and Aeneid 1-6*. By Sir Charles Bowen. 2d ed. 8vo, 306 pp. *Murray*. 12s.

Virgil's *Aeneid*. Book 7. Ed. by A. Calvert. (Elementary Classics.) 18mo, 148 pp. *Macmillan*. 1s. 6d.

FRENCH.

Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn Djanah. *Le Livre des parterres fleuris*. Traduit sur les manuscrits par Moïse Metzger. Gr. in-8. *Bouillon*. 15 fr.

Bastin (J.) Étude philologique des participes, basée sur l'histoire de la langue. 2 édition. In-8. St. Pétersbourg, *Maison neuve*. 3 fr.

Damascii successoris Dubitationes et Solutiones in Platonis Parmenidem, partim secundis curis recensuit, partim nunc primum edidit Car. Aem. Ruelle. Tome II. Gr. in-8. *C. Klincksieck*. 12 fr. 50.

Errington de La Croix (J.) Vocabulaire français-malais et malais-français. *Leroux*. In-12. 10 fr.

Johannis de Capua Directorium vitae humanae. Version latine du livre de Kalilah et Dimnah, publiée et annotée par J. Derenbourg. 2^e fascicule. Gr. in-8. *Bouillon*. 7 fr.

Larchey (Lorédan). Nouveau supplément du Dictionnaire d'argot. In-12. *Dentu*. 3 fr. 50.

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PREPARED BY

W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.

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